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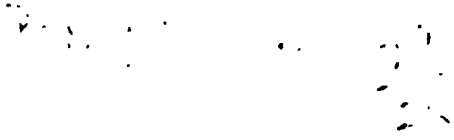

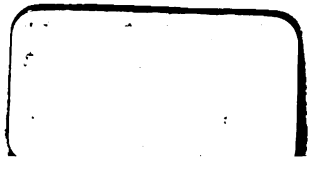

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

JANUARY 1877.

ART. I.—*Mahommed and Mahommedanism.*

Mohammed and Mohammedanism.[1] By R. BOSWORTH SMITH. Smith, Elder, & Co. Second Edition.

"MAHOMMEDANISM was spread by the sword." Such is the explanation usually given by Christians, and not denied by Mahommedans, to account for the rapid spread of the religion of the latter. But this only shifts the problem a little further back. Whence came its power to wield the sword? What deadened the keenness of the sword in the hands of those whom it conquered? Will that power still remain in Mahommedanism when its favourite weapon has been wrested from its grasp? The terror once inspired by the name of Islam has passed away. The question is no longer which faith can inspire the most devoted warriors, and equip the most powerful armies. The political battle has been fought, and Islam exists only by the forbearance or divisions of Christendom. It may be that we shall yet see "an outburst of stern fanaticism which, armed with the courage of despair, obliterating as it did among the tribes of the Caucasus in the Circassian war even the immemorial schism of Sunni and Shiah, may hurl once more in simple self-defence the united strength of the Crescent upon

[1] I have preferred adhering to the ordinary English spelling of the word. The nearest way of representing it in English letters is Moŏhummud.

the vanguard of advancing Christendom." But the only result of such a movement will be to hasten the inevitable catastrophe, and force Islam to hold its faith under the constraints of Christian rule. But when the decisive battle has been fought between Christendom and Islam, there remains to be fought the battle between Christianity and Mahommedanism.

There can be no doubt that in this Christianity is advancing to its true position. In disengaging itself from those geographical limitations and political supports which went to form our idea of Christendom, and in relying on its own inherent power, it is arriving after centuries at the position assigned to it by its founder, who said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

On the other hand, the welding of the State and the Church into one body, the making of political life only a part of religious life to be entirely directed by it, the limitation to those lands where religion can command the power of the sword, which go to form our conception of Islam, have hitherto been considered essentials of the Mahommedan religion, without which it must ere long die. But there are facts in the history of Mahommedanism which refute this idea. It is maintaining itself in China, where it has never had political power. It is spreading itself in regions of Africa, where it has never unsheathed the sword. It is maintaining itself, if not increasing, in India, where it has had the power of the sword and lost it, and where the loss seems only to have increased its vitality as a religion.

These facts shew that the power of the sword is only an accident in Mahommedanism, and call for an impartial examination into the source of the spiritual hold which it has on the hundred and twenty millions who profess it. Especially do they call to such an examination those Christians, who consider that their Master's commission to disciple all nations includes Mahommedans also. Unless the real strength of the system be measured, the extent of our task cannot be realised; we shall be baffled and discouraged.

Mr Bosworth Smith, whose book heads this article, has therefore done a good service to the Christians of Great Britain, by telling them all that has to be said in favour of

Mahommed and his religion from a Christian point of view. His object "has been, if possible, to render some measure of that justice to Mahommed and his religion which has been all too long and is still too generally denied to them."[1] This he has accomplished in a fearless, candid spirit, with a perspicuity of arrangement and lucidity of style, which enable the reader easily to grasp his argument, and leave him hardly conscious of the great labour which the book must have involved. By his plan he is led to dwell on the favourable points of Mahommed's character and career; but he does not ignore, though he seeks to palliate, the serious blemishes by which they were defaced. While admiring Mahommed, he reserves worship for Christ. But allowing the incontestable superiority of Christianity, he maintains that "Mahommedanism is after all an approach to Christianity, and perhaps the nearest approach to it which the unprogressive part of humanity can ever attain in masses." And he therefore concludes :—

"The two great religions which started from kindred soil, the one from Mecca, the other from Jerusalem, might work in their respective spheres—the one the religion of progress, the other of stability; the one of a complex, the other of a simple life; the one dwelling more upon the inherent weakness of human nature, the other on its inherent dignity; the one the religion of the best part of Asia and Africa, the other of Europe and America—each rejoicing in the success of the other, each supplying the other's wants in a generous rivalry for the common good of humanity" (p. 338).

Of Mahommed he says :—

"Mahommed to the end of his life claimed for himself that title only with which he had begun, and which the highest philosophy and the truest Christianity will one day, I venture to believe, agree in yielding to him, that of a prophet, a very prophet of God" (p. 344).

These conclusions, startling as they may appear, are yet advanced as the result of careful investigation, and must not be hastily rejected. I propose, therefore, to examine the main points in the rise and development of Mahommedanism suggested by this book, and to see what grounds there are for accepting or rejecting these conclusions.

At the outset I must join issue with Mr Smith as to the principle on which such an investigation is to be conducted. For I cannot but consider his plan calculated to veil the

[1] P. 292.

strength as well as the weakness of the religion which he describes. He has dwelt more on those general claims which Mahommed has to our admiration as a man, than on those special qualifications which fitted him for being the founder of an Eastern religion; more on the points of resemblance between Mahommedanism and Christianity, than on the points of difference, which made the former more readily accepted by the nations that now hold it. He starts with the following principle:—

"It is this that, for the purposes of scientific investigation, religions must be regarded as differing from one another in degree rather than in kind. This is the one postulate, itself the result of a careful induction, upon which the existence of any true science of religion must depend" (p. 64).

Now, while this is true in the sense in which Mr Smith afterwards develops it, that we cannot for scientific purposes divide religions into true and false, or natural and supernatural, it is equally true that the science of religion has established two conclusions; that, in so far as the object of faith is concerned, religions do differ in kind; and that each race of man is characterised by its peculiar kind of religious belief. Some religions are monotheistic, others polytheistic; some are theistic, and others pantheistic. Semitic nations are more inclined to theism, Aryan nations to pantheism. Some forms of Hindu pantheism rise to a higher level than some forms of Mahommedan theism. Buddhism again is atheistic in its basis, and is thus in its divine aspect infinitely below Mahommedanism, but in its human aspect it is very much above its rival. These religions are to be looked on as advancing on parallel lines, differing in degree within themselves, rather than as all occupying the same line in different degrees.

The bearing of these facts on the question in hand is seen at once when we come to consider the land in which Mahommedanism had its rise. The birthplace of Mahommedanism is not less significant than the birthplace of Christianity. Mr Bosworth Smith draws a vivid picture of Arabia and its inhabitants, of the bracing, stimulating air of the desert, and its influence in making the inhabitants elastic and quick; of the passion for liberty, the affection for his tribe, the devotion to hospitality, the appetite for

plunder, the respect for valour, the love of poetry which characterise the true Bedouin of the desert. He also gives a brief but adequate sketch of the various religions that prevailed in Arabia; but he does not dwell on the main fact to be taken into account in a scientific treatment of the religion to which that land gave birth, that its inhabitants were Semites, uninfluenced by the ideas of other races, the only Semitic race beside the Jews that had not accepted Christianity.

Now, the Semitic race has always conceived of God as a personal ruler, a supreme will, to which the will of man must bow. Hence God is with them the ruler of the state, the giver of the law, as well as the object of worship. Polytheism with them assumed the form of a god for each nation, whom all in that nation must implicitly obey, and who in turn protected and increased that nation. This sentiment is expressed in the Moabitish Stone with regard to Chemosh as distinctly as it is in the Old Testament with regard to Jahveh. Some of the Hebrew worshippers of Jahveh conceded the power of Chemosh with regard to the neighbouring nations.[1] The worship of other gods is spoken of in the Hebrew Scriptures as the worship of gods of other nations, and had thus a political as well as a religious aspect. The Semitic nations could thus rise, or rather return, to the conception of the one God only by investing the god of their nation with the ideas of universality. This is what the Jews alone in olden times arrived at. They believed in *Jahveh* as the only *Elohim*—the Lord as the only God—and therefore they anticipated the ultimate supremacy of the Jewish kingdom, a coming universal theocracy.

The Aryan or Indo-Germanic nations, on the other hand, approached God through his works, and their polytheism took the form of deifying and worshipping the creature. They were thus led to the pantheistic conception of God as in everything, as everything; and so to regard man as partaking of the divine nature. Their mythology represented the gods as taking human forms, and heroes as being elevated to divinity. Thus with them the Fatherhood of God came to occupy a foremost place. "Father" was the natural epithet for Ζεύς with the Greeks. In the Latin term Ju-piter, the

[1] Judges xi. 24.

two words are indissolubly bound.[1] The idea of the incarnation was thus much more akin to the Aryan than to the Semitic conception of God.

But it was in a Semitic, not an Aryan, tribe that this idea became a reality. It was the Jews who gave birth to Immanuel, the fulfilment of the aspirations of Jew and Gentile, of Semite and Aryan alike. They had by their history and position been brought more into contact with Aryan nations, more exposed to the political and philosophical currents that were influencing them, than any other Semitic tribe. At the same time they had by their exclusive polity been preserved more distinct than any other tribe. While their conception of God had been that of a sovereign, they had not been without presages of his character as a father, both for the whole tribe[2] and for its head.[3] Thus the soil was prepared for the seed of a universal religion. And at last the Messiah, the universal ruler of the Jews, appeared as the God-man of the Aryans. He was the Word of God, and the Son of God. His life and death is the supreme expression of the law of the Supreme Lawgiver, that by which he will judge the world; his divine nature shews the strength in which that law can be obeyed.

But he was rejected by the Jews. Their Semitic instincts recoiled in horror from the idea of God being man—of man being anything higher than the servant of God. "For a good work we stone thee not"—Christ is here recognised as fulfilling the law—"but for blasphemy, and because that thou, *being a man, makest thyself God.*"[4] Such was the ground which led to the final rejection of their long looked-for Messiah. It is the "glory of Israel" to have produced the one instance of a faith which could satisfy all the true aspirations of all the races of mankind. It is their shame and ruin to have rejected it for themselves.

But while the rejection of Christianity by the Jews ruined them, it no doubt injuriously affected Christianity. It was appropriated by the nations of Europe from the Greeks to the Teutons, who eagerly accepted from the Jews the only realisation of their desires which transcended them. But,

[1] See Fairbairn's *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History.*
[2] Isa. i. 2, lxiii. 16; Jer. iii. 4, 14. [3] Ps. ii. 7, lxxxix. 26, 27.
[4] John x. 33.

being left without the counterpoise of Jewish influence, they impressed it with the characteristics of their own thought, and thus made it more and more one-sided. Metaphysical discussion, definition of doctrine, elaboration of creeds, assumed constantly more prominence. The relation of the Son to the Father and the nature of the Trinity formed the battle-field for various sects. Mary was declared the mother of God. Salvation was made to depend on intellectual assent to these dogmas, not on a living faith, a true sonship evidencing itself by obedience to the law of God, especially to that law as revealed in Christ. Thus Christianity became less and less suited to the Semitic nations; and though, with their old faiths worn and faded, and their political existence annihilated by the more powerful Aryan nations, the most of them did for a time accept it, yet they afterwards rejected it so completely and apparently so conclusively as almost to fill with despair the Christian who looks forward to the universal sway of his faith. There is thus scientific truth in the hopes of those who look to the conversion of the Jews as the means by which the religion of Christ is to be made universal. They may bring into prominence those elements of Christianity which most commend it to the Semitic mind. "If the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulness? For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?"[1]

Christianity, then, had lost much of its Semitic element; it had not a firm hold on the Semitic nations, and did not exercise a very elevating influence on them. There yet remained to be produced a faith which would embody the Semitic conception of God, and be tested as a religion for the Semites, and for the whole world.

There was but one land in which such a faith could spring up, and that was Arabia. It was the only Semitic country where the Semitic religion had not attempted high forms of theistic faith, or been affected by foreign influences. It was peopled with tribes mostly of Abrahamic descent. The sea and the desert had preserved it from conquest by even the

[1] Rom. xi. 12, 15.

greatest of this world's conquerors. A few caravans yearly for the purposes of merchandise were all that connected its inhabitants with the outer world, or brought them into contact with foreign ideas. They retained dim traditions of their great ancestor. His faith in the one God formed a background to the gross idolatry with which it had been overlaid. Their cult had degenerated to a worship of stones and images, representing local deities. Like all Semitic idolatry, theirs was associated with abominable cruelties. It had been developed without foreign influence, and was already falling into decrepitude. Many colonies of the Jews, driven from their native land by the destruction of Jerusalem and by the wars of Hadrian, had settled in Arabia. Christianity, too, had made a sporadic progress there; but, corrupted as it was, had not generally commended itself to the Arabs. The principal effects of contact with these two theistic religions seem to have been a revival of the Abrahamic tradition, a stirring up of the reminiscence of the one God whom he worshipped, an awakening of religious thought and inquiry. Thus the Arabs had been as much secluded from foreign relationships as the Jews had been exposed to them. The Semitic mind had among them been lying fallow for ages, and now was beginning to be disturbed by higher influences. Here, if anywhere, the Semitic idea of God was likely to germinate, to spring into a vigorous growth, and bind into a vigorous unity the scattered elements of Semitic nationality.

The hour had come, and the man came too in the person of Mahommed. I make little account of what Renan says, that Islam owes more to Abu Bakr than to Mahommed. It does so just in the same way that Christianity owes more to Paul than to Christ. It was Mahommed who gave to the new faith form and character. We cannot dissociate the faith from the prophet, nor understand it without knowing the main incidents of his life, and the main traits of his character.[1]

Mahommed was born in Mecca, on the 20th of April 575 A.D. He was of the tribe of the Coreish, one of the most powerful in Arabia. He was early left an orphan, but was well cared for by his relatives. He does not seem to have learned reading or writing; but he had great natural

[1] For a full account of Mahommed's life the best book in English is *The Life of Mahomet*, by Sir William Muir. 4 vols. Smith, Elder, & Co.

gifts, and was good at business. At the age of twelve he accompanied his uncle on a trading expedition to Syria. At the age of twenty-five he was employed by a rich widow, named Khadijah, to take charge of a similar expedition to the same land. Of this trust he acquitted himself so well that she offered him her hand. Though she was fifteen years his senior he accepted her, and they remained happily united for twenty-four years. To the day of her death he was faithful to her, and to the day of his death he cherished her memory with affection and respect. These are the principal events of Mahommed's life up to the age of forty, when he began to assume the prophetic office. His character is represented as having been singularly chaste, upright, and amiable in a land where these virtues were by no means common. "Hast thou not been loving to thy kinsfolk, kind to thy neighbours, faithful to thy word, and ever a defender of the truth?" were the words with which his wife encouraged him when he was in doubt as to his prophetic mission. Mr Smith has dwelt on those incidents which illustrate the nobility of Mahommed's character; but he is prone to gloss over those incidents which dim it. In this he has made a mistake, even for his own purpose; the shades help to bring out the lights. Mahommed was an Arab, and was not free from the faults of an Arab. Vindictiveness, cruelty, treachery, and lust were latent in his character; and though generally held in check by his better qualities, they manifested themselves on occasion, and helped to give character to the religion which he promulgated.

At about the age of forty Mahommed began to appear as a teacher and a prophet. Referring the reader to Mr Smith's work for the incidents accompanying the commencement of his prophetic career, I proceed at once to the doctrines which he taught. His first teachings were entirely pure and lofty. The great truth which had laid hold of his mind was, that there is no god but God, a righteous lawgiver and judge, who would reward the righteous and punish the wicked. The earliest suras[1] of the Koran are filled with visions of the terrors of the judgment day:—

[1] Sura is the name given to the divisions or chapters in which the Koran is written.

"On that day mankind shall be like unto moths scattered abroad,
And the mountains shall be like unto wool of divers colours carded;
Then truly, whosesoever balances are heavy,[1] he shall enter into a life of happiness,
And whosesoever balances are light, to him verily appertaineth the pit.
And what shall certify thee what the pit meaneth?
A raging FIRE!"[2]

Again—

"Woe unto the backbiter and defamer,
Unto him that heapeth up riches and numbereth them for the future!
He thinketh surely that his wealth shall be with him for ever.
Nay! for verily he shall be cast into the crushing fire;
And what shall cause thee to know what the CRUSHING FIRE is?
The Fire of God kindled,
Which shall mount above the hearts;
It shall verily rise above them as a covering
Stretched upon lofty columns."[3]

There is nothing in this doctrine which is new. The Arab religion itself had the doctrine of the one God as a background, sadly blurred indeed, yet not so obliterated as to prevent the earnest thinker clearing it from the idolatry that defaced it. A future life was believed and symbolised by the Arabs. There were also echoes of purer faiths to be heard in Arabia. The Jewish and the Christian religions had, as we have seen, their representatives there; and, sadly corrupted as they had become, were yet witnesses to the same great truths which Mahommed taught. These circumstances, together with the opportunities which he had in his journeys to Syria, quite account for his arriving at the truths which he taught. It requires no great effort to believe that hundreds among the Arabs, as among other heathen nations, had come to believe in the one true God; had "understood from the things that are made his eternal power and Godhead;" had conceived and even expressed the same truths which Mahommed uttered. He himself professed only to restore what was old.

What was it then that gave these truths as uttered by Mahommed the importance of a new revelation? What enabled him so to receive and so to utter them as to make millions accept them, because he had uttered them, and be ready to sacrifice their lives in enforcing them?

[1] That is, with good deeds.
[2] Sura ci. trans., Sir William Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 62.
[3] Sura civ. do.

I have in a previous article[1] tried to shew that there is in all men a faculty of faith, or of religion, a faculty which makes man conscious of a power and will above man's, and of his obligation to own and obey it. It cannot take the place of reason and experience in informing man as to what is true; but it enables him to grasp with power and with reality the conceptions of the unseen which he accepts. Two elements are thus to be taken into account in judging religious influence—the doctrines held, and the power of the religious faculty.

Now, Mahommed had evidently, in the highest degree of development, this religious faculty, this power of seeing the unseen, of apprehending spiritual facts, with the same realism with which sight apprehends material facts. The hundreds who, we may believe, had previously apprehended the same truths, had done so as little more than speculative fancies. Mahommed grasped them as *the* truth for himself and all mankind. All teachings that differed from it were lies to be swept away without pity. He had not the learning to enable him to distinguish how the false had come to be mingled with the true, and prove to his countrymen what they should believe. If he had been able, and tried to do so, he would have been nothing more than a philosophic teacher. But he arrived at his conclusions by another process—by the grasp which his religious faculty took of the truths that presented themselves to his mind. For him God was a more real person than any of the chiefs of Arabia. Heaven and hell surer realities than Mecca or Medina. All that sense and reason revealed to him was no more to be compared with the great truths that had possessed his soul than the mirage was to be compared with the oasis.

The same fact of a powerful religious faculty goes far to account for the effect which his teaching had. It is difficult to describe personal influence; and of all forms of influence, spiritual influence—that by which one man communicates to another the feeling of the reality of things unseen—is the most indefinable. Hence the influence which Mahommed exercised over his followers may be understood; but it cannot be fully explained in words. Yet some anecdotes are related of him which shew how he must have stood out in this

[1] See *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, January 1876.

respect. When the idolaters at Mecca began to be roused by his teaching, and found that bribes and threats were alike powerless to deter him, they expostulated with Abu Taleb, his guardian.

"Abu Taleb, in his turn, expostulated kindly with his nephew. 'Should they array against me the sun on my right hand, and the moon on my left,' said Mahommed, 'yet, while God should command me, I would not renounce my purpose'" (p. 119).

Again, when he was obliged to flee from Mecca—

"Accompanied by Abu Bakr, he fled from the assassin's knife, and took refuge on Mount Thor, a league from Mecca. For three days he lay concealed in a cavern there; the Kuraish pursuers scoured the country, thirsting for his blood. They approached the cavern. 'We are only two,' said his trembling companion. 'There is a third,' said Mahommed, 'it is God himself'" (p. 123).

These incidents shew how the religious faculty rose superior to sense. Here is another anecdote which shews how it could triumph over reason:—

"As the prophet was one day walking with his friends in the streets of the city, a woman came out, and earnestly requested him to enter her dwelling. He therefore went in, and found a large fire kindled on the hearth, with the children of his hostess warming themselves by it. After he was seated, the woman asked him, 'Who is more merciful, God or I?' 'God, certainly,' he replied. She then asked, 'Do you think it possible that I can ever have the heart to throw any of my children into this fire?' He answered, 'No.' 'Why, then,' again asked the woman, 'O prophet of Allah, does God cast his creatures into the eternal fires of hell?' The prophet wept, and then replied, 'Allah has so revealed it unto me.'"[1]

These incidents bring out the strength of the faculty of faith in Mahommed—"a power, in a certain sense, contradicted by sense and by reason, but yet a very real power; neither sense nor reason being able to overcome it, while it alone is able to overcome both reason and sense." They shew the basis of the vast influence which he exercised, the supreme reality which the doctrines he proclaimed had for his own mind, without which he could never have impressed this reality on his followers, and to which his eloquence and his political and military talents were only subsidiary aids.

[1] Wortabet, *Religions in the East*, p. 209.

And why did not such an earnest religious mind find rest in Christ? Mr Smith suggests three explanations—that the Christ known to him was the Christ, not of the Bible, but of tradition; that the worship of saints and images, and the teaching about the Trinity, contradicted his fundamental idea of the unity of God; and that he saw that Christianity had failed. All of these are true to a certain extent. Yet I cannot but think that Mahommed could not possibly have accepted Christ's teaching. It is true, indeed, as Mr Smith points out, that he speaks with great reverence of Christ, and that the Mahommedans to this day invoke peace on his head; but that is just for the same elements in his character which led the Jews at first to accept him, his good deeds and his good words, transformed in the Koran into a feeble echo of Mahommed's teaching. It is true also that the words, meaning generation and son, applied to Christ, and anathematised by Mahommed, do involve ideas of sex and physical paternity. Yet we have no reason to believe that, if Mahommed had heard his relation to the Father explained by Christ himself, he would not have joined those Jews who took up stones to stone him. The fundamental doctrine of Christ's revelation, the Fatherhood of God, was an abomination to Mahommed. The short 112th Sura—

> "Say there is one God alone—
> God the Eternal;
> He begetteth not, and he is not begotten,
> And there is none like unto him"—

is said to be equal to one-third of the whole Koran.

The Jew worshipped God as a King, with an occasional suspicion that he might be something nearer to him. The Christian worships God as the same King, whom he has discovered to be his Father. The Mahommedan worships God as the same King, whom it would be insulting to call Father, and he is ready to slay anyone who thus insults him. This supplies us with a criterion to judge of the relationship of Christianity to Mahommedanism, and shews that they are as antagonistic as it is possible for two theistic religions to be. It is of the essence of Christianity to affirm the Fatherhood of God. It is of the essence of Mahommedanism to deny the Fatherhood of God. The quarrel between Christians and Mahommedans is not, as

Mr Smith says, a quarrel between near relations, but a quarrel between sons and servants.

But let us acknowledge, at the same time, that a good servant is better than a bad son; that a king is much more honoured by faithful, earnest servants, than by rebellious, licentious sons, sons who are so only in name, without the nature and the spirit of sons. How often has it happened in earthly kingdoms that servants have had to defend the king against the outrages of unworthy sons? Thus we may quite well allow that many passages in Mahommedan history are more noble, more honouring to their faith in God, than many passages in Christian history. One insult to God's majesty, to which a large portion of Christendom has succumbed, image and picture worship, has been swept away wherever Islam has been owned. Whatever touches the absolute sovereignty of God always awakens the zeal of the true Mahommedan. When Mahommed had died, and the crowd with lamentations refused to believe that that was possible, Abu Bakr quieted them with the words, "Is it Mahommed you worship, or the God of Mahommed?"

"When the conqueror Akbah had overrun the states of Barbary from end to end, and had reached the point where the Atlantic and the Great Desert meet, it was his career only, and not his zeal, which was checked by the prospect of the ocean. Spurring, so it is said, his horse into its waves, and raising his eyes to heaven, he exclaimed, 'Oh, Allah! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship other gods than thee'" (p. 36).

In later times the Wahabees, the puritans of Islam, plundered the tomb of Mahommed at Medina, and the holy mosque at Mecca of all the gifts of Asia, and forbade pilgrimages to them, because they believed that these savoured of that idolatry which was so dishonouring to the God whom Mahommed preached.

The history of Islam teems with such incidents when the honour of God, as Almighty Lord, has roused the faithful to peril their lives for the spread of his kingdom, for the purity of his worship. I have dwelt at length on this first doctrine of the Mahommedan faith, for it is its glory. God the divine King is the truth which has given Islam its power, and specially fitted it for acceptance with the Semitic nations.

Yet, after all, it is only a half truth. There is moreover nothing in it to differentiate it from other theistic religions. But it is the differentiation that must be the test of its divine authority. It is not what is the patent teaching of natural religion, whatever intensity may be imparted to it; nor what is evidently borrowed from other religions, however that may be purified; but what is special to itself, that must be the test of any religion. "There is no god but God" is the first article of Mahommed's faith; "and Mahommed is the prophet of God" is the second and differentiating article.

Now, had Mahommed proclaimed the unity of God as his prophet, no objection could have been taken. But he, as God's prophet, proclaimed the unity of God and his own prophetic office. Thus he puts belief in his prophetic office on a par with the unity of God. According to it, a man may believe that there is no god but God; but unless he believes that Mahommed is the prophet of God, he cannot be saved. "*Hast thou not yet discovered that there is no God but the Lord alone?*" said Mahommed to Abu Sofian, the Coreishite chief, when he came to make his submission. "Noble and generous sire!" replied the other, "had there been any God beside, verily he had been of some avail to me." "*And dost thou not acknowledge that I am the prophet of the Lord?*" continued Mahommed. "Noble sire! as to this thing, there is still in my heart some hesitancy." "Woe is thee!" exclaimed Abbas, "it is no time for hesitancy this. Believe and testify at once the creed of Islam, or else thy head shall be severed from thy body."[1]

This is a position which no prophet had ever before assumed, which we could hardly conceive a true prophet assuming. With the prophets of Israel, if Jehovah was believed in, if his message was accepted, it mattered nothing whether they were accepted. They rather withdrew themselves when the message had been delivered. "He must increase, but I must decrease," were the words of the last of the prophets. Mahommed, on the other hand, has so linked his name with that of Allah as to give himself as great a place in the hearts of his followers. Christ indeed taught faith in himself as a means of salvation; but the only ground that could make such a claim valid was, that he was divine.

[1] Muir's *Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 118.

Mahommed was the first to teach that belief in one who was, and who confessed himself to be, an erring man, was essential to salvation. It is indeed as a prophet that he is to be believed in; but it is the prophet, not the prophecy, the man, not the message, that is put forward as the object of faith.[1]

This leads us to the great evidence of his prophetic office, the prophecy which he uttered, the Koran. Mr Bosworth Smith enters pretty fully into its literary merits, and comes to the conclusion that dulness is the prevailing characteristic of the book as a whole, until a minute study be made of it. This is a correct representation. The Koran is perhaps the only book that becomes livelier when read with a commentary, and that for the simple reason that it contains only the sayings of Mahommed, without any note of the circumstances in which they were spoken. Now, suppose that the only form of the gospel that we had was the sayings of Christ without any of the narrative, and thrown together without any regard to chronological order, how very different would it be in beauty and power from that which we now have! Even then it would be as much above the Koran as Christ is above Mahommed; but that may help us to understand how the Koran has suffered from its present form. Take any of the suras quoted in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, read them first in the Koran, and then as given in the narrative, and some idea of what the Koran might be will be formed.

The Koran by no means contains all the sayings of Mahommed, only those which were uttered, or supposed to be uttered, under the influence of inspiration. The inspiration sometimes came on him quietly, according to his own account, like Gabriel speaking with a friend. Sometimes it came on him like a fit: a tinkling as of a bell sounded in his ear, the sweat stood on his forehead, he fell on the ground, and the verses he had to communicate seemed written on his heart. At such times the news spread in the city or camp that inspiration had descended on the prophet, and persons hurried from all parts to be present when the fit should have passed to hear what had been revealed. The

[1] "Islam is but faith in the one prophet-king of the one God, Deity incarnate as truth, though not as essence in Mahommed."—Fairbairn, *Philosophy of Religion and History.*

revelations thus given were written down by amanuenses, and after Mahommed's death collected in the present form, without regard to chronological order, the longer suras being generally put first. There is no book that bears more marks of subjectivity than the Koran; yet Mahommed professed to be entirely passive, and merely to repeat what had been revealed to him by the angel Gabriel. In judging then of its claims to inspiration, we must look at it, not as professing to be the utterances of a highly-gifted and enlightened man, but as being the words of God communicated to him. The word "say" is understood, if not expressed, before each revelation. These communications comprise almost every variety of topic, from the sublimest description of the majesty and judgments of God to direction as to the performance of the commonest duties, forms of prayer and general orders, exhortation to courage in battle, and regulation of household affairs. Some passages are of great beauty even in a translation, though the Koran less than any other book will bear translation; but in Arabic it is recognised as the crown and standard of literary beauty. Mahommed's enemies maintained that an unlettered man like him could never have composed it. Mahommed acknowledged the impeachment, and adduced that as an evidence that it was the word of God. He made the acceptance of it as such another element of his religion. "Unbeliever in God, in his prophet, and in his book! I give thanks unto the Lord that hath slain thee, and comforted mine eyes thereby," were his words after ordering the execution of one of his enemies. He appealed to the Koran itself as the evidence of its own inspiration. This, now that the sword has fallen from its grasp, is the main evidence Mahommedanism has to fall back upon, and this is what it must be tested by.

Before looking at the further development of Mahommedanism, it will be necessary to take a glance at the events of Mahommed's life. Defective as we have seen some of his first teachings to be, there can be no doubt as to the sincerity of his convictions, or the noble fearlessness of his conduct during the first years of his prophetic career. He gained at first but few believers, and these were mostly those who knew him best—a fact which speaks volumes in Mahommed's

favour. Some opponents were convinced; but the new faith made its way only by units. Opposition was stirred up, he was threatened with death, a ban was put on him, and he was confined for three years to his own quarter of the town, and only preserved from destruction by the influence of powerful relatives. But he never quailed, or admitted any compromise with idolatry. Once only he made a small concession, but he shortly after retracted it with greater emphasis than ever, and raised the opposition to a greater height than before. Rejected by his own city, he went to the neighbouring city of Tayif, and called upon the inhabitants there in the name of God to destroy their idols. They drove him from their city with hoots and blows, and he returned wounded and weary, but with his faith in God and in his own prophetic office firm as ever. At length light arose for him. He learned that at Yathrab or Medina his doctrines were making progress. He met some of the men of that city who invited him to go thither. After seeing all his followers, who now amounted to about 150, safely away to Medina, he himself followed with Abu Bakr, one of his first converts, and the first of the caliphs. It was then that the incident of the cave already noticed took place, which brings out in such strong light Mahommed's high trust in God. This is called the Hijira or flight. It took place when Mahommed was fifty-three years old. It is the date from which Mahommedans reckon, and it is the turning point of Mahommed's career. When he arrived in Medina he found himself possessed of some civil power, which gradually increased to absolute authority. Hitherto he had been only a teacher; now he began to crystallise his teaching into a religious system, with a regular cult and administration. Hitherto he had been only a prophet; now he became also a pontiff, a prince, and a warrior.

One of the first things to which Mahommed turned his attention during his stay at Medina was the practical duties and ceremonies of his religion. Of these the four principal were alms-giving, fasting, praying, and pilgrimage. The first of these does not call for any special remarks. The second was adopted from the Jews, and in his endeavours to gain them over, he at first ordained their day of atonement as the great fast; but when it became clear

that they had rejected him, he changed it to the entire month of Ramadhan. He limited the period of fasting to the day time, allowing his followers to eat and drink during the night. At the time the fast was instituted, the Ramadhan fell in the cold season, and the hardship of the fast was not very great. But the Mahommedan lunar year being ten days shorter than the solar year, the fast changes season, and when it falls in the hot season is very trying. Still it is religiously observed in all the countries where the Mahommedan faith prevails.

Mahommed's directions for prayer are quite the opposite of Christ's. Christian prayer is the communing of a son with a father. Mahommedan prayer is the reverence of a subject to a king. Christ directed his disciples to pray in secret to their Father who saw in secret, with the purification of forgiving aught that they had against their brethren. Mahommed directed his followers to pray in public, according to a set form, with the purification of bodily lustration. At first he adopted the Jewish custom of turning towards Jerusalem; but when his attempts to gain the Jews had failed, he turned towards the sacred city of the Arabs. The great temple, the Kaabah of Mecca, became the Kiblah[1] of the Mussulmans. And to this day, throughout the Mussulman lands, when the five times of prayer come round, and the muezzin from the minaret shouts the summons to prayer, the devout Mussulman, wherever he may be, however he may be engaged, turns his face towards Mecca, and repeats the prescribed forms, with the prescribed prostrations, as a duty which he dare not omit, and without which he can hope for no blessing on his life; but as a form which he generally does not understand, and without letting it have any influence on his daily conduct. If he has any boon to ask of God, he presents his petition at the close of the time of prayer in his own language.

Pilgrimages were also an adaptation from the usages of the Arabs, who were wont to make yearly pilgrimages to Mecca. They were not fully developed till he had conquered Mecca. But now they are another means of binding together

[1] The Kiblah is properly the black stone in the Kaabah, towards which all the worshippers in that temple turns. The Kaabah is for the Mahommedan world what the Kiblah is for the Kaabah.

all Islam, each of whose members hopes at least once in his life to visit the sacred city. These, with the institution of Friday as the holy day of the week, and some festivals, are the principal outer forms of the Mahommedan religion. They are all of a tendency to make religion a dry, dead form, if they be not filled with a living spirit; so we now turn to look at the new spirit which Mahommed infused into Islam, which impelled it onward in a career of victory, and gives it what nerve it has at the present hour.

Mahommed, after settling at Medina, began a system of petty warfare against the Coreish of Mecca who had rejected his claims, trying to stop their caravans and injure their property. This gradually developed into war of a more serious character, which ended by Mecca being subdued, and Mahommed becoming virtual master of all Arabia. It was during this period that the vindictiveness, cruelty, and craft of Mahommed's character appeared. Mr Smith seeks to minimise the charges thus brought against him, and offers some extenuations and explanation of those which cannot be defended. Yet I cannot think that he has found the true key to the inconsistencies of Mahommed's conduct.

Vindictiveness and craft were traits of Arabic character, and they were so in Mahommed's; but their motive was different in him from what it was in other Arabs. In them they were excited by injuries to their persons or their families; in Mahommed by insults to Allah and his faith. Mahommed we have seen to be a man in whom the spiritual faculty was developed to the very highest degree, for whom God was the only enduring reality. Those personal or family relationships that were of supreme importance to his countrymen were of inferior importance to Mahommed. Those divine and spiritual relationships that scarcely existed for the Arabs were of consuming importance for Mahommed. Hence, when he was touched by what would have roused their fury, he remained quiet, equable, forgiving. When it was a question of the honour of Allah, or his own prophetic mission—topics that for the Arabs were utterly incomprehensible—his Arab nature asserted itself; his vindictiveness, cruelty, craft, burst forth with a power as little to be restrained by those considerations that weighed with his countrymen as they were to be excited by them. In the earlier stages of

his career this spirit manifested itself only by the curses he invoked on those who opposed him :—

> "Damned be Abu Lahab's hands ; and let himself be damned !
> His riches shall not profit him, nor that which he hath gained.
> He shall be cast into the fire of flame,
> And his wife also laden with fuel ;
> About her neck shall be a rope of palm-fibre !" [1]

But when the victory at Badr put the power of the sword into his hand, he carried his threats into practical effect with a fury that seemed to shew that every atom of human pity or sympathy had left his soul. When Ocba, one of the prisoners at Badr, was ordered out for execution, he asked why he should be treated more rigorously than the other captives. "Because of thy enmity to God and to his prophet," replied Mahommed. "And my little girl!" cried Ocba, in the bitterness of his soul, "who will take care of her?" "Hell fire!" exclaimed the heartless conqueror; and on the instant his victim was hewn to the ground.[2]

The cases in which he behaved thus towards the Arabs were, however, comparatively few. It was towards the Jews that he shewed the most bitter enmity, and whom he visited with the most wholesale vengeance. All the males of one tribe, the Bani Coreitza, he massacred in cold blood, after they had surrendered on the faith of being spared; and if he did not treat thus all the Jews in Arabia, it was only because political considerations and the remonstrances of his followers and allies were too strong for him. The cause of his special enmity to the Jews requires to be examined. This was, I believe, their rejection of him as their promised Messiah. There is a prophecy uttered by Moses, quoted by Peter—and it is Peter's quotation that is current among the Mahommedans, as it applies with more detailed accuracy to Mahommed than Moses' original utterance—"A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me ; him shall ye hear in all things."[3] To this it is added in Peter's quotation, "And it shall come to pass, that every soul, which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people." It may be that this version was known to Mahommed, and that he thought that in destroying the Jews he was fulfilling prophecy. At all

[1] Muir, vol. ii. p. 80. [2] Muir, vol. iii. p. 117. [3] Acts iii. 22, 23.

events, I have found in Mahommedan controversy an argument advanced that the prophecy referred to Mahommed and not to Christ, to the effect, that whereas Christ did not destroy any that rejected him, Mahommed did destroy those that rejected him.

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt as to the principle that guided Mahommed's displays of vindictiveness and cruelty—the honour of Allah, and his own mission as prophet of Allah, not any personal or family insults. It was the grandeur of the individual tainted by the weakness of the tribe. That same power which raised Mahommed to a pinnacle above the weaknesses and vices of his fellow-countrymen succumbed to them itself. Mahommedanism was stamped with the virtues of Mahommed and the vices of the Arab. For the spirit of the leader was imparted to the followers. Islam became a vast brotherhood, within which no vengeance was to be felt, to all beyond which no respect or ruth was to be shewn. The Moslems were servants of God. Anything done in his service was justifiable; nothing done against it could be excused or forgiven. Hence the difference of sentiment between the Mussulmans and the Coreish as they marched to the battle of Badr. The latter mourned at the thought of fighting against kinsmen and countrymen; the former exulted in the prospect of shewing their devotion to Allah and his prophet by smiting the nearest of their brethren. "Ah," said Nadhr, a Coreish prisoner, to Musab, a Mussulman conqueror, "had the Coreish made thee a prisoner, they would never have put thee to death!" "Even were it so," Musab scornfully replied, "I am not as thou art; Islam hath rent all bonds asunder."

"Islam hath changed hearts" came to be almost a proverb in the first years of its progress, and this its opponents soon found. Its followers had given up their hearts and services to a Master, compared with whom any earthly leader was nothing, the King of kings and Lord of lords, whose very words they heard through his friend the prophet; whose rewards were high as heaven, whose vengeance was deep as hell; who had inevitably fixed for each one the hour of victory or of defeat, of triumph or of death. They marched to battle with the assurance, that if they fell in fighting for

the faith, the sins of a whole life would be forgiven, and they would the next moment be waited on by the houris of paradise. This spirit stimulated them under victory, sustained them under defeat. This brought Mahommed back in triumph to Mecca after eight years of exile, when he swept the city clear of all the idols which it had worshipped; this made him victorious, and destroyed the idols throughout Arabia, and ere his death, bowed the hearts of the Arabs as one man to him and to Allah, whose prophet he was. This spirit, after his death, carried on his disciples in their career of conquest, overthrew other faiths and empires, and carried consternation throughout Christendom. This is the spirit which now in its decadence is still looked to as the rallying power by the true followers of Islam.

The sword was thus sanctioned as an instrument of spreading Islam, and as an evidence of the divine mission of Mahommed. Previous prophets had been sent with signs and miracles. Mahommed was sent with the sword, alike the argument and the proof. The sword is not indeed the first or the sole argument of Islam. The Koran is before it. Many of the idolatrous tribes who conquered Islam were conquered by its faith; but when they had accepted it, it put the sword into their hand to spread and to enforce it.

This is a point which must be remembered in dealing not only with the Turks, but with the Mahommedans in general. Mr Gladstone, in his eloquent pamphlet on the Bulgarian atrocities, speaks of the Turks as being distinguished for their barbarism and cruelty alike from the chivalrous Saracens of Syria and the mild Mussulmans of India. Now, the "mild Mussulmans of India" have perpetrated horrors fully as horrible as those of Bulgaria. The influence of the Hindus had soon some effect in making them milder than they originally were; but every revival of Mahommedan spirit was accompanied with a revival of oppression and cruelty. Kind, truthful, forgiving to all within Islam; oppressive, treacherous, cruel to all without Islam—such was the character of Mahommed, and such is the character of his religion, alike in its principles and spirit. These may be latent, but they will burst forth on occcasion and provocation, the more surely the more firmly the religion has hold on the people.

One other point remains to be considered before concluding, and that is the position assigned to woman by Mahommedanism. Among the many speculations as to what might have been, none is more interesting than the question, what influence Mahommedanism might have had on the position of woman if Khadijah, Mahommed's first wife, had been spared to his death. While she lived he kept himself to her alone; and if the millions who have accepted his faith had had to look back on the example of their prophet as one who had chastely loved and cherished one wife, its influence on them would have been incalculably elevating and purifying. But after her death he broke all bounds, and his influence has been as baneful as it might have been beneficial. While he restricted his followers to four wives, he himself took nine, besides one or two concubines. Some of his marriages seem to have been prompted by political considerations; but in general they were matters of inclination. There are two cases that require special notice, as Mr Bosworth Smith has in dealing with them most curiously missed the point of the charge against Mahommed. In the case of Zeinab, the wife of his adopted son Zeid, the guilt of Mahommed's conduct is not that he married the wife of his adopted son after she was divorced, but that he cast the eye of desire on the wife of any other man whatsoever, that he used words to betray his passion and excite hers in return, that the divorce became necessary as a means to enable him to indulge his unhallowed desire. So too in the case of Miriam, Mahommed's guilt lay not in his marrying a Christian, which he had not done, not even in having her as a slave and concubine, but in defrauding his lawful wives for her, and when their indignation was roused, promising to abstain, and then, unable to restrain his inclinations, breaking through his promise. Such weakness we might condone in Mahommed, who professed to be nothing more than a mere man; but it is the God of Mahommed who is degraded, and who shews himself to be nothing better than a man. David was guilty of a greater sin than any Mahommed was guilty of; but when the voice of his God was heard in his case, it was with stern reproof of his crime. Mahommed, not venturing on his own authority to despise the opinions of the Arabs in the case of Zeinab, pro-

duced a revelation from God commanding him to take her. Not venturing to break his promise to his wives in the case of Miriam on his own authority, he produced a revelation from God authorising him to do so, and threatening divorce to his wives if they murmured. Mr Smith is of opinion that in this he was not guilty of conscious imposture. Possibly not; but in that case what was the worth of his consciousness?

The example of Mahommed, the licence which he conceded to his followers of having four wives, with every facility for divorce, the sanction of slavery and concubinage, have lowered woman wherever Islam has spread. In the land in which it originally sprang it was not so. There the new faith put a stop to female infanticide, mitigated slavery, and did something towards raising woman in the social scale. Yet even there, by giving the sanction of religion to the modified position which it assigned to woman, it has prevented her rising any higher. In the more civilised lands in which it afterwards spread it proved an unmitigated curse to her. Even in India the Hindus assign the influence of Mahommedanism as the cause of the degraded condition of women in that land, compared with that which, as their old classics shew, was once assigned to them. Polygamy may not be universal, not even common, among the better classes of Mahommedans; but that only proves that they are better than their religion. There can be no legislative enactment against it where that religion prevails.

I cannot therefore allow, as Mr Smith says, that "what Mahommed could do for women he did." What he could do in another direction is shewn by his prohibition of the use of intoxicating drink, which has made Mahommedanism, wherever it has spread, a power for sobriety. Had he enjoined respect for women and attachment to one wife, enforcing it by personal example, he might have done as much for raising woman as he has done for debasing her.

There are many other topics connected with the subject which it would be interesting to discuss if space allowed. But we have looked at enough to guide us in an estimate of the position and value of Mahommedanism as a religion. It is an approach to Christianity in so far as it affirms one part of Christian truth—that God is a King, a Sovereign

ruler, in submission to whose will man finds the truest peace. It is a foe to Christianity in so far as it denies the other part of Christian truth — that that divine King is our heavenly Father, of which truth Christ is the pledge; that we are his children, prodigal children it may be, yet for whom there is always the possibility of saying, "I will arise, and will go to my Father." Christianity thus assigns a far higher dignity to human nature than Mahommedanism does; and, in so doing, has fixed an impassable gulf between the two faiths. Christianity will never recognise Mahommed as "a prophet, a very prophet of God," till it has renounced the prayer, "Our Father which art in heaven."

But in rejecting the Fatherhood of God, especially in the one-sided development of that doctrine which had obtained in the Christian Church, it made itself more acceptable to the Semitic nations. It made religion a power with them, when the older faith had lost its power; and made them a power in the world, when the older faith would have confirmed their vassalage. It is these nations that have been the backbone of Islam, the true centre of its power. It has indeed been accepted by other races; but not with the same heartiness, nor with the same beneficial result. The only Aryan nation that Mahommedanism has subjected, the Persian, has been lowered rather than elevated thereby. Many of the heathen tribes of Africa have accepted the religion of Arabia, and cast their idols away. It is only to be expected that, coming among them as a higher faith, it should thus commend itself, and have this result. But it is altogether a mistake to represent it as, on that account, better adapted for gaining uncivilised tribes than Christianity when properly offered. No tribes have accepted Mahommedanism so thoroughly or entirely as the South Sea Islanders and Malagaseys have accepted Christianity. It is in being a religion adapted to the Semitic nations that the strength of Mahommedanism lies — in giving a plain law to be obeyed, instead of teaching relationships to be cherished; in proclaiming God as absolute Sovereign of the universe, instead of the Father of the whole family in heaven and in earth.

Yet even as a Semitic religion it is a failure, and a failure just because it is a Semitic religion. The facts of human

nature are above those of Semitic nature, as they are above the special facts of any race whatever. A race which has no higher ideal before it than a special creation of its own must ultimately fall in the scale of humanity. In not recognising man's Sonship, it has virtually deadened the power of conscience, and prevented its votaries being raised to a higher standard, or even confirming its own decrees by an appeal to conscience. "I speak as unto wise men, judge ye what I say," is an appeal that could never be addressed by Mahommedan religion. It thus falls short of the standard of an enlightened conscience. It has enforced the sovereign claims of God to obedience; but it has failed to appreciate his moral character. It represents God as the merciful and compassionate; but that is conjoined with orders to exterminate those who do not accept this truth. God is the righteous judge; but death in battle for the faith will atone for a life of breaking God's law. It has injured the whole human race by the position which it has assigned to one-half of it—to woman.

While recognising then the power with which it has enforced many moral duties, and brought under the power of the world to come nations which other religions had failed to bring, we must yet maintain that it is an inferior morality which it has enforced, a defective and therefore false principle of worship which it has encouraged. And is there no hope that these nations may rise to something higher? Are we to accept the non-progressiveness of a large portion of the human race as an ultimate fact? Is not religion itself one of the chief factors in human progress or retrogression?

The race and the religion no doubt act and react on one another. Stationary Mahommedan nations must always remain; but is it impossible that Mahommedan nations can ever accept a better religion? Shall the Semitic nations never accept the truth of the Fatherhood of God, which a Semitic nation alone has authoritatively given to the world? These are questions which the future only can answer. Of one thing we may be sure—If Mahommedanism is to be supplanted by Christianity, it must be by a form of Christianity purer than itself—not less pure; not by a form of Christianity such as that which it overthrew in the lands where it pre-

vailed, but by one which will return most nearly to the undefiled springs of faith, to Christ himself, and will so present God the Father as to commend him as God the King to those nations who have worshipped him as such. Meanwhile it is the duty of Christ's disciples to take an example from the Mussulmans themselves—to obey implicitly the command of their Master, and to preach the gospel to every creature, to Mussulmans when they can as well as to others.

JOHN ROBSON.

ART. II.—*Genesis, and its First Four Chapters.*

THE book of Genesis is the first of the five books commonly ascribed to Moses, and from their number called the Pentateuch, or fivefold volume. It is a book of the highest interest and importance. We are indebted to it for all our knowledge of primitive history and theology for upwards of two thousand years. It contains the Divine answer to the whole range of moral and religious questions which can be put respecting the foundation of the universe and the world and the church; and however philosophers and *savans* may affect to despise it—for it never occupies itself with what properly belongs to the domain of science—it satisfactorily fulfils its own distinctive object; and, in short, it is, as it has always been regarded, one of the most valuable portions of holy Scripture. Calvin says that it is "an incomparable treasure," "a book which alone reveals those things that are of primary necessity to be known;" while again Luther says, "Nothing is more beautiful, nothing more useful, than the book of Genesis." He spent the last ten years of his life in writing a commentary upon it, which he concluded with the tenderly affecting words: "This is now the dear book of Genesis. I have finished it. May our Lord God grant that others may do it better than I have done. I can no more, I am so weak. Pray to God for me, that he may grant me a good, holy, happy last hour."

The character of the book as a history raises a question respecting the sources from which its author derived his

information. Is the book one of pure and simple revelation, an immediate communication from heaven, imparted in some way or other, it matters not how, for publication in this peculiar form? or is it, in the true and proper sense, a history written under inspiration, but at the same time composed like other histories from oral tradition, or ancient documentary memoranda, or other vouchers of historical value? The question does not involve any denial of the fact that not a few explicit revelations are embodied in the book. It simply bears upon the point, whether the book is in the ordinary sense historical or not, that is to say, whether its historical authenticity depends in any way or to any extent on human testimony, or whether it is throughout a divine history—a history authenticated, not by human vouchers, but by the divine testimony of the Holy Spirit, and by that testimony alone.

Now, we may say at once that we believe in the properly historical character of the book, that it is as much a history as any other history we possess, and that the materials of which it is composed were gathered and put together by Moses in precisely the same way which is pursued by other historians in the collection and preparation of their materials. Those who have closely examined the book allege that they have discovered in it evidences of compilation from pre-existent records; and, although the statement when first made may be somewhat startling, there are various considerations which render it not improbable, to say the least, that Moses did gather much of his information—perhaps even the first chapter which, as evidently pre-historical, must be allowed to have formed the subject of an immediate revelation to Adam or some other, if not to himself—from old patriarchal compositions or traditions. We cannot suppose that man was placed on the earth in ignorance of his own origin, or of the origin of the creatures by which he is surrounded, and of which he is at once the crown and glory. Doubtless Adam was well instructed in the history of creation; and it is most unlikely that he should have withheld this knowledge from his family, or that they should have failed to transmit it in some way or other to their posterity. We know that Abraham was the instructor as well as the governor of his household, and that the fathers

possessed supernatural revelation, so that there is nothing incredible in the idea of Moses obtaining the materials of his history from authentic tradition or ancient records. In a somewhat recent anonymous work on the anthropology of the Bible, entitled *Primeval Man Unvailed* (p. 22), an ingenious and by no means eccentric argument in favour of this view is built on the reference in the gospel-song of Zacharias to the Old Testament predictions of the Messiah "spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets which have been since the world began." "Since the world began!" The reference is most suggestive. Who were those prophets? Was not Enoch one of them? And is it unreasonable to suppose that Adam and Seth and Noah and Shem and others were also of the number? And if so, can we believe that they left behind them no authentic memoirs, in the form of family and other chronicles, or at least oral narratives, to be handed down from father to son, so that they might "shew to the generation to come the praises of the LORD, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done; that the children which should be born should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God"? It is certain that there are geographical references in the old ethnology of the tenth chapter which appear to be of pre-Mosaic date, or of at least a contemporary date with Abraham, as when "the border of the Canaanites" is said to have been "from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar and Gaza; as thou goest unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim" —cities those which would not be named in any Mosaic geography as if they then existed, or in any but an old Abrahamic, or even pre-Abrahamic, geography. On these and other grounds the author in question argues that at least the earlier portions of Genesis were composed out of other books by Adam, Seth, Noah, and Shem; and that in this way Moses was perhaps even more a compiler than an author in their publication. It may be added, that the idea of Moses being indebted to the patriarchs for the materials of his history was held by Calvin,[1] Vitringa,[2] and others, who had no conception of the destructive processes and

[1] Vide *Commentary on Genesis*, vol. i. p. 58.

[2] Vide *Obs. Sac.* i. c. 4, quoted in Speaker's *Commentary*, vol. i. p. 21.

results of modern criticism, living as they did long before these were so much as broached. And it ought to be still further added, that such a view cannot be fairly said to interfere with either the Mosaic authorship or the divine inspiration of the history. A history does not cease to be the production of its writer because it contains quotations and extracts from the various documents out of which it has been composed. Neither does inspiration infringe upon either the ordinary conditions of book-making, or the literary acquirements of its various writers. Instead of that, it perfectly concurs with these things, so that its product is both divine and human—as thoroughly divine as if it were not human, and as thoroughly human as if it were not divine. This we believe to be the true character of Genesis. If we be asked how it can be both divine and human, we frankly say that the question belongs to a much higher philosophy than anything we know. "God understandeth the way thereof." Let us leave it with him. *That* is a good aphorism of John Locke's: "It is well for a man to know the length of his tether, and he should not attempt to go beyond it."

We shall not say much about the theory, of which so much is made by modern rationalistic authors, that at least two distinct works or documents written by different authors—in one of which the Divine Being receives the name God, and in the other the name Jehovah—have been pieced together with more or less of care in different places, so as to form this one volume or book of Genesis. The champions of the theory are all at variance with one another respecting the application of it. They cannot, even any two of them, agree "to redd the marches," as one has said, when they try to individualise the documents; and certainly the unity of the book, together with its completeness, is entirely broken up when any attempt of the kind is made. Besides, the plan of the book, which is throughout so orderly and so perfect in all its parts, is quite against it. There must be another way, "a more excellent way," of accounting for the use of the two names; and, when fairly investigated, this will be found in the difference of their meaning or specific ideal reference. All the names of God in Genesis and throughout the Bible are significant, and hence there is no arbitrary or promiscuous use of them, as very much

obtains with us; they are uniformly used of purpose, with a definite meaning and with as definite a bearing; they are, in fact, distinct names by which faith expresses itself according to the standing-point which it occupies in divine fellowship, or according to the revelation of the Divine Being in which it approaches to him. At any rate, when the meaning of the two particular names, separately used in Genesis, is investigated in the original, the one name is found to carry in its use a historical element, and the other a prophetical; the first, God, the Strong One, rather viewing him as Creator, or in connection with the origin and existence of our race, and having therefore more of a natural universalism in its reference; and the second, Jehovah, the "He shall be," "the Coming One," or in its ultimately developed fulness, the "I am that I am," the "Who is, and who was, and who is to come," rather viewing him as Redeemer, or in connection with the goal and destiny of our race, and having therefore more of a mediatorial particularism in its reference. We believe that the various use of the two names in Genesis may be satisfactorily explained according to this interpretation, and that it goes to prove the unity rather than any diversity of authorship; and, at all events, when we turn away from the dissections of a mere word-anatomy to view the life-embodied integrity of the book itself, we entirely homologate the conclusion of one of its best expositors:—

"There is a completeness about it, an epic roundness, with beginning, middle, and end, and with a marvellous adaptation and subordination of seeming episodes to the onward march of the plot, that I confess would rather question the unity of the Æneid, on the score of such inter ludes as that of Nisus and Euryalus, or the unity of Hamlet, on the score of the grave-digging scene, than I would deny to this book of Genesis the unity of a sole and single authorship, not to speak of a sole and single divine inspiration."[1]

The plan of the book may now be shewn to be characterised by the utmost precision of orderly arrangement. It is made up of eleven sections, each of them a complete chapter in itself, with its own narrative or story distinctly elaborated into a perfect whole. The first of these sections stands apart from all the rest. It is the prefatory chapter of the entire volume. The remaining ten sections are easily

[1] Candlish on *Genesis*, vol. ii. p. 350.

distinguished by the formula employed as the heading of each of them. This formula, which is the same, or nearly the same in every case, "These are the generations," is the heading, not of a mere genealogy, as is commonly supposed —in some cases there is no genealogy whatever—but of a regular history, comprising genealogies no doubt in several of them, but at the same time branching out, at least generally, into individual biography, and family and other memoirs. It requires to be added, that the various sections which are headed by it are again divisible into two with five of the sections in each, and that these two main sections form two distinct periods of history, which may be distinguished as the primeval and patriarchal periods. The first, the primeval period, extends from Adam to Terah, and contains within its sphere the history of the human race till the earth was peopled by the sons of Noah. The second, the patriarchal period, extends from Terah to Jacob, and contains the history of the Abrahamic covenant in preparation for the establishment of the Old Testament kingdom of God among the twelve tribes of Israel. The history of both periods forms the divine introduction, in which also is provided the divine key to the whole history, theology, and prophecy of the Bible, with its messages of salvation for universal humanity. In the first half of it, which, notwithstanding its brevity, really contains the half of the world's history, we have the record of three dispensations, so to speak, each of which is distinguished by the establishment of a new economy at its commencement, and the catastrophe of a great apostasy at its conclusion.[1] There is first the Edenic dispensation, with its covenant of life in connection with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil onwards to the fall. There is next the Adamic dispensation, with its promise of grace in connection with the woman's seed onwards to the flood. And then again there is the Noachic dispensation, with its renewal of the old creation grants in connection with the covenant of the rainbow, onwards to the Babel-dispersion of the nations. In the second half of the

[1] Is there here any parallelism or analogy to what is said to be seen in the primordial perfection and succeeding degeneration of the great geological epochs?

book of Genesis, which is distinct from the first, though closely linked on to it, opening the second half of the world's history, we have the record of what was only the first in a new series of analogous dispensations, and was followed by other two dispensations, the historical and prophetical development of which occupies the remaining books of Scripture. First, there is the Abrahamic or patriarchal dispensation, with its covenants of promise onwards through the latter part of Genesis to the idolatry and slavery in Egypt, with which the book of Exodus begins. Then there is the Mosaic or Levitical dispensation, with its covenants at Sinai and Horeb onwards through the following history and prophecy of the Old Testament to the moribund Pharisaism and Sadduceeism of its dissolution. Then again there is the Christian, or as we commonly call it, the New Testament dispensation, with the covenant of grace in the plenary exhibition of its fulfilment, as we have it in the New Testament, onwards through all the remaining ages of the church's history to the greatest apostasy of all in the last days. And then finally, after all these successive dispensations, there is yet to be another, the seventh and last, the final Sabbatic dispensation, which like the seventh-day Sabbath, will have no "evening" or "morning," no end whatever to all eternity; and in which the glorious issue of these remedial dispensations will be entirely realised with God and man together in the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness, and in the perfected unity of the mediatorial fellowship in Christ, and with Christ for ever and ever. Plainly and most justly may it be said of Genesis, for at present we do not go beyond it, that in its orderly development and completeness, it possesses such evident marks of unity as prove it to be the production of a single mind, a single author.

The pre-historical period of the book and the first section of the primeval period are perhaps the most difficult of interpretation, and therefore worthy of proportionately thoughtful examination. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to them.

I. THE PRE-HISTORICAL PERIOD is embraced in the first chapter and the first three verses of the second chapter of the book. Properly it alone is entitled to be called the book of

"Genesis." The chapters which follow it form the books of the "Generations," as they are distinctively and correctly called.

It is usual to say that it relates the history of the creation; but the statement is not quite accurate, at least the chapter can only be called in an improper sense a history.

For first of all, history is the record of what has taken place in regular temporal succession within the range of human knowledge; it follows "genesis;" it relates "generations," transactions, events, in their actual order and development; and hence the historical heading of all the following chapters of the book, "These are the generations"; whereas here we have nothing to this effect, no historical "These are the generations"; but simply, in so far as it may be said to describe the proper genesis of creation, an account of what took place within the sphere of divine knowledge before the period of "generations"; and therefore ideas and principles and interpretations, which are distinctively historical, are quite out of place in connection with it.

Then again, the whole chapter is dramatic in its form and structure, and therefore to this extent artificial. This mainly appears in a distinctly marked dualism or parallelism in the arrangement of the six creative days which, like the six petitions in our Lord's prayer, forms two triads or groups of three, antiphonous or analogous to one another. First there is the triad of the light, and the firmament with its waters above and below, and the dry land with its clothing of universal vegetation. Then there is its counterpart or tally in the triad of the luminaries of heaven which dwell in light; the fishes which the waters bring forth abundantly, with the birds which fly above in the open firmament of heaven; and lastly, the terrestrial animals, the beasts which are made to be, with man, the inhabitants of the green dry land. It is hardly possible to deny that here we have an artistic kind of composition, a style of representation which, taken in connection with the parabolical way in which God is said to have spoken and acted at the various evolutions of the creative process, must be allowed to be, in point of structural form, dramatic or picturesque, to say the least, rather than historical.[1]

[1] In his *Biblical Studies on the Old Testament*, p. 121, Godet attempts to throw some doubt on the symmetry of this parallelism; but at the same time

Then in the next place, the representation of the chapter is unquestionably apocalyptic. It is a revelation—a revelation of the past, as the Apocalypse of John to which it answers in this respect is of the future; and in connection with this it may be said to form the clasp by which the Scriptures are held together in their unity as a single volume. How it was imparted as a revelation, we cannot positively determine; it may have been in a vision-scene, as in other apocalypses of Scripture; but at all events, whether in this way or in another, the key to its cipher as apocalyptic must be sought for in no naturally historical, but in a distinctively religious interpretation.

And then once more, its representation of creation is generic and categorical rather than specific and individual. Certainly it is not a completed production of individual creatures which it relates, this is related in the following creation chapter; but it is the creation of the genus, the production of kinds, tribes, families in their zoological sequence or development according to the divine order; for the fruits of the earth are described in connection with their growth, the lights of heaven in connection with their uses, the fishes, birds, beasts—all of them, in their general rather than their individual relations; and therefore more as typical than historical, more as potential than real, or more in connection with the divine plan and purpose as projected into current than perfected in past history, so to speak.

Now the consideration of these things should relieve us very much, if not altogether, of the difficulties—insoluble difficulties, some would call them—by which the interpretation of this chapter is surrounded. Those difficulties are chiefly originated by the antagonism or conflict which is supposed to exist between its teachings and the findings of science respecting the processes of creation. But if this chapter does not contain a history of creation in the human

he seems to admit that there is the parallelism. This was noticed long ago by Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol. Pars. Prins., Quæst.* 74, *Conclus.* It was also noticed by the late Mr Macdonald of Edinkillie, *Creation and Fall*, p. 266; and more particularly in *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, by Mr Rorison, in his *Creative Week*, pp. 278, 297, 333, 338. See also Quarry, *Genesis and its Authorship*, p. 22, shewing how it serves to indicate the non-historical character of the chapter.

sense of history, why should we perplex ourselves with any difficulties of the kind? Let science examine as it may into the processes of creation, we have in this apocalyptic representation no account of them; we have only that which it is not the immediate business of science to investigate, the divine element in those processes, the divine hand in the universal phenomena of nature as planned, ordered, and produced by the immediately creative fiat of God himself. And hence our business in the study of the chapter is to obtain from it, not the wisdom of the world or the philosophy of science, we may obtain *that* otherwise, but the knowledge of God as the one Creator of all things, past, present, and to come; it is, in short, to take the chapter, as we take every other chapter of the Bible, not for scientific, but for spiritual purposes, that is, not to make us sages, but to make us saints, as in a world which wholly belongs to God, and every being and thing in which should accordingly be sanctified to God.

The plan of the chapter is very simple. It is divisible into four parts, which we shall simply articulate as they stand, and in their own phenomenal mode of apocalyptic representation.

The first part relates with matchless simplicity the creation of the universe, "the heaven and the earth," dating it, so to speak, before all dates in the ever-receding past, and ascribing it immediately to God, to "Elohim," as in the original, or literally "Gods," the three-one God as some would wish to explain it, or rather, according to the Hebrew use of such a plural, the one God in the infinite perfection or inexhaustible resources of his fulness. At all events this name, the Creator-name in the entire scope and reference of its natural universalism, is exclusively and at the same time most appropriately applied to him throughout the chapter.

The second part describes, in few but expressive words, the aboriginal condition of the earth as without light, without order, and without life; that is, as destitute of day, beauty, and inhabitant.

The third part relates the successive stages of development in the six days' symmetrical disposition of the heavens and the earth. From this part of the record in connection with the expression of divine complacency, "And God saw that it was good," which is not repeated every day, but just as each step in the process is completed, whether this is seldomer

or oftener than once a-day—on two occasions it is twice a-day —we learn how the previously-existing chaos is remedied. I. Light is made. No preparation, no process, is required for its creation. It is made at once, "And God saw that it was good." II. Order is established, but not like light as an instantaneous product of creative power. It is a work of time. It takes three days, and it has three stages of development, which are not however identical with the days. (1) The adjustment of the waters in the formation of heaven and earth and seas, "And God saw that it was good." (2) The development of vegetation over the dry land, "And God saw that it was good." (3) The appointment of the heavenly bodies to be instruments of light and measures of duration, "And God saw that it was good." III. Finally, life is called into being—(1) in the creation of the fishes and birds, "And God saw that it was good"; (2) in the creation of the beasts, "And God saw that it was good"; and (3) in the creation of man, the crown and consummation of the entire creation. And now the chaos is no more. Light has dispelled the darkness. Order has rectified the want of form or beauty. Life in teeming plentitude fills up the void. The creation is perfected. The Creator is well pleased; and his pleasure, as at its height, is announced with a peculiar emphasis, "And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good."[1]

The fourth and final part of the chapter chronicles the rest of God on the seventh day, with his institution of the Sabbath in commemoration of it. This part is so far peculiar that, while it is said to spread over a day, this day is not said to have had, like the other days, either an evening or a morning, or any boundary at all.

And here we may advert to the question of the creative days with which the Sabbath is so intimately connected. It is unnecessary to say that by different interpreters those days have been very differently measured. Some insist on their being natural days of twenty-four hours each. Others make them out to be prophetical days, each of them the prospectus of a millennium, and the whole together of the seven millennia of the world. Others identify them with geological periods of indefinite duration, of many thousand

[1] *Vide* Dr Candlish on *Genesis*, vol. i. pp. 22–29.

ages of duration. How are we to decide between these varying views? Turn from the interpreters to the record itself. First of all, it appears from the original that the days are not said to be temporally successive in order or succession, nor is the relation between them and the various parts of the creation very particularly expressed. Their enumeration is of the most general kind:—"There was evening, and there was morning, day one," "day second," "day third," "day fourth," "day fifth;" and it is only on the next day in the series that the definite expression is employed, "day *the* sixth." Plainly this is indicative of something singular. Josephus takes notice of the singularity, and promises to explain afterwards how Moses should have said "day one," not "the first day;" but unfortunately the promise never seems to have been fulfilled, only it plainly enough appears that he understood the expression to be parabolical, or perhaps, to use his own word, "enigmatical."[1] Then turn to an examination of the days themselves. Take the first day in the series. One thing is plainly to be gathered from it. It is not meant to be measured by the apparent revolution of the sun and moon; for there then appeared to be neither sun nor moon in the creation. It was unquestionably pre-historical to sun and moon; and why should it be identified with the measurement of a day in our human chronological notation. It was a day to God only, for none but himself was there; and are his days as our days? Or take the last day in the series, the seventh day, the Sabbath day, without "evening and morning," the foreshadow of that day of days when "the sun shall no more go down, neither shall the moon withdraw itself;" "the day of the LORD," which "shall be as one day," "as the days of heaven," "no night there," for "at evening time it shall be light," "the light sevenfold as the light of seven days." Again, most plainly it was a day to God, "God's day;" and therefore, like every day as well as everything in this most singular divine record, a typical rather

[1] He says, "This was in truth the *first* day. But Moses said it was day *one*, the reason of which I am able to explain at once; but as I have promised to set forth the reasons of all such things in a separate treatise, I shall postpone it till then."—*Antiq.* Book i. ch. i. § 1. This promise of an explanation of the "enigmatical" and "the allegorical" is contained in the concluding paragraph, section 4, of the immediately preceding preface.

than an actual day. In short, whether we take one day or another, the week day or the Sabbath day, the days were evidently archetypic days, of which the day as we now measure it is the digit, or at least the outgrowth and the image, even as man is the offspring and the image of his divine archetype in God. Surely it is not required in the one case any more than in the other that the archetype and the image should, as counterparts, be equal in their proportions.

Such is our conclusion. Beyond saying that the days are divine days, apocalyptic days, archetypic days, generic days which are not measurable according to any historical or scientific standard, we confess our entire ignorance about them. Nor is this by any means a novel view of the matter. It appears to have been that of Josephus and the old Jewish Rabbins. Certainly it is in substance that of the Christian fathers, or at least of Irenæus, Theophilus, Origen, and Augustine, the last of whom has said—and neither he nor any of the others had any geological questions to influence their interpretation—"We cannot in this mortal state make out or understand what kind of days these were."[1]

Now then, let us "lay our hand upon our mouth," and, as Job said, "proceed no further." The old saying is here in point, "It is an erudite ignorance which does not desire to know what the great Master does not desire to teach." We may also remember the psalmist's saying, "The day is thine; the night also is thine," the day and the night of Scripture as well as the day and the night of nature; and let us not expect that they should be both alike to us as they are to him. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor? or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompenced unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him are all things; to whom be glory for ever. Amen."

[1] "Quapropter quod illos dies, qui ejus repetitione numerati sunt, in hac nostra mortalitate terrena experiri ac sentire non possumus," &c.—Augustine de *Genesi ad Litteram*, Lib. quart. cap. vig. sex. "Sed quamvis per sex dierum alternationem omnis instituta fuisse creatura perhibetur: non tamen haec dierum alternatio per spatium temporis intelligitur: sed in his operum vicissitudo declaratur."—Appendix tertii tomi, *De Mirabilibus Sac. Script.*, Lib. prim. cap. prim.

II. So much for the pre-historical period of Genesis. THE PRIMEVAL PERIOD extends from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the twenty-seventh verse of the eleventh chapter. It embraces the history of three dispensations—the Edenic, the Adamic, and the Noachic dispensations; but it is made up of five distinct sections, each of which is headed by its own formula—"These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth" (ch. ii. ver. 4); "This is the book of the generations of Adam" (ch. v. ver. 1); "These are the generations of Noah" (ch. vi. ver. 9); "Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah" (ch. x. ver. 1): "These are the generations of Shem" (ch. xi. ver. 10).

1. THE FIRST SECTION of this new period, which is all that we shall at present summarise and annotate, consists of two portions, the first being the principal of the two, and a complete history in itself, and the second forming little other than a supplement or appendix to it.

(1.) *The principal portion* occupies the second and third chapters of the book. It contains the history of the whole Edenic dispensation. The rationalists most unwarrantably interpret it as a myth; but the entire Scriptures bear witness to its historical character, which is also self-attested.

Most plainly its heading is indicative of its historical character, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created"—that is, as we would put it, "Here is the narrative of the events which followed upon the original creation in historical development and succession." Josephus says that after the seventh day of the first creation record, Moses begins to write physiologically. He did not, any more than we, understand the genesis of the first chapter to be properly physiological. He evidently understood the physiological history of the terrestrial creation in its existing state to belong to this second creation record. In the common English translation of Josephus the word for "physiological" is rendered "philosophical," which completely perverts the meaning.[1] The idea of philosophy in the case is altogether alien to the views of Josephus and of Moses. That there is profound philosophy underlying

[1] The erroneous rendering is this—"Moses, after the seventh day was over, begins to talk philosophically." A note is then appended which only makes bad worse, shewing as it does how completely Whiston has mistaken the

the history is no doubt true; but then it is not written as philosophy, and it is not meant to be received as such—it is history throughout.

At the same time it is a most singular history. It is indisputably *sui generis*. There is not the like of it in any other part of Scripture. Nor need we wonder, considering that it relates the proper beginning of things, which could not but be unlike the ordinary evolution of events in the history of an established providence.

The combination of the names "LORD God," "Jehovah Elohim," by which the Divine Being is distinguished in it very plainly demonstrates its singularity. The combination is that of the writer of the history. It is not said to have been used by any of the persons whom he mentions in it. In the narrative of the temptation, the serpent and the woman simply use the Creator-name, God—"Yea, hath God said," "God hath said," "For God doth know." Jehovah, as a divine name, was not yet in the vocabulary. But Moses, who knew Jehovah as not even the patriarchs knew him, himself employs the combination, and thus from the very beginning identifies Jehovah with God, the Divine Redeemer of the covenant in its gracious particularism with the Divine Author of the creation in its natural universalism. The combination is also peculiar to this portion of the history. It never again occurs in the ordinary history of the Bible, except in connection with prayer or praise or prophecy, or the theophany of a direct revelation.[1] Plainly the singularity of its use must be held to indicate a corresponding singularity in the history, respecting which it may be said, "This is a great mystery." That the history is related in somewhat of a dramatic form, and that it also possesses somewhat of a mystical character must certainly be admitted. At all events, it must be admitted to embody in a way peculiar to itself a divine revelation of the natural,

original, which is, Κἀι δὴ καὶ φυσιολογεῖν Μωϋσῆς μετὰ τὴν ἰβδόμην ἤρξατο, *Antiq.* Book i. ch. 1, § 2. The meaning of φυσιολογεῖν is of course to inquire into nature, to inquire into the nature and origin of things and discourse thereon, to explain from natural principles. *Vide* Liddell and Scott on the word.

[1] There is indeed a passage in the book of Jonah which is exceptional (ch. iv. ver. 6), "And the LORD God prepared a gourd, and made it to come up over Jonah;" but if the reading is sustained by the MSS., the combination may have been meant to indicate a mystical union between the miraculous and the moral in the production of the gourd.

moral, and gracious administration of Jehovah God as the Author of creation and the Redeemer of the covenant together, or as the God of nature, the God of providence, and the God of grace together; and the combination in question demonstrates as well as signalises the peculiar character of the revelation.

There are two parts into which the history naturally divides itself.

The first part of it contains *the narrative of the creation under the present order of things*. The facts related have quite an interest of their own every way worthy of their historical position.

First, the earth is said to have been completely destitute of its present field and garden vegetation. This fact comes out in the opening statement when properly rendered—the rendering in our English version is incorrect—"And no plant of the field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field was as yet sprung up or grown, for the LORD God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground"—that is to say, the plants and the herbs of the lea land, the cultivated ground, the grasses, fruits, shrubs, trees, and other vegetable productions which are dependent on human agriculture and horticulture were not then in being. The statement is one respecting which science has come quite independently to a finding of its own; and it is satisfactory to know that this finding is in perfect harmony with it. Botanists inform us that that portion of the existing vegetable economy which is adapted to human sustenance is coeval with the present creation epoch, and is moreover distinguished from the flora of the ancient creation epochs by its being endowed with capabilities of manifold and richly-fruitful development under human cultivation which that old flora entirely wants. Obviously the creation of our field and garden plants does not belong to the genesis of "the heavens and of the earth," but, as here so correctly indicated, to "the generations" of that genesis, or to the present epoch, the human epoch, of creation.[1]

[1] The connection of man with the Cerealia, as an argument in favour of the Scripture account of his origin and age, is well brought out in a small tractate, *Man's Place and Bread, unique in Nature*, by a University Professor. Edinburgh. 1865. *Vide* also Hugh Miller's *Testimony of the Rocks*, pp. 47–48.

Next, man is made—not the ideal man, the generic man, but the individual man, the historical Adam—with a material organisation in connection with an immaterial life or spirit. Then a home is provided for him—not in the outfield of the world where he was made, but eastward in Eden—in a divine plantation, the fruits of which are all specifically produced for his enjoyment, and the geography of which is described by landmarks in Mosaic times, and some of which are still well known. Then the laws under which he was placed are specifically ordained. First, the labour law. He was formed for energetic action, not for indolent repose; and therefore he had employment given him in the enclosure of his homestead as a means of physical health and moral exercise. Then, after he was thus usefully employed, the moral law. And here he was put upon his probation by being forbidden to eat of a certain tree, which is therefore called "The tree of the knowledge of good and evil," in token of its appointment to be the embodiment of that law, and the standing memorial and exponent of his subordination to it, bringing as it did its precept and its penalty before him, and requiring him upon his perception by means of it of what is good and of what is evil to choose between them, to pursue the good and avoid the evil. Lastly, the marriage law. This comes after the moral law, not before it, because his social life must not be bestial, it must not spring from the mere instinct of an animal gregariousness as in the brute creation; it must be regulated by the higher principles of his moral constitution as under law to God. In this part of the history are several things respecting the creation of the individual fruits of the present epoch, the formation of woman, the origin of language, and the adult activity of the first mental exercises of man, which are highly important in their connection; but in a rapid survey it is enough to have thus referred to them.

The second part of the history contains *the narrative of the temptation, the fall, and the redemption of the new covenant.* These events are related in their visible and external aspects. All the mystery connected with them is silently and, considering the character and object of the Bible, wisely overlooked. For example, nothing is said on the question respecting the origin of moral evil. This is relegated to the

unwritten history of the spirit-world as a thing which had taken place within its invisible domain, outside of the present order of things, and before even its establishment. We have here a tempter, one already in rebellion against God; and it is through his instrumentality that man becomes a sinner. The narrative is very simple, indeed so simple that it is by many considered to be purely allegorical. But such a view appears to be at variance with the laws of legitimate exposition. That it is full of mystical import must be admitted, and it would be therefore unwarrantable to say that there is nothing mystical, or at least dramatical, in the form of its representation; but, at the same time, it seems much more unwarrantable to explain away its substantial historicalness.

The temptation is shewn to have been very insidiously conducted. The instrument employed in it is called "The serpent." If the creature of that name is meant, there may have been something like a miracle in the case, although in a new world where everything was in a sense miraculous, this might not appear to be in any way out of course. Anyhow, we learn from other Scriptures that the real tempter, who is not allowed here or perhaps anywhere to appear in an embodied personality of his own, was the devil, that old Serpent, as he is called once and again in significant allusion to his successful artifice in this, the first temptation.[1]

[1] "'Now a certain serpent was cunning beyond any beast of the field which Jehovah God had made.' This certain serpent, therefore, was no common serpent of the field, for he differed from them all. He could be no other than that apostate spirit who, in the serpent form, executed his stratagem upon man, and to whom, for that exploit of wicked cunning, the name of 'the serpent' and 'the old dragon' has ever since been applied in derision and reproach."—Horsley's *Biblical Criticism*, vol. i. p. 19.

"Many writers have been in the habit of representing the doctrine of Satan, and in general the demonology of the Bible, as an importation from Persia, and as becoming current among the Jews only after their return from the exile in Babylon. Now, not to mention that the existence of the tempter is plainly enough involved in the narrative of the Fall, and that the Persian Ahriman is by no means identical with the Satan of the Bible, it is becoming more and more apparent from the newly-opened sources presented in Babylonian and Akkadian literature, that the doctrine of a world of evil spirits was from the earliest ages of which we have any information a part of the common belief of the nations of Western Asia."—Turner's *Studies, Biblical and Oriental*, p. 174.

The subtilty of the tempter appears very plainly in the strategy of the temptation. Like an astute commander who storms a fortress on the weakest side, he opens his assault upon the woman as more susceptible of impression, and then through her upon the man, whom he thus involves along with her in a common ruin. But it is in the details of the temptation that his strategy comes most fully into play. These are put in a conversational form, but whether realistically or dramatically is a matter of fair dispute among even the most literal interpreters. Certainly it is but the substance of them that is related; and the question of a realistical or a dramatical representation may be left undetermined, provided the temptation itself is acknowledged to have been carried through by the serpent, or by the devil through the serpent, whatever the serpent was, in at least the form of evident suggestion. Apart however from this question of interpretation, it must be allowed that the details themselves are most impressively instructive. Beginning softly, somewhat timidly, "a white devil," so to speak, the serpent very cunningly insinuates his sting into the woman. First, by an unsettling inquiry in which there is a remarkable suggestiveness of evil, he raises a doubt respecting the word and also the character of God. Then, when her faith was evidently staggered, in so far as in her answer she appeared to question the divine benignity and veracity, although her consciousness of moral obligation was in no respect deficient, he boldly comes out in character, shews himself "the black devil" that he is, by impugning both the prohibition and the penalty of the divine commandment: "Death! Can you really stand in dread of such a thing? It may be true that God has threatened it; but how can you believe that he meant it? The thing is but a bugbear. If you only risk it, you will see so at once with your own eyes. He is really limiting your freedom, keeping you in bondage. Why should you not be as independent as himself, making what is good and what is evil depend, not on his will, but on your own? Yes, what you like, not what he likes, let that be good; and what you dislike, not what he dislikes, let that be evil. Arise, and do away with his restraint. Be free, be wise, be happy, be divine, be God yourself."

This is the temptation; plainly in substance, whatever it

may have been in form, the same kind of temptation by which "the serpent" still beguiles his victims to their ruin.

Then *the fall* is very briefly but expressively related. The narrative is as dramatic as ever, but yet as simple also, without a word of metaphysical explanation or even moral reflection. We are merely told that "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, and the pride of life" were engendered by the temptation, and that under their influence first the woman and then the man became of their own free will and their own free act transgressors. If ever there was a theme for sensationalism, here it is. But there is nothing of the kind. There is a perfect absence—a divine absence, for it is not human—of all description for effect. The consequences of the transgression are also quite simply told. No mention is made of any visible disturbance in heaven and earth, such as poets fancy. Only moral effects are instanced; and although they are sad enough—there could not indeed be sadder—the account of them is of the quietest description, so that we are not hurried past by any perturbation from attending to their lesson. The transgressors are merely said to have awakened to the consciousness that innocence had fled from them, that the honours, dignities, and ornaments which belonged to their paradisaical condition were no longer theirs, and that indeed they were altogether degraded and disgraced in the sight of God, and in their own as well. It is also said in the same quiet way that, although they tried by a natural enough fig-leaf shift of their own device to conceal their sin, or at least their shame, it was found to be so useless that, when "the LORD God" came to visit them—not on the wings of the wind as on the work of vengeance, or in a whirlwind of fire, rending the mountains and breaking the rocks in pieces, but in a still small voice upon the breeze of the day, like that which called forth Elijah from the cave in Horeb, the mount of God—they sought at once to hide themselves in the very profoundest of all possible natural concealment. This however was in vain; for when divinely summoned and arraigned, they had forthwith to appear and openly confess their sin, even whilst endeavouring to excuse themselves and throw the blame, as transgressors always do, upon their tempters, the man in this case upon the woman, and the woman upon the serpent.

And now *the redemption of the new covenant* winds up this painful portion of the history, and the change in the character of the narrative is truly welcome. We have here the genesis of the Bible as a revelation of grace, and it is most complete. The whole economy of redemption may be said to be seminally revealed in it; and in this respect it worthily deserves a very devout practical regard. We shall merely note the successive steps of development in the narrative.

The promise of redemption comes first. This promise is commonly called the Protevangel—the first gospel, or promise of the gospel. It is not much that can be made of it by itself. It is only as it is viewed in connection with subsequent revelations of gospel-mercy that its import, or at least its full import, is to be made out. Nor does there appear to be much of gospel in it. There is no doubt much more than a first reading may discover; but in its prominent features it bears the aspect of a denunciation or a curse, corresponding in this respect to the entire revelation of the Old Testament which, although a dispensation of the covenant of grace, and therefore instinct with promise on every page, has the curse written out very fully alongside of it. This feature in so early a revelation of the gospel is not unnatural. It is just what might have been looked for on the back of the first transgression. Nothing could have been more befitting; it was, we might say, imperatively required to vindicate the rectitude of the divine government, the supremacy of the divine law.

It begins with the condemnation of the serpent. There is no trial, no examination. Judgment is at once pronounced —the doom of an utterly hopeless degradation. And here, although the serpent-instrument in the temptation may be included, we must understand that Satan, as the devil-agent in it, is chiefly meant, and personally doomed in fact to the ignominy of an eternal judgment. It is in his condemnation that the redemption-promise is announced. Enmity is proclaimed between him and the woman and their respective seeds, and this enmity, it is at the same time intimated, is to issue in his entire defeat; the woman's seed, though wounded in the contest, is to destroy him utterly. The gospel import of this announcement is not at all recondite. It may not have been fully appreciated at

first and for long, not even by Moses himself or any of the fathers under the former dispensation, although there is reason to believe that they saw much farther into its predictive references than is generally supposed; but from the New Testament standpoint it is seen to embrace the whole gospel as a revelation of the LORD incarnate, him who was born of the virgin, a partaker of flesh and blood with the children of men, that through death he should destroy him that has the power of death—that is, the devil—and deliver them who through fear of death would otherwise be all their lifetime subject to bondage.

It is further developed in the condemnation of the woman and the man. This indeed is very different from that of the serpent. The ministration of grace is apparent in every part of it. The penalties denounced in its ministration of condemnation are in no way trivial—sorrow, suffering, anxiety, anguish, toil, travail, dissolution, death. It is painful to read of them, and still more painful to look around and witness how universally they are inflicted, and how righteously besides. Yet after all they are merely temporal penalties. No doubt, like the penalty in the condemnation of the serpent, they must be understood to have an ultimate reference to the penalties awaiting the impenitent in eternity; but immediately and properly they bear upon the present, and moreover they are accompanied with important qualifying intimations of a gracious kind. For example, the woman shall have sorrow; but it is in connection with the original and uncancelled blessing of wedded motherhood. Again, she is to be in subjection, but it is not to an enemy or a stranger; it is to her "husband" who, as one with her in the bond of wedlock, is bound to love her, to provide for her, to be her guide, her guardian. Further, the curse does not alight immediately upon the man as it did upon the serpent; it is rather rolled over upon the ground, so that, like suffering at second hand, it is made to bear but indirectly upon himself. Still further, the product of the soil, "the herb of the field," and better still, "bread," the staff of life—not "dust, the serpent's meat"—is given him for food. And lastly, when at length he is doomed to die, the doom is so expressed that the doom does not appear to

be altogether hopeless. The afflictions of life are said to be ended by it. It is also limited to the earthly element, the bodily part of man; and besides it is so expressed as not unaptly to suggest the thought that God is able to raise up again from the dead what he originally brought from that very dust and fashioned so right gloriously into the image of himself. Surely we are not wrong in discerning in these intimations of what some may call small mercies the intimations of large mercies, the very largest gospel mercies.

The application of redemption comes next, and it very thoroughly corroborates this exposition of its promise. The circumstances as related may appear to be somewhat singular; but they are quite in keeping with the peculiar character of the whole Edenic history, and besides they are at once answerable to the case, and most expressive.

The faith of Adam in the promise is first mentioned in this connection. His faith appears in the bestowal of a new name upon his wife—the name "Eve," or as interpreted, "Life." In Scripture, as well as in human history, a change of name is generally associated with what is supposed to reflect honour; but in the present instance the woman had no honour deserving of the name in question, save that which was conferred on her in the promise that she should be the progenitor of that Seed of hers who was to bruise the serpent's head, and impart life to all her seed who should be graciously associated with him. Evidently, on natural grounds, she had no more title to be called "The mother of all living," than Adam had to be called "The father of all living;" and besides, in her merely natural relationships, she had become the mother of a dying rather than of a living race, so that in this connection it might have seemed more consonant to fact to have called her name Death, because she was the mother of all dying. Accordingly the bestowal of the opposite name, Life, is rightly held to denote, not the fact of her relation to the human family as in their totality descended from her, but the honour of her relation, as herself the first believing mother, to that portion of it who should be "living ones" in this world of sin and death, saved through the gracious interposition of him who, as her Seed according to the promise, should destroy the works of the devil; and in short, both Adam and his wife

are represented in this incident as sustaining the new and gracious character of believers.

There is next related the divine investment of Adam and his wife with new clothing, evidently sacrificial clothing. It is impossible to accept of any naturalistic interpretation of that investment. Adam and his wife had already provided themselves with clothing; and, however simple its manufacture, it was as well adapted to serve the purpose of raiment as the new, for the warm climate of the East perhaps better; and anyhow it was of no consequence in a materialistic point of view whether they were clothed with the linen product of the field, or the woollen product of the flock. Let it, however, be remembered that it was to relieve their sense of shame as produced by their transgression, or the consciousness of its guilt, that they devised the garments in which they so vainly sought to clothe themselves; and at once it will be seen that the garments divinely provided for them must have been meant, in at least their symbolical and moral reference, to cover, not the shame of the flesh, for this might be done well enough the other way, but the guilt along with the shame of their transgression. In this respect it is morally certain that the garments in question were formed of the skins of animals which had been slain in sacrificial atonement, and that they intimated to those who were clothed with them that their sin was expiated and remitted by the blood-shedding of that atonement; and that its righteousness was made over to their faith, even as in a later history it is said of Abraham, "He believed in the LORD, and he counted it to him for righteousness."

The sanctifying discipline to which they were subjected, along with the hope of eternal life by which they were sustained, is next described. The description is prefaced by the utterance—first, of the divine delight in them as now renewed in knowledge of him that created them, so that again like the Promised One, the Divine One, "One of us," who afterwards became the woman's Seed, the virgin-born Immanuel, they know to choose the good and refuse the evil[1]; and secondly, of the divine purpose to establish them

[1] The knowledge of good and evil invariably bears this meaning in Scripture:—*Vide* Deut. i. 39; 2 Sam. xiv. 17, xix. 35; 1 Kings iii. 9; Isa. vii. 14, 15; Heb. v. 14.

in grace, by removing them away from all temptation to seek for righteousness and life on the probation-ground of the old and broken covenant. Accordingly, not in judgment, but in mercy, they were put into a position outside of paradise, in which, by the wholesome processes of toil and trial, they were made to learn that to obtain eternal life on the ground which was open to them as unfallen is no longer possible to them as fallen, or even as renewed; and that it is only in the atonement-robe, and as coming out of tribulation, that they can ever expect to obtain and enjoy it at the hand of God. Assuredly, when rightly viewed, this is a most gracious dispensation. Let them be ever so much opposed to it, and naturally they cannot but be opposed to it; it is by constraint, not willingly, that they ever yield to it; it is nevertheless good for them to bear the yoke, to be afflicted, even to die, for "to die is gain." Behold, here is heaven opened for the garden shut. Behold, here is the tree of life; it is the symbol of glory, honour, immortality, eternal life; it still remains. Behold, here are the cherubim beside it too; they are the symbols of the ransomed of the LORD in the enjoyment of eternal life. Behold, here is the flame of fire between the cherubim; it is the shechinah, the symbol of the gracious presence of the LORD as dwelling with the redeemed and glorified. Behold, here, in fine, is the way to the tree of life, to the society of the glorified, to the presence of the LORD; it is kept, watched, guarded against the powers of evil. When he that hath the key opens the door, no one can shut it; and when he shuts it, no one can open it. "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." "To him that overcometh"—overcometh the trial and the tribulation of the present state—"will I give to eat the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God." "Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life"—"that wash their robes, that they may have power over the tree of life"[1]—"and may enter in through the gates into the city."

We now turn from this portion of the history with the concluding remark, that its distinction as the first gospel is quite equalled by its distinction as a full gospel. It is, in

[1] This is the reading of all the ancient MSS.

truth, a complete history of redemption, beginning in grace, and going on to glory.

2. *The appendix or supplement to it*, as this is contained in the fourth chapter, requires to be yet noticed. Here a marked change is visible in the character of the history. It very much assumes the character of ordinary history, the events of which may be laid alongside of those which are transpiring every day around us; at least the use of the double name, "the LORD God," "Jehovah God," no longer occurs in it or in subsequent history, except in immediate connection with divine revelation or religious devotion.

First, the history of Cain and Abel is related in it. We read in turn of their birth, their occupation, and their worship, with the murder of Abel, and the conviction and condemnation of Cain. The history is instructive, as shewing how the prophetical separation of the race in the prediction of the proto-gospel was verified in even the very first of the sons of Adam. We have in Cain and Abel the prototypes of the evil and the good, the two great classes into which mankind have been ever since divided. It is also instructive as still further shewing how, from the very beginning, salvation has been of grace and through blood—"the blood of the covenant," "of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." "By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts; and by it he being dead yet speaketh."

The history of Cain after his condemnation is continued in connection with that of his descendants in lineal succession. This indeed is briefly done, for, as in all future references to those outside the covenant, the object of the historian is to get them out of the way, to be done with them, so that he may pass on without impediment to the history of redemption in the line of the promise. Accordingly, while we are told that they multiplied and made progress in material civilisation, in literature, art, and science, there is no kind of notice taken of their ages or of their deaths; they but appear on the stage of life, and after a brief prosperity pass out of sight in their "Nod," or "fugitive," or outside-world migrations, and with perhaps the exception

of a single reference, their subsequent history lies outside of the Scriptures altogether. [See concluding Note.]

The appendix is concluded with two brief notices. The first notice is of the faith of Eve as manifested at the birth of Seth. At the birth of her first-born son she was very naturally elated, in so much that she thought herself already in possession of the promised seed. "And she said, I have gotten a man—the LORD," not "from the LORD,"[1] as our translators have put it, under the misapprehension common to the commentators that the other rendering would attribute to her too eminent a knowledge—"a man, the LORD," "Jehovah," that is, in its literal signification, "he shall be," "he that shall be," "the coming one," "the promised one." How its signification came to be enlarged and elevated so as to be identified with the Divine Redeemer of the covenant was a subsequent thing, and it is afterwards related. But when Cain made shipwreck of the faith, and murdered his brother Abel, their mother's hope in both the one and the other of them perished. Still she retained her confidence in God, and when again another son was born to her she gave him a name which intimated that her faith in the promise, "I will put enmity," or, to employ the original word, "I will *seth* enmity," "between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed," was quite unshaken. This son indeed might not, any more than Cain, turn out to be the Jehovah, the promised One; but the promise would be nevertheless fulfilled, if not in him, yet in his seed, "For God, said she, hath appointed me," the original word is here again much more expressive, "hath sethed me," "another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew." The second notice is of the faith of her descendants at the birth of Enos. The name Enos denotes man in a state of weakness and wretchedness, and its bestowal on the son of Seth was evidently meant to intimate that those by whom it was bestowed had come to see that there was no hope of deliverance in man, mere man, weak and wretched man, and that therefore the promised seed would never be found in any one of merely

[1] That the preposition should be dropped from the translation is plain enough from the grammatical construction, "I have gotten a man—Jehovah." "The particle זֹאת occurs in this sense, as simply demonstrative, forty times in the first four chapters of Genesis."—See Dr Thomas Smith's editorial note to *Owen's Works*, ii. 124.

human origin. In a word, it was now discovered to them in some way or other that "God is the LORD," himself the promised One, the coming One, and that they must look to him exclusively, entirely, for the redemption needed as well as promised, "Then began men to call upon the name of the LORD."

This finishes the second section of Genesis, in some respects the fullest and most important in the whole book. We question if any other portion of the Bible can be compared to it in point of depth and fulness. It may be called the Bible of the Bible. It contains the revelation in embryo of the entire Bible. "The fourfold state of man"—innocence, sin, grace, glory—it is all here. The history of redemption may be opened up more clearly and fully in subsequent Scriptures, but nothing essentially new or different will be ever afterwards revealed; of every word which follows it may be said with truth that it is the same word which we have been told from the beginning. It is just as in external nature; no new creation principles are ever discovered in it. Old philosophies may be exploded; but the divine order is unaffected by the vicissitude of human interpretations. Truth is one—unchangeable. Let its revelation here be duly valued and devoutly pondered. We may truly say of it what is said of the last book of the Bible, "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein; for the time is at hand."

Note.—ON THE DESCENDANTS OF CAIN.—It is commonly said that these all perished with the rest of mankind in the Flood, but the Scriptures are not committed to this conclusion. If the Flood was confined to that portion of the world-history in which it is related, as scripturally as well as ex-scripturally there is reason to believe it was, they stand entirely clear of it. Compare the other sections of Genesis, and observe in this connection how they follow upon one another. To begin with the last two sections, as headed by their respective formulas, "Now these are the generations of Esau, who is Edom" (ch. xxxvi. 1), "These are the generations of Jacob" (ch. xxxvii. 2); plainly the former continue to exist outside of the Jacob-history, although the Scriptures take no further notice of them, except in so far as they occasionally happen to come in contact with the history of Jacob or that of his descendants, to which the Scriptures thenceforth confine themselves. Take also the two preceding sections as similarly headed, "Now these are the generations of Ishmael" (ch. xxv. 12), "And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son," the generations of Ishmael unquestionably continue to exist outside of the Scripture history, which according to its own historic system limits itself

in carrying on the history of the covenant to the line of Isaac. And so with all the preceding section—"Now these are the generations of Terah" (ch. xi. 27); "These are the generations of Shem" (ch. xi. 10); "Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah" (ch. x. 1); "These are the generations of Noah" (ch. vi. 9). Each new section *bowls out* the race or races in the one before it, but the *bowled out* race or races are not on that account to be considered as extinct; they remain outside of the covenant history which, without further regard to them, proceeds in the line of the covenant race named in the heading of the following section. In precisely the same way is the race of Cain bowled out by the new chapter which follows upon its history, "This is the book of the generations of Adam" (ch. v. 1); but it lives and flourishes outside of the covenant race or line of Seth, to which "the book of the generations of Adam" is strictly limited. Why then should it be made matter of faith that all the Cainites and other Adamites outside the races of Seth perished in the Flood? Why should we be obliged to believe that all the families of the earth are descended from Noah? Why should we make void the word of God by our traditions? Plainly it is enough to hold that men are all descended from Adam. The Scriptures cannot be fairly held to teach us more than that. Are there not even references here and there in the Bible history to other than the Noachic races? Who were "the Rephaims," and "the Zuzims," and "the Emims," and "the Horites," the aboriginals of Canaan, pre-historical to even the Canaanites themselves in Abrahamic times (Genesis xiv. 5, 6)? And what of the outside-world races to which no ancient history, whether scriptural or ex-scriptural, ever once refers? If ethnology proves them to be extra-Noachic, let it do so without challenge, provided the proof is sufficiently decisive.

EDWARD A. THOMSON.

ART. III.—*The Fruit of the Vine in Palestine.*

WHEN the Holy Land was in the possession of the seed of Abraham it was distinguished by great fertility, and was emphatically a land of corn and grapes. The vine was anciently, and is to this day, produced abundantly over the whole length of Palestine, from Lebanon on the north to the southernmost cultivable limits of Judea. Canaan is a land of hills and valleys; but during the time of its fertility, these valleys, and even the sides of the mountains, abounded with vineyards. Everywhere on the hillsides were to be seen embankments where successive ascending terraces adapted the sloping ground to the cultivation of the vine, and there, in many a fertile enclosure, the vine flourished luxuriantly, and yielded abundant fruit; while around these

enclosures "the pastures were clothed with flocks, and the valleys were covered over with corn." Under a wise and beneficent government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation. A magnificent view must have been enjoyed by those who stood on the summit of one of its mountains, which commanded an extensive prospect of fertile vales and hillsides, mantled with vines, and waving with luxuriant corn—a happy verification of the prophetic announcement to Jacob, "God shall give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and grapes." The produce of its cornfields and vineyards was no doubt meant to supply the necessaries of life to the numerous population that inhabited the land in the days of the Bible, and not to furnish material for commerce with other lands. The words of the Assyrian king were truly descriptive of the temporal blessings which were enjoyed and valued by the favoured people—"*Eat* ye every one of his vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and *drink* ye every one of the waters of his own cistern."

In our own country the produce of the vine is chiefly used as wine, possessing to a greater or less extent the power of intoxicating. Grapes and raisins are comparatively little used, and the honey of grapes is unknown among us. If it is different in Palestine, the facts ought to be known to us, otherwise we are sure to misinterpret many passages of the Word of God. In one respect it is unfortunate that what is called the wine question has been keenly discussed in connection with the temperance movement; for it is scarcely possible that combatants on either side can escape the disturbing influence of bias. But, on the other hand, the discussion originated by the temperance movement has been useful in the way of directing attention to the study of a subject which was previously much neglected. It is of great importance to the Biblical student to know in what respects the use of the fruit of the vine in Palestine differs from its use among ourselves; and, when he knows the facts, every man can apply them for himself in the interpretation of any text of Scripture in which he feels a special interest.

Natives of Britain, whose lot it has been to live for some time in the Holy Land, have noticed many points of difference between our customs and those of the East. The

Rev. Smylie Robson, Jewish missionary, in a letter written at Damascus in 1845, and published that same year in *The Missionary Herald* of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, gives some valuable information regarding the use of the fruit of the vine in Syria and Palestine. When alluding to Britain, he specifies Ireland, as the letter appeared in a periodical addressed to readers in the sister isle. He says:—

"Most persons in Ireland are accustomed to think of the vine as the tree from whose fruit wine is extracted, and which affords them raisins and grapes. Grapes are seldom to be seen (I mean in Ireland) except as a dessert on the tables of the rich. Raisins, though more generally used, can hardly be considered other than a luxury. With wine the idea of the vine is most frequently connected; but it, too, must be reckoned a luxury, the habitual use of which is confined to a comparatively small number, and is, except in particular cases, of very doubtful utility, at least in the state in which it is to be procured in Ireland. It is well known that the wood of the vine is of no use but for the fire. (See Ezek. xv. 3, 4.) Thus to my apprehension, before I left home, and I believe to that of most persons who have not travelled, the whole useful products of the vine are—grapes, affording an elegant and costly dessert; raisins, useful for making nice puddings; and wine, which, though sometimes useful to all classes, is the beverage of the wealthy, either for moderate enjoyment or rioting and drunkenness. And though, after the most rigid investigation in this way of its claims, it cannot be denied a place among the most valuable of the vegetable productions of the earth, it seems hardly worthy of the very high value put on it in the Bible. I think that the high opinion generally entertained of its importance is owing to an early familiarity with the style in which it is spoken of in Scripture more than to a knowledge of its intrinsic value or of the uses to which its fruit is applied. In many texts, grapes are made second only to grain in value, and vineyards to fruitful fields. Some of these are among the most beautiful and instructive as well as the most frequently read portions of the Word of God; and as our sense of their beauty and propriety will be the more just the better we are acquainted with the uses made of the fruit of the vine in this country, I have been eager to get information on this subject. I think that if the vine were of no other use here than in Ireland, it would hardly have been spoken of in the Bible as it is; but I am sure that its utility to the inhabitants of this country fully sustains the highest ideas we form of its importance from the language of the holy Scriptures. It is well known that many parts of the mountains of Lebanon are among the most thickly peopled and best cultivated districts of the land. This is the part of the country in which I have travelled most, and I have it specially in my mind; but I believe that my remarks are applicable, with very little modification, to every district which abounds in grapes. The food of the inhabitants consists principally of fruit, milk, vegetables, bread made of the flour of wheat, and Indian corn. Wheat is everywhere cultivated, and the bread

made of it constitutes a large portion of the food of all classes. They often mix the flour used for their bread with barley-meal. Barley is largely cultivated for food for animals. Milk is in some places abundant, and in others not. The only other article of food is fruit, for they very rarely taste animal food. The most important kinds of fruit are olives and grapes. Olives are eaten either raw or dressed in various ways, but they are chiefly valuable for the oil extracted from them. Grapes come into season in August, and continue in season for about four months. During this period they are used constantly, not as an agreeable dessert to stimulate and gratify the appetite after it has been satisfied by a substantial meal, but as a substantive part of the meal itself, so much so that I believe I am correct in stating, that from August to December bread and grapes are substantially the food of the people. Very thin cakes of bread made of flour, or of barley-meal and flour mixed, and eaten with plenty of grapes, form the meals of the inhabitants of Lebanon morning, noon, and night. Now, this is a mode of using the fruit of the vine of which I was ignorant till I came to this country. Here too, as in Europe, grapes are dried in large quantities to preserve them as raisins, and in this form also they supply an article of food to be used after the grape season. By pickling and beating, a substance called dibs is made out of the grapes. It is about the consistence of honey, and resembles it in appearance. Dibs is eaten with bread. It is made in considerable quantities, and bread and dibs is a very common meal in winter and spring. There are two kinds of dibs, one made from grapes and the other made from raisins. But the fruit of the vine, besides largely supplying food in the three forms of grapes, raisins, and dibs, supplies the universally known and prized drink—wine. I need scarcely add that this wine is very abundant, and that, as used here, it is simply the fermented juice of grapes, without any mixture of distilled liquor. In fact, the price at which it is sold secures it from adulteration with such liquors. Nothing which I have learned about grapes since I came here surprised me so much as the extremely low price at which they are sold. During the greater part of the grape season the regular price of the most plentiful kind—purple grapes—was about one farthing per pound, or fourpence per stone. Another very plentiful kind, though less common than the preceding, the green grapes, cost about sixpence per stone. Thus in a place where many of the articles of use and convenience in civilised life are dearer, and few of them cheaper, than in Belfast, grapes are sold at about the price of potatoes in that town. I think this fact will give you a just impression of the importance of grapes as a *common article of daily food* better than anything else I could say. Dibs is sold for eighteen or twenty-pence per stone, which is very cheap for such a substance as it is. I am unable to state exactly the price of raisins here, but wine is sold for less than three pence per bottle. It is thus evident that to a dense population in a dry and warm climate the fruit of the vine must have been invaluable."

This abridged extract is of much value as containing a statement of facts by a British resident in Syria, and his

impressions, corrected by these facts, regarding the importance of the fruit of the vine. Mr Robson was an intelligent observer, who directed his attention particularly to this subject while residing in the country. It is impossible therefore to have more trustworthy testimony as to the reality of the facts and their Scriptural bearing. A casual visitor is more liable to mistake than a resident; and a native is ignorant of Western impressions that require correction.

The grapes of Palestine are very large. Nau affirms that he saw in the neighbourhood of Hebron grapes as large as one's thumb. Dandini says that in Lebanon they were as large as prunes. Neitzchutz states that in the mountains of Israel he saw and had eaten from bunches of grapes that were half an ell long, and the grapes two joints of a finger in length. The Rev. J. Paxton says of the grapes around his summer residence in Lebanon, that they were of various kinds, most of them white and large. Mariti affirms that in different parts of Syria he had seen grapes of such extraordinary size that a bunch of them would be a sufficient burden for one man. Laborde gives a good cut, shewing the large natural size of the grapes of Palestine.

Travellers have not only spoken thus of the *grapes*, but they have also noticed the extraordinary size and weight of the *grape-clusters*. Elliot says that he saw in the valley of Eshcol three vines planted close together, which is the usual practice there, and that "being tied, each is supported by two others, and thus enabled to sustain the prodigious clusters for which that region has always been famous." Forster says that he was informed by a religious person who had lived many years in Palestine, that there were some bunches of grapes in the valley of Hebron so large that two men could scarcely carry one of them. Nau affirms that he had seen clusters in Syria weighing ten or twelve pounds, and he heard that in the Archipelago clusters of thirty or forty pounds were not uncommon. Morison makes a similar statement. Doubdan, travelling near Bethlehem, was assured by the monks that even in the present neglected state of the country they still found some clusters weighing ten or twelve pounds; but he did not himself see them, as he was not there in the proper season. The Israelitish spies brought a branch from Eshcol with a cluster of grapes

which they bore between two on a staff, a plan which they adopted for two purposes, both to prevent it from being bruised, and also on account of its great size. A circumstance mentioned in the *Times Telescope* (for 1819) has been noticed by various writers, that even in our own country a bunch of *Syrian* grapes was produced at Welbeck which weighed nineteen pounds, and measured in length nearly twenty-three inches, in circumference four and a-half feet, and nineteen and a-half inches in its greatest diameter. It was sent as a present from the Duke of Portland to the Marquis of Rockingham, and conveyed a distance of more than twenty miles on a staff by four labourers, two of whom bore it in rotation, thus affording a striking illustration of the proceeding of the spies. Nehemiah reproved those among the restored tribes who trod the wine-presses, and brought in wine, grapes, and figs on the Sabbath-day. This reproof seems to have been given in the time of the vintage, when, from the rural districts, there was brought into the city the fresh grapes, and the newly-expressed juice here called wine. Grapes were much used as an article of food anciently in Jerusalem, as well as in modern times.

Raisins were much used among the Hebrews. The present of Abigail to David contained "a hundred clusters of raisins"; to an Egyptian invalid, who had been without food and drink for three days, David and his men gave "a piece of a cake of figs, and two clusters of raisins"; the present of Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, to king David when he fled from Absalom, included "a hundred bunches of raisins"; and among the provisions brought to David when he was proclaimed king at Hebron, were "bunches of raisins" in abundance. The clusters which were dried in the sun to be preserved as raisins were the most valuable. It might be supposed that the best would be dried, as most likely to remain good when stored up for use till the following grape-season. This was the case anciently, and it is so still. Professor Robinson visited the vineyards around Hebron, the most celebrated in Palestine, and in giving an account of his visit in his *Researches in Palestine*, he says distinctly that "the finest grapes are dried as raisins; and the rest being trodden and pressed, the juice is boiled down to a syrup which, under the name of dibs (the Hebrew word

debhash, signifying *honey*, and also syrup of *grapes*), is much used by all classes wherever vineyards are found, as a condiment with their food." This intelligent traveller and able critic attests that very little fermented wine is made from the produce of the rich and extensive vineyards of Hebron; and he had ample means of information, having the advantage of the local knowledge of Eli Smith. It is attested also by Eli Smith himself, that "wine is not the most important, but rather the least so, of all the objects for which the vine is cultivated." The Rev. Henry Homes, American missionary at Constantinople, says, that

"in a country where wine, as in America, is known as a great promoter of the crime of drunkenness, and where the vintage is supposed to be gathered chiefly for the purpose of making wine, it is difficult for the mind to do justice to the common language of Scripture, which extols the vine and its products as one of the staffs of life. The fruits of the vine, designated by ten different words in the Bible that are translated wine in our version, are in more than thirty different passages associated with the tithes and offerings, or with corn and oil, as emblems of temporal blessings. Along with the field of grain is mentioned the vineyard; along with the harvest is mentioned the vintage; along with corn and oil, wine is almost always combined as the third representative of the three chief blessings of the year. The fabrication of an intoxicating liquor was never the chief object for which the grape was cultivated among the Jews. The remarkable fact is, that in Asia Minor and Syria the largest part of the produce of the vine is used for other purposes than making intoxicating liquors."

In the same article, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for May 1848, Mr Homes enumerates ten articles of solid food obtained from the produce of the vine in the East. *Nardenk* is one of them, and "it ordinarily has not a particle of intoxicating quality. It is used as a syrup for a beverage, one part of the syrup to from six to fifteen parts of water." He describes, also, three kinds of unintoxicating drink made from grapes or raisins.

The texts of Scripture referring to grapes by name are not numerous, and raisins are rarely mentioned; but the fruit of the vine in a solid state is referred to under several other Hebrew words. In the English version we read of "a flagon of wine" in a few texts; but *grape-cake* (*ashishah*) appears to have been the article referred to. In one of the four instances in which it occurs, our translators have rendered it simply *flagons;* in two others the words "of

wine," are added in italics, implying of course that there is nothing corresponding to them in the Hebrew; and in the remaining one they have given the words "of wine" in the common letter, as if there had been a corresponding term in the original. In this last case the translators say in the margin that the Hebrew has "grapes." This is the only text that has cake of grapes, the others having cake simply. It is remarkable that the Septuagint, which is the most ancient version of the Hebrew Scriptures, having been executed about the middle of the second century before the commencement of the Christian era, gives a different rendering of this word in each of the four passages where it occurs; but in none of them does it suppose wine to be referred to. It puts "cakes made with raisins" in the last of the four texts. Grape-cake is the rendering now usually given by the ablest biblical critics. This rendering is adopted by Professors Gesenius, Robinson, Nordheimer, Eadie, and Douglas; and by Drs Kitto, J. Nicholson, E. Henderson, and many others. Indeed, no modern critic supports the exploded notion of the Authorised Version, which will no doubt be rejected by the Revision Committee. In its Chaldee form the word occurs in the Targum of Jonathan on Exodus xvi. 31, as denoting a flat cake, the word in our version being wafers; and it is used in the Mishna (Tr. Nedarim vi. 10) to denote a kind of food prepared from lentils, probably cakes made from boiled lentils. The grape-cakes of the Hebrews are mentioned in Scripture as delicacies with which the weary and languid were refreshed. "Such cakes (as Dr Henderson remarks in his *Commentary on Hosea*) are highly esteemed in the East on account of their sweet taste, and doubtless formed part of the offerings presented to idols, and afterwards eaten at idolatrous feasts." It is impossible to ascertain the form of these cakes, or the manner in which they were prepared; but travellers often allude to the extensive use of sweet cakes in the East. Buckingham says, in his *Travels among the Arab Tribes*, that by way of dessert some walnuts and dried figs were served to him, "besides a very curious article, probably resembling the dried wine of the ancients, which they are said to have preserved in cakes." Having ascertained the Hebrew taste for grape-cakes, the reader is

better able to understand King David's distributing to each of the people on a joyous occasion a bread-cake and grape-cake; and the request of the bride in Solomon's Song, "Refresh me with cakes of grapes." According to our notions, formed on port-wine, the bride's request in the English version is decidedly bacchanalian, "Stay me with flagons" (of wine). The allusions in Scripture to grape-cake are few; but they are of such a nature as to make it abundantly evident that this was a highly-valued article of food among the Hebrews.

The *inspissated juice* of the grape was extensively used in Palestine in ancient times. The juice was boiled down to two-thirds, and sometimes even to one-third of its original quantity. It was called by the Hebrews *debhash* (*honey* of grapes), and *sobhe* (*boiled wine*). Some understand the word *shemarim* to denote preserves prepared from the grape, in Isaiah xxv. 6. The word is usually applied to the dregs of wine; but every one sees that such a meaning is totally unsuitable to the language of Isaiah, which has been thus rendered—"Jehovah of hosts shall make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of preserves, of fat things full of marrow, of preserves well refined." The British notion that port-wine would answer better for a feast than the richest preserves from the vine requires to be educated by information regarding the customs and taste of the ancient Hebrews, which still correspond with those of the East. If these preserves were prepared from the dried grape, they might be refined by gathering out the stones, stems, skins, and other grosser matter. Buckingham, when at Aehhrah, received at breakfast "the sweet syrup made from dry raisins;" and he says that the theatre at Shuhubah is called by the people residing there "Khan-i-Dibbs, or the caravanserai or hotel of a kind of sweet-meats made of raisins, and called dibs." At Ezra he took "a meal of dourra bread, and a sweet paste made from grapes in the neighbourhood of Damascus, from which it is brought." Professor Robinson found that the best grapes in Palestine were dried as raisins; and the best produce of the vineyard was surely the most suitable to be presented at a feast. The Jewish taste appears to be accurately represented in the following statement of the Mishna:—"They do not

boil the wine of the heave-offering, because it diminishes it; Rabbi Jehudah permits this, because it improves it" (Terûmoth xi.). It appears then that wine thickened by boiling was preferred by the Jews, and probably the word preserves might be applied indifferently to this, or the syrup made from raisins.

The *honey of grapes* was much used by the ancient Hebrews; and Dr Shaw in his *Travels* thus refers to the modern practice:—"Besides the great quantity of grapes and raisins that are, one or other of them, brought daily to the markets of Jerusalem and the neighbouring villages, Hebron alone sends every year to Egypt three hundred camel-loads of the *robb*, which they call *dibse;* the same word that is rendered simply *honey* in the Scriptures. For honey, properly so called, could not be a rarity so great there as *dibse* must be, from the want of vineyards in Egypt." This traveller quotes two texts from the Pentateuch in illustration of his opinion regarding the honey; and Professors Rosenmuller, Gesenius, and Robinson agree with him.

The Hebrew *sobhe*, like the Latin *sapa*, is applied to *boiled wine*. Pliny in his *Natural History* (14, 9) says, "*Syraeum*, which some call *hepsema*, our people call *sapa*, a production of art and not of nature, the *must* being boiled down to the third-part of the original quantity, which, when it is diminished to one-half, we call *defrutum*." Some have rashly asserted that the Latin *vinum* never denotes unfermented wine; but Pliny uses it generically, like the Hebrew *yayin*, as including all kinds of wine under a great variety of specific names. When the juice was boiled down to one-third of its original quantity, fermentation became impossible. Dr Russel, in his *Natural History of Aleppo*, says, "The inspissated juice of the grape (*sapa vini*), called here *dibbs*, is brought to the city in skins, and sold in the public markets; it has much the appearance of coarse honey, is of a sweet taste, and in great use among the people of all sorts." The distinctive appellation for boiled wine is of rare occurrence in Scripture; but this article may be meant in many cases when the generic term for wine is used. Of the degeneracy of the people in his day, Isaiah said, "Thy silver is become dross, thy inspissated wine (is become) a

thin wine mingled with water." Hosea said, "Their inspissated wine is sour." "*Defrutum*," says Columella, "however carefully made, is liable to grow acid." The acidity of their luscious wine furnishes an apt illustration of the depraved morals of the nation in the time of Hosea.

The Hebrew term *tirosh* was a generic name for the produce of the vine, but it was limited to its solid produce, in the form of grapes, raisins, grape-cake, &c., just as *yayin* was the generic name for its liquid produce. The radical idea in *tirosh* is possession, as *vine-fruit* was considered a valuable possession. Gesenius, the prince of Hebrew lexicographers, gives the root correctly, but he absurdly explains that *must* receives this name because it takes possession of the head. The truth is, that *tirosh* does not affect the head at all, except as nourishing food affects all parts of the body. This is one of the strange and unaccountable blunders of a really great lexicographer, whose judgment is usually to be relied on. Drusius and Bythner, both in the seventeenth century, correctly explain the idea of possession in *tirosh*, as denoting that among the things which a man possessed by inheritance in Palestine it was one of the chief. But the meaning of a word is to be determined by use rather than derivation. As the word occurs thirty-eight times in the Hebrew Bible[1]—one half of the instances being in the historical and the other half in the poetical and prophetical books—there is a sufficient number of texts clearly to determine its meaning. Lexicons and versions are to be used as helps, not as authorities, to settle a controversy. In twenty-two instances, *tirosh* is associated with *orchard-fruit;* but the Hebrew word, which is *yitshar*, is improperly rendered *oil* in the English version. *Shemen*, the word for oil, is never joined with *tirosh*. In all these

[1] Dr Glasgow states the number at thirty-seven, and others give a lower figure. The following are the texts, and they are cited in this note that the mere English reader may consider the bearing of each context on the meaning of the word:—Gen. xxvii. 28, 37; Numb. xviii. 12; Deut. vii. 13, xi. 14, xii. 17, xiv. 23, xviii. 4, xxviii. 51, xxxiii. 28; Judges ix. 13; 2 Kings xviii. 32; 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, xxxii. 28; Neh. v. 11, x. 37, 39, xiii. 5, 12; Psa. iv. 7; Prov. iii. 10; Isa. xxiv. 7, xxxvi. 17, lxii. 8, lxv. 8; Jer. xxxi. 12; Hos. ii. 8, 9, 22, iv. 11, vii. 14, ix. 2; Joel i. 10, ii. 19, 24; Micah vi. 15; Hag. i. 11; and Zech. ix. 17. A great majority of the texts clearly demand a solid; and viewed in the light of the whole, there is not one of them that requires a liquid. The idea of a solid is the only key that fits them all.

twenty-two instances, except one, *corn-fruit* is associated with *vine-fruit* and *orchard-fruit*, the three forming what has been called the triad of blessings in the good land which God gave to the children of Abraham. In the texts relating to this triad of blessings, the reader will find that the three classes of fruits are spoken of in the book of Numbers as *ripe in the field;* in Deuteronomy they are *the fruit of the land, gathered in the field, eaten,* and given to the priest as *the first fruit of the field and the flock;* in 2 Kings they are *the produce of the land;* in 2 Chronicles, *the increase of the field,* and contained in *storehouses for the increase of these fruits;* in Nehemiah they are named with the *lands, vine-yards,* and *olive-yards,* and they are comprised in the fruit of all manner of trees which was to be brought as tithes; in Jeremiah they are *the product of a fruitful land,* along with "the young of the flock and the herd"; in Hosea they are said to be *taken away in the season when they are ripening in the field;* in Joel they are said to *wither in the field* in a time of famine, and when God gave again the former and latter rain, the floors were full of corn, and the *presses* full to overflowing with *grapes and olives;* and, by Haggai, Jehovah said, "I called for a drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the *corn-fruit,* and upon the *vine-fruit,* and upon the *orchard-fruit,* and upon that which the ground bringeth forth." Not one word is said in these texts of a liquid, and they form a majority of those in which *tirosh* occurs.

In ten other instances *vine-fruit* is associated with *corn-fruit,* without the addition of *orchard-fruit.* Isaac promised to Jacob *a land of corn and the grape,* refreshed by the dew of heaven, to make the fruits grow on the fertile ground; and of the same promise he said to Esau, "With *corn-fruit* and *vine-fruit* have I sustained him," that is, declared that he shall be sustained (margin, "supported;" Greek, στηριξα, strengthened). In the last blessing of Moses we read, "The fountain of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and the grape, also his heavens shall drop down dew." The fourth Psalm speaks of the time when the *corn and vine-produce increased* in a fertile land. In Proverbs it is promised to those who honour the Lord with the first-fruits of all their increase, that their barns shall be filled with plenty, and their presses

have abundance of grapes, as Gesenius correctly renders. The king of Assyria spoke of *a land of corn and the grape*, and of every one *eating* of his own vine, and drinking the waters of his own cistern. Isaiah predicted a time of prosperity to Israel, when the sons of the stranger shall not drink the produce of their *vine-fruit*. This prediction is contained in the only text that seems to favour a liquid interpretation of *tirosh*, one instance in thirty-eight; but, on careful examination, we find that the words *gather* and *drink* are both applied to the article referred to. It is remarkable that Gesenius, who does not favour a solid in every text, but only in a few, understands *grapes* to be referred to here. (See his *Lexicon* under *Kâbhats*.) The gathered grapes were either sucked, or the juice was pressed from them and drunk. Hosea charged the rebellious people with forgetting God, and assembling for *corn and grapes;* and Zechariah said that "corn shall make the young men thrive, and grapes the maids."

There remain only six texts to be accounted for. In Judges the vine asks, in a parable, "Should I leave my grapes?" where the fruit is still on the tree; in Isaiah, the fruit is said to wither and droop on the vine, and the same prophet speaks of the fruit in the cluster; in Micah, the *tirosh* is trodden to yield wine; and Hosea speaks of the growing fruit as *failing*, that is, disappointing hope, and he distinguishes the *tirosh* from wine. It thus appears that the blessing, of which the Bible speaks in so many fine passages, is to be found, not in stimulating wine, but in nourishing food. The limits of an article permit only brief hints rather than fully-developed arguments. A hint is enough to the thoughtful, *verbum sat sapienti.*

The learned author of *Tirosh lo Yayin*, who has never allowed his name to be given to the public, though known to a limited circle of friends, was the first to establish the solid interpretation throughout. He is a lawyer, and he reaches his conclusions with lawyer-like precision. It is more than thirty years since he published his essay, and subsequent investigations have only confirmed his conclusions. The latest writer on the same side is Principal Douglas, of Glasgow. The late Principal Fairbairn has laid the churches under lasting obligations as editor of the best Bible diction-

ary; and the wine article, by Principal Douglas, is calm, candid, and conclusive, in a very high degree. The reader of Fairbairn's *Dictionary* will seldom turn to Kitto's or Smith's. The able writer on wine in Smith's *Dictionary* is respected even by those who are compelled to differ from him, which is more than can be said of the writer in Alexander's *Kitto*.

There is not space in this article for discussing the Scriptural use of the generic term *yayin*, which is applied to the liquid produce of the vine in all its states. That it is applicable to intoxicating wine, no one disputes; but it is equally unquestionable that it is applicable to unintoxicating wine. The common wine used for daily food in Palestine, as also in France, is practically unintoxicating. Sober men use a bottle of it at dinner without the slightest intoxicating effect. The medicated wine of the drunkard in ancient times, as also the brandied wine of the present day, is not a food. Much controversy has arisen from the corresponding generic term of the New Testament, as used in the record of the miracle at Cana, and "the fruit of the vine," as used at the institution of the Lord's Supper. In both cases the article must have possessed the quality of food fitted to nourish the body. This was required in the marriage feast of seven days, and in the eucharistic emblem of the blood of Christ, which blood is the joy and nourishment of our souls. The contents of the communion cup must be the liquid fruit of the vine, red in colour, and nourishing in substance. We must contend for these characteristics; but we have no Scriptural authority to ask for more. The doctrine respecting the broken body and shed blood of the Redeemer, when received by faith, is the life and joy of our souls. His "flesh is meat indeed," and his "blood is drink indeed."

Every man must judge for himself whether it is right for him to drink the strong wines and other intoxicating liquors in common use among us, and to present them at his table to be partaken of by his family and friends. This is a question on which Christian men are likely to take different sides; while a growing number are adopting the principle of abstinence in the face of the great and growing vice of intemperance, which is proving the bane of society and of the Church of God. But no one has a right to misrepresent

the writers of Scripture, by applying their words otherwise than the writers intended. Great injustice is done to the Bible when the wine of which it speaks is identified with the port-wine of the present day, which many regard as its proper representative. The two articles are so different, that what is predicated of the one cannot with truth be predicated of the other. The views expressed in this article may be new to some readers, but they are not new to the writer, who has published similar views nearly thirty years ago, and subsequent reading and reflection have only tended to confirm them. They are now submitted to the candid consideration of the reader, who will judge of them fairly in the light of the evidence adduced. PETER MEARNS.

ART. IV.—*John of Barneveld and the Synod of Dort.*

The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland, with a View of the Primary Causes and Movements of the Thirty Years' War. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L. and LL.D. John Murray. 2 vols. 8vo, 1874; and 2 vols. crown 8vo, 1875.

MR MOTLEY'S reputation as one of the very few historians of the first class is too well established to need a word now in support of his claim to take that rank. His *Rise of the Dutch Republic* and his *History of the United Netherlands* displayed such careful study of the original sources, such impartiality in the statement of facts, such a mastery of his multifarious materials, and such skill in arranging them, such a vigour and brilliancy of style, and such graphic power in delineating character—in a word, such a sympathy with the noble struggle for liberty, whose chequered progress and triumphant issue he had undertaken to relate, that there soon was but one opinion of his rare ability in that most difficult department of high literature.

Most of these qualities meet in the present work, but certainly not all; nor, with some brilliant exceptions, do they stand out to the same advantage. Perhaps this is due partly to the nature of the subject, partly also to the mode of treatment; but we cannot help thinking that it is due

also to a certain bias, unconscious, we doubt not, in dealing with the religious feature of his theme, which shews itself in less attention paid to the original sources than was to be expected of Mr Motley, and in the summary, flippant, and even sneering way in which this vital feature of his work is handled.

A skilful painter, in arranging his subject, takes care to avoid too large a foreground, the effect of which is to distract attention from the principal objects. In the work before us there has not been sufficient care to observe this principle. No doubt the great Advocate of Holland was a central figure in the grand European drama of that day; but he scarcely deserved to have gathered around his person and actings such a quantity of general historical matter as has been crowded into this work. The reader is in fact bewildered, when in chapter after chapter, he is treated to details with which Barneveld had nothing directly, and not much even indirectly, to do. But the secret of this may perhaps be found in a prefatory explanation. Mr Motley says he designed this work, not as "the natural sequel to his other histories," but as "the necessary introduction" to that other and concluding portion of his labours which he has always desired to lay before the public, a history of the Thirty Years' War. To that work we look forward with lively interest, as one peculiarly fit for our author's pen, and one much needed. But if, instead of weaving the "necessary introduction" to that work into the present one, he had reserved it for the first part of the coming work, we think it would have somewhat relieved the volumes before us. Indeed, we shrewdly suspect that all this general matter was prepared for the future work, and that the author resolved on embodying it here with the double hope of giving to his present subject a deeper and wider interest, and preparing the public mind for the still greater work yet to come. Be this as it may, he has probably discovered by this time that the plan he has followed was not the wisest, and that the public have not been so grateful for the superfluous matter as the labour of collecting it might lead him to expect.

But our object in the present paper is not to discuss the merits of this work in its purely historical character. With one feature of it only do we mean to deal—the religious

question which convulsed the country, occasioned the Synod of Dort, and brought the Advocate of Holland and the Prince of Orange, with the States-General, into such unhappy and fatal collision. This however is no easy matter. Political questions of extreme delicacy, affecting the very constitution of the United Provinces, were mixed up with the great theological controversy; much party heat was displayed on both sides, and principles were acted on by both parties which are utterly foreign to modern ideas. Besides, as the policy of the chiefs of each party was visibly shaped by the bearing of the religious question on their political views, one requires to steer his course with some jealousy, even at the distance of two hundred and fifty years from the scenes referred to, if he would hope to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. To which side the mere secular historian would lean, on any such question as that which then agitated the Netherlands, it is easy to conjecture. Mr Motley makes short and easy work of it; but even he writes at times, as we shall see, as if under Barneveld's policy, however honestly pursued and by him ingeniously defended, a settled Republic could never live, and he can ill conceal his conviction that the Advocate's desire to preserve from extinction the religious party with which he sympathised had much, if not everything, to do in shaping that policy, and leading him to stick to it with such pertinacity.

The subject falls asunder into three natural divisions:— The *historical* question, What was the recognised faith of the Belgic Reformed Church? the *constitutional* question, Was the calling of a National Synod to settle the differences on this point a warrantable and wise step? and the *religious* question, What was the procedure and what the result and the merits of that Synod? On each of these points it will be necessary to enter into some detail, if we would enable the reader to form a just estimate of the case before us.

I. *The Historical Question.*—Among the splendid possessions which Charles V. inherited, were the Seventeen Belgic Provinces comprising the Netherlands. For centuries before the Reformation a spirit of earnest reality in life, of reform in religion, and of enterprise and progress in industrial and commercial pursuits, had taken possession of that country,

raising it to eminence among European nations—a congenial soil this for the new religious movement which, issuing from Wittemberg, was finding a welcome far and wide. Accordingly, the truths proclaimed by Luther were hailed in the Low Countries with extraordinary avidity. The Imperial and Papal parties soon took the alarm, and combining their terrible resources, sought to crush out the hated thing by sheer force. But the fiercer the persecution, the more resolutely did Dutch determination resent and resist it. As the flames of imperial despotism and sacerdotal rage waxed hotter, the number of Protestants multiplied, and martyrdoms seemed only to sow the seeds of Protestantism broadcast over the land. In the course of Charles' capricious but cruel reign, but still more in that of his bigoted and bloody son Philip II., no fewer than 50,000 are computed to have perished at the stake or in the field for evangelical truth in the Low Countries. But at length, after prodigies of endurance and valour, of patience under defeat and determination never to yield till liberty and independence should crown their struggles, the north achieved its freedom in 1579, though the southern provinces were retained within the grasp of Spain and Rome; and in the year 1584 Seven out of the Seventeen Provinces were formally constituted into the Republic of the Seven United Provinces.

In consequence of the obloquy that had been heaped upon the very name of Protestant—identified as it was with the wild and fanatical, the lawless and anarchical dreams of the Anabaptists—the Netherlands' adherents of the Reformed Faith had long felt it due to themselves to have some public expression of the truths which they had embraced and for which they were prepared to suffer. Materials for this already existed, and were in partial use. John à Lasco, the distinguished Polish nobleman who, on embracing Protestantism in its Swiss or Zwinglian form, had devoted himself to Theology, was for seven years Superintendent of the Protestant churches in East Friesland, bordering on the Netherlands. From thence, in the spring of 1550, he had removed to England on the invitation of the Protector Somerset and Archbishop Cranmer, and was appointed Superintendent of those foreign Protestants, Belgians and others, who having fled from Continental persecution, had

come to England and settled in London under the broad shield of Edward VI. In that year à Lasco had drawn up for their use what was called "the London Confession," and in 1551 it was issued both in Latin and in Dutch. This Confession was used by the Belgic Protestants in their own country so long as they had no other.[1] But at length they had one drawn up for themselves, which came to be known as "the Netherlands Confession." Its author was one Guido de Bres, a Walloon (or French speaking) Belgian, and eventually a martyr for his faith. It was composed in French, and issued in 1561. It bears a close resemblance in plan and substance to the French Confession which was adopted at the first Synod of that church in 1559; but though the author of the Netherlands Confession probably had the French one before him, it has a character of its own and a certain precision in form and expression which the lapse of two years between the two sufficiently accounts for. It was designed, as was said, to shew what had been the faith of the Belgian churches ever since 1523, when the Reformed Faith first took root in the Low Countries—that memorable year when the first three young martyrs were led to the stake at Antwerp for Christ. After it had been eighteen years in circulation, this Confession received the formal sanction of a Belgic Synod, was issued in the Belgic language in the year 1579, and in 1581 translated and published in Latin, entitled, "Confession of the Reformed Churches of Belgium," &c. It consists of thirty-seven articles, which are undeniably Calvinistic.[2] This might seem to settle the historical question, whether the Faith of the Belgic Protestants was originally Calvinistic or no. But as every effort has been made to weaken the evidence for this, let us see what can be said against it.

"The principles of 'orthodox' reformers (says Hardwick) were originally in strict accordance with the school of Wittemberg; but in the Netherlands, as in many other places, the Lutheran modes of thought were replaced by those of Calvin, owing to the circumstance that not a few of

[1] Niemeyer's *Collectio Confessionum*, p. lii.; Hardwick's *History of the Reformation*, p. 161, note 9.

[2] Niemeyer's *Collectio*, p. lii. and pp. 368-389; *Sylloge Confessionum* (Oxon. ed. alt. 1827), pp. xviii. and pp. 327-354; Winer's *Confessions of Christendom* (Clark's Translation), p. 24.

the later teachers had been influenced by the Huguenots of the adjoining kingdom."[1]

Kurtz makes a similar statement,[2] though not as to "orthodox" reformers in general, which is notoriously untrue. But on what authority is this statement made? Two letters of Luther's are referred to. One is to the Christians in Brabant immediately after the death of the first two martyrs (1st July 1523), which no more proves them to be distinctively Lutheran than a similar letter of consolation and encouragement from Hugh Latimer would have proved them Episcopalians. The other letter—to the Antwerp converts two years after, warning them against the Anabaptists—only proves the ardent desire of the great Reformer that Protestantism in the Netherlands might not come into discredit by any sympathy with such fanatics. Kurtz' next authority is a letter (quoted from Gieseler) of the President of the Supreme Court at Brussels, dated 23d May 1567, five years after the publication of the Belgic Confession, containing these words, "Very few of them adhere to the Augsburg Confession, but Calvinism has taken possession of nearly all hearts."[3] Does this prove that the Augsburg Confession had been first embraced and afterwards abandoned in favour of Calvinism? Nothing of the sort, but merely that that Confession had very few adherents, and nearly all were Calvinists to the core; a statement of the utmost importance on this historical question, coming from such a quarter, and at so early a period. But another sentence from the same letter may be thought more to the point—"The door being once opened through the Lutherans, they go quickly on to their other dogmas."[4] From this, however, we draw a different inference from Gieseler and Hardwick. This President of the Court at Brussels, to shew the evils that had flowed from the entrance of Luther's movement into the Low Countries, says that instead of stopping at the points which first gave Luther such a hold on earnest minds (free grace, &c.), the Hollanders had taken

[1] Hardwick, pp. 160, 161.

[2] Kurtz's *History of the Reformation*, § 19, 6.

[3] Confessioni autem Augustanæ paucissimi eorum adhærent, sed Calvinismus omnium pene corda occupavit.

[4] Ostio per Lutheranos semel patefacto, ad ulteriora eorum dogmata progrediuntur.

to searching the Scriptures for themselves, and had thus been led to embrace Calvinistic principles, which to him would seem very bad. If this is all that is meant, as we are confident it is, it only proves that as soon as the Protestants of the Low Countries began to acquire systematic conceptions of their new faith, they almost universally settled down in the Calvinistic type of it. One more authority is quoted to prove that originally the Protestantism of the Netherlands was distinctively Lutheran—Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries.*[1] But the facts referred to in that work so little serve the purpose for which they are adduced, that it will be enough to state in a foot-note what they are.[2]

[1] As we shall have occasion pretty copiously to refer to this work, it may be proper to state that Brandt was Professor of Divinity and Minister of a congregation at Amsterdam of the Remonstrant or Arminian body in the latter half of the seventeenth century. His elaborate work was written in Dutch (1671), and translated into English in four volumes folio (1720). Though written from the Remonstrant point of view, and presenting their case in the most favourable light, it is an honest production, and on the whole impartial; and giving as it does such copious and almost verbatim summaries of the most important public documents, it forms a most valuable record of events of the highest importance.

[2] The first reference (to vol. i., p. 215), if it proves anything, proves that the Lutherans at the time referred to (1566) were a mere handful, or a small minority, who had to plead for the toleration of their Augsburg eucharistic views as but slightly differing from those of the Reformed; but that as this did not satisfy the Reformed, the heat occasioned by this dissension was only cooled when the fierce Duke of Alva came down equally on both. The other reference (to p. 239) is still less conclusive, nay rather it tells the other way. In the year 1567, when advantage was taken of the Anabaptist and other fanatical excesses to poison the authorities against the whole Protestant faith, and with too much success, the Stadtholder and others thought it would be well (there being as yet no publicly recognised expression of their faith) that some document should be emitted disowning all such pestilent errors, and since the Augsburg Confession had legal protection in Germany and was well known, a general acquiescence in it on the part of the Netherlands Protestants might be expressed. This accordingly was done at once. Brandt says that "the reason why they did not follow the Confession of Augsburg was partly because they had already maintained in writing the doctrines of Calvin and the French churches. . . . Nevertheless the Dutch Reformed *screened themselves sometimes behind the Augsburg Confession*, because it was not so disagreeable at court as the French or Calvinian, since the latter sect was esteemed to be more addicted to tumult and uproar than the Lutheran" (vol. i., p. 142). But this was so far from meaning that they assented to the distinctive views of the Lutherans, that when some Antwerp Lutherans, presuming that it did mean that, or might be made to do so, had the imprudence to invite to their city some of the more bigoted Lutherans, including the noted Flacius Illyricus (*Luthero lutheraniores*), to debate with the Reformed, they soon found they had mistaken their men. (The point in dispute had nothing whatever to do

We cannot leave this branch of our subject without adverting to two reflections on the Netherlands Confession, intended to shew that it does not represent the mind of the Netherlands Protestant—the one by Hardwick, the other by Winer.

"The project [of a Confession of their own] was originated (says Hardwick) in 1559 by Guido de Bres, a Walloon, who, from his position and the manner in which his own convictions were matured, had naturally adopted the French Confession as the basis of his work. *He therefore fixed the Calvinistic principles of Holland.*"[1] [The italics are ours.]

Was this Guido de Bres, then, such a Luther, a Zwingli, or a Calvin, that he should be able to stamp Protestant Holland with his own impress? Why, hardly anything is known of him save that he drew up this Confession, and that he perished at the stake for Christ. The thing is ridiculous. No doubt since the Reformation in France preceded Luther's in Germany, and had in spite of hot opposition spread in different directions, the adjacent Netherlands would feel its effects; but as the wave from Wittemberg was simultaneous, if not prior, to that from France, it is not easy to see why French views should have taken more effect on Belgian Protestants than German, save from deliberate preference. And if Guido de Bres drew up his Confession in 1559, the very year in which the French Confession was adopted at a Paris Synod, he must have been in full sympathy with its

with the controversy which the Synod of Dort was summoned to decide—it was the Eucharist.) And finding that the Netherlands Protestants were not to be borne down by flaring in their face the great names of Luther and Melancthon, they gave way to abuse and calling bad names. Whereupon a noble letter was addressed to them by one of the Reformed, and published both in French and Dutch, lamenting such discord and the scandal it would occasion, reminding his dearly beloved brethren that great as were those gifts from God—Luther and Melancthon—and eminent as were their services to the truth, they had sufficiently shewn that they were not gods upon earth; that surrounded as they were in Germany by enemies to the whole Reformation work, and in particular to the scriptural doctrine of the Eucharist, they might think it wise to open the truth only by degrees, but that was no reason why in the Netherlands they should rest in a half-and-half renunciation of Popish errors; and that as they themselves made no idols of Zuingli and Œolampadius, though concurring in their views, so neither would they idolise Luther, nor make a *Fifth Gospel* of the Augsburg Confession. The letter concludes with an entreaty to take this communication in good part, and that they should rather strive for the honour of their common Lord than please the common enemy by stirring up strife. Thus ended this miserable attempt to graft Lutheran peculiarities on a Church of the Reformed type.

[1] Hardwick, pp. 161, 162.

principles long before that, and must have thoroughly digested the system he had to draft out before he saw the French Confession, else he could never have executed such a task. So much for Hardwick's statement. What now is Winer's?

"Those who attentively read it [the Belgic Confession] will find strong reason for thinking that it was written by some individual hastily, without much judgment, or the serious scrutiny of others, and therefore for doubting whether such a document ought to be regarded as expressing the mind of the whole community."[1]

Well, we also have "read it attentively," but find no "strong reason for thinking it was written hastily." On the contrary, we think it will bear favourable comparison, both in thought and expression, with the French Confession. Brandt, no favourer of it, says that de Bres, in composing it, had the assistance of Adrian Saravia (professor of divinity at Leyden), and three or four other teachers, and that Saravia said its author "communicated it to such members as he could find, desiring them to correct what they thought amiss in it, so that it was not to be considered as one man's work; but that none who were concerned in it ever designed it for a rule of faith to others, but only for a Scriptural proof of what they themselves believed."[2] But the question with us is, not what Guido de Bres thought of his own production, but what the Belgic Protestants thought of it, and what use they made of it after they had full time to weigh it. After being in circulation six years, the distinguished scholar and divine, Francis Junius, afterwards professor of divinity at Leyden, was requested by a Belgic Synod, held in 1566, to examine it, and by him it was sent to the brethren in Geneva, in order that, if approved by them and judged useful to the Church, it might be printed. But this (says Brandt) seems to relate to the second impression, for it was published for the first time in 1563 both in High and Low Dutch, and contracted a little, and printed in French and Dutch in 1566.[3] All this, if correct, proves that this Confession was drawn up neither "hastily," nor "without judgment;" that it underwent "the serious scrutiny" of professors of divinity and successive synods, and that since

[1] *Confessions of Christendom* (Clark's Transl. p. 24).
[2] Vol. i. p. 142. [3] Vol. i. p. 142.

it was adopted, after it had been in existence for some twenty years, by a Belgic synod in 1579, and issued in Latin two years after without any opposition, it must be regarded as "expressing the mind of the whole community." In fact, Brandt's description is quite correct:—

"In almost all its thirty-seven articles it differs from Popery; in some from that of Augsburg, especially in the business of the Lord's Supper; from that of the Anabaptists, in the doctrines of baptism, the incarnation, and the power of the magistrate; it likewise differs from the Augsburgian and many other Confessions [*i.e.*, of the "Augsburgian" type] in the point of predestination; and from some in other articles. It agrees for the most part with the Confession of the reformed French churches; those therefore that embraced it gave themselves, in imitation of the French, the distinguishing title of *Reformed*. Others gave themselves the name of *Calvinists*, because both the Confessions—as well the French as this—are drawn up according to the opinions of John Calvin, a famous teacher at Geneva."[1]

If we have seemed to dwell at undue length on the pronounced Calvinistic character of Belgic Protestantism, it is because on this turned the whole controversy which occasioned the Synod of Dort, and because those writers whose sympathies are with the Arminian party have, one after another, tried to make it out that this party had as good a standing, ecclesiastically and constitutionally, as those who sat in judgment upon them at that synod. And we have only to add, that if there could still be a reasonable doubt whether the Netherlands Confession was accepted in its Calvinistic sense by the Belgic Protestants, their requiring the *Heidelberg Catechism*, which is notoriously Calvinistic, to be used in family instruction, and recommending it for frequent pulpit exposition, should set the question for ever at rest.

II. *The Constitutional Question.*—To understand this, it will be necessary to trace briefly the rise of the Arminian party in the Belgic Protestant Church.

In probably all countries that have become Protestant after many and bloody struggles, some have attached themselves to it sincerely enough, but out of sympathy with only its subordinate features, carried along by a feeling of relief from the mental bondage in which Rome holds its votaries,

[1] Burnet, i. 142.

or by the other advantages expected from the change, but strangers to that heroic faith by which alone the victory over Rome has ever been permanently achieved. It was so at least in the Netherlands. And when such converts were admitted to the ministry of the gospel, as might easily be in an unsettled state of things, and when all aspirants to office were presumed to be loyal to the new faith, the nucleus of what in Scotland would be called a Moderate party would be apt to appear. In the preface to the *Acts of the Synod of Dort*, drawn up and sanctioned by public authority, some cases of this sort are alluded to, and their names are given.[1] But these were only premonitory symptoms of the storm that was afterwards to break upon the Belgic Church: men of more mark were needed to stir the waters.

James van Harmensen—or *Arminius*, as he himself desired to be called—was born in 1560, not far from Amsterdam; and, as being an orphan, was sent at the public expense, first to the University of Leyden, and afterwards to Geneva, at which latter place he distinguished himself for scholarship, acumen, and powers of disputation. On returning to Amsterdam, he was chosen one of the city ministers. From the reputation he had gained, he was requested by the divinity faculty of Franequer to defend his former master, Beza, from attacks on his doctrine and that of Calvin, contained in a newly published treatise on the predestination of the ninth of Romans. The examination of the subject, however, resulted in his conversion to the very opinions he was expected to refute. From that time forward he ceased to hold the doctrine of unconditional election. In 1603 he was elected divinity professor at Leyden upon the death of Francis Junius. To this appointment the deputies of the churches strongly objected; but Arminius, having pledged

[1] *Acta Synodi Nationalis Dordrechtane*, præfatio, p. 2*a* (4to, 1620). One of these "owned himself not to be of the same persuasion as those of the Reformed Church, and yet had acted as a minister of that church," and was excommunicated in 1581 by a synod held at Middleburg, with concurrence of the States. The magistrates continued his salary for some time, but at length he went into business as a distiller (Brandt, i. 382). Another went great lengths in the direction of Pelagianism, and was suspended in 1595 by a synod at Alkmaer (North Holland); and though the sentence was confirmed in the following year by a synod at Haarlem, he disowned ecclesiastical authority, and set up a congregation of his own. He was at length excommunicated in 1598 (Brandt, i. 450, 451).

himself to teach nothing contrary to the received doctrine of the Church, he was admitted.[1] For the first year or two he was cautious in giving expression to his novel opinions; but gradually it came to be noised abroad that other theology than that of the Standards was taught from his chair. His senior colleague, Gomarus, the well-known Supralapsarian, after several negotiations and remonstrances with him in private, took up the position of a public opponent; and although with his own students he was increasingly popular, the growing opposition was more than he could bear. His spirits broke, he sank into bad health, and died in 1609. He was beyond doubt a sincere and good man; and whatever may be thought of the tendency of his teaching, it certainly did not develop into that open contradiction to the Standards which appeared in his successor, and still less did it come the length of the more advanced Remonstrant school.

On his death the University Curators, evidently wishing to encourage the line of teaching which Arminius had inaugurated, selected Conrad Vorstius to succeed him. But so grossly Pelagian were his writings—containing even unworthy representations of the Divine nature—that appeals to the States-General against so bad an appointment poured in from all quarters. Still he had powerful backing in the States, there being an unconcealed desire on the part of some of the most distinguished men in the country to have greater freedom of religious thought and expression introduced into the Church, and a confident expectation that the appointment of Vorstius would promote this. Of this class were Barneveld, Advocate of Holland, the renowned Hugo Grotius, "pensionary" of Rotterdam, Hoogerbeets, "pensionary" of Leyden, and Uytenbogaert, Court Preacher at the Hague and chaplain to Prince Maurice, who for his eloquence was called the Dutch Cicero. It was observable, too, that all who afterwards appeared on the Arminian side were keen advocates of this appointment. But the opposition proved too loud to be disregarded. In particular, that

[1] Simulque promitteret, nihil quod à receptâ ecclesiarum doctrinâ discreparet se docturum, ad professionem theologicam admissus est.—*Acta Syn. Dordr.*, præf. p. 2*b*.

pedantic and fussy theologian, our own King James, wrote, through his ambassador, a towering letter on the subject. He had read, he said, one of that man's books, and bad as Arminius was, if they put in his place such an arch-heretic as Vorstius, it would only be to "fall out of the frying-pan into the fire," and he, at any rate, would have nothing to do with them.[1] Such language addressed to a people proud of their self-achieved liberty was deeply resented, especially by Barneveld, who, besides being the virtual mouth-piece of the States, was himself a warm supporter of Vorstius. But as the States could not afford at that crisis to quarrel with England, and the voice of the country was loud against Vorstius, the appointment had at length to be cancelled; and at a later period this unhappy man was banished the United Provinces. The appointment was next bestowed on one who had been the most distinguished student of the late professor—Simon Episcopius.

This man, afterwards the Coryphæus of the Arminian party, was born in 1583, and like Arminius and for the same reason, was sent to Leyden, where he displayed uncommon ability. On taking his degree, he entered with ardour on the study of theology under the three professors, Gomarus, Trelcatius, and Arminius, drinking in the peculiar views of the last of the three, to whom personally he became warmly attached. Uytenbogaert, hearing of him, made his acquaintance, and marked him out as likely to be serviceable to the cause he had at heart, that of a freer theology. Indeed, the views of the young divine became only too soon known for his own prospects in the Church; insomuch that, with the concurrence of Arminius, he deemed it advisable to transfer his studies to Franequer, where he had the privilege of sitting under the celebrated Drusius. But scarcely was he there when, though his master had recommended him to keep quiet, he was dragged into controversy. A public disputation being held in the college on Rom. vii., under the presidency of Professor Sibrandus, he was made to rise, and he disputed in opposition to the professor's views. Sibrandus paid him the rather left-handed compliment of saying that Arminius himself could not have done

[1] Motley's *Barneveld*, vol. i. pp. 264, 265 (8vo), and pp. 303, 304 (crown 8vo).

better. On his return to Amsterdam, his opinions being now widely known, he could hardly obtain from his Classis (or Presbytery) what in Scotland is termed "license." But the magistrates of Rotterdam having presented him to one of their vacant charges, and being determined to have him settled, the Classis reluctantly yielded, and he was ordained. His weight in the pulpit and out of it was soon powerfully enlisted in favour of the new views; and though as yet small in number, the influence of the new party rapidly increased in the general community, and the nucleus of a formidable section of the people was created. Congregations were divided; and while the orthodox were alarmed, the new party increased in boldness, encouraged by having on their side such distinguished men as we have named. In fact, at that time the temper of the States-General was favourable to the Arminian party; and when the Classis of Alkmaer took the bold step of suspending some ministers who had refused to subscribe the Confession in the Calvinistic sense, the other party thought it high time to appeal to the States. This they did in 1610, in the famous document called a "*Remonstrance*," explaining in "Five Points," first, what they rejected, and next, in the same number of Points, what they were prepared to maintain. From this the whole party came henceforth to be known by the name of "REMONSTRANTS." They protested that they accepted the doctrine of the Confession, differing from their opponents only as to its true sense. After several negotiations, the States in 1611 appointed a conference of six ministers on each side to be held at the Hague in their presence, in which the points of difference should be amicably debated. To be on an equal footing, however, with their opponents, the Calvinistic members of this Conference thought it due to themselves to draw up and present a "*Contra-Remonstrance;*" from which they also came henceforth to be known by the name of "CONTRA-REMONSTRANTS." This Conference, however, though continued with intervals over three months, ended, as might have been expected, in little; and questions of a more delicate nature soon emerged which gave a new complexion to the whole controversy. The Remonstrants, seeing that they had the sympathy of some of the most influential members of the States-General, while among the clergy they

were in a hopless minority, were anxious that the Supreme Body should take the settlement of the case into their own hands; while their opponents, alarmed at this attempt to introduce State Supremacy in matters purely spiritual, determined to resist it. For doing this they were charged with disloyalty, as if they wished to override the State. They protested that this was a calumny, that they stood on constitutional ground, that they were an overwhelming majority of the clergy, and that this was nothing short of a conspiracy, at the bidding of a handful of innovating ministers, to revolutionise the faith of the Belgic Church; but, supported as the minority were by statesmen of distinguished ability and commanding influence with whom they were unable to cope, they insisted that a national synod should be called to settle the whole question.

But this project of a National Synod raised a constitutional question of extreme delicacy. The union of the United Provinces was a working scheme rather than a formal and legal one. Each province was theoretically independent, and it was a common necessity that had drawn them together rather than any deliberate purpose permanently to unite. There was no sufficient cohesion, and some change in that direction, it was easy to see, was only a question of time. But the success of any movement with this view would naturally depend on the time and occasion, the parties to it, and the objects they had in view. In the present case perplexing questions could not fail to arise. If the States-General were to call a National Synod, what were the deputies to it of those provinces that were opposed to that measure to do? Were they to go against their constituents, or, refusing, to be overborne by the majority? Then of whom were the members of this Synod to consist, and how were they to be elected? But the most formidable difficulty lay behind all these questions. What validity were the decisions of this Synod to possess? Were they to be treated as authoritative and binding? For such a thing was quite new in the Confederation, and the Provinces were far more jealous of their own independence than alive to the value of national unity, save against some common external foe. What view the religious parties would take of such questions would, to a large extent, depend on what they expected to

be the issue of a National Synod. The Remonstrants, and all who sympathised with them, being in a hopeless clerical minority, and expecting from such a Synod only to have their opinions condemned and themselves put under the ban, would naturally stand upon their Provincial rights, and object to be overborne by any united action not explicitly recognised by the Constitution; while, for a similar reason, the Contra-Remonstrants and their adherents would naturally urge such a Synod as alone capable of eliciting the voice of the Church, the rightful authority in all matters purely spiritual. Meantime political jealousies were springing up in high places, and the two most powerful men in the Confederation at length stood in deadly opposition to each other in State policy. To make this state of things plain in its bearing on the religious question, we must quote from the graphic pages of Mr Motley:—

"At the congress of the States-General, the scene of his most important functions, Barneveld was the ambassador of [the province of] Holland, acting nominally according to their instructions, and exercising the powers of minister of foreign affairs, and, as it were, prime minister for the other confederates by their common consent. The system would have been intolerable, the great affairs of war and peace could never have been carried on so triumphantly, had not the preponderance of the one province, Holland—richer, more powerful, more important in every way than the other six provinces combined—given to the Confederacy, illegally but virtually, many of the attributes of union. Rather by usucaption than usurpation, Holland had in many regards come to consider herself, and be considered, as the Republic itself. And Barneveld, acting always in the name of Holland, and with the most modest of titles and appointments, was for a long time in all civil matters the chief of the whole country. This had been convenient during the war, still more convenient during negotiations for peace; but it was inevitable that there should be murmurs now that the cessation from military operations on a large scale had given men time to look more deeply into the nature of a constitution partly inherited and partly improvised, and having many of the defects usually incident to both sources of government."[1]

But this state of things was preparing a sad issue for Barneveld. There was one in the Confederation for whose position and views in time of peace it had been well for Barneveld and his party to have had more sympathy and consideration than they had, and with whom they might have come to an understanding advantageous alike to them-

[1] Motley's *Barneveld*, vol. i. pp. 283, 284 (8vo), and pp. 324, 325 (crown 8vo).

selves and to the country. Since William the Silent, Prince Maurice's father, would undoubtedly have been elevated to the rank of sovereign Count of Holland, many thought it only natural that the son, Prince Maurice, having been generalissimo of all the armies of the Republic during the war, and in that capacity having shewn himself the consummate military commander of the age, should have that dignity conferred upon him. For—

"The federal policy of the Provinces had drifted into a republican form after their renunciation of their Spanish sovereign, not because the people, or the States representing the people, had deliberately chosen a republican system, but because they could get no powerful monarch to accept the sovereignty. They had offered to become the subjects of Protestant England and of Catholic France. Both powers had refused the offer, and refused it with something like contumely. . . . But the internal policy in all the provinces and in all the towns was republican. Local self-government existed everywhere. Each city magistracy was a little republic in itself. The death of William the Silent, before he had been invested with the sovereign power of all the seven provinces, again left the sovereignty in abeyance. Was the supreme power of the Union, created at Utrecht in 1579, vested in the States-General? They were beginning to claim it, but Barneveld denied the existence of any such power either in law or fact. It was a league of sovereignties he maintained; a confederacy of seven independent states, united for certain purposes by a treaty made some thirty years before. Nothing could be more imbecile, judging by the light of subsequent events and the experience of centuries, than such an organisation. The independent and sovereign Republic of Zealand and Groningen, for example, would have made a poor figure campaigning, or negotiating, or exhibiting itself on its own account before the world. Yet it were difficult to shew any charter, precedent, or prescription for the sovereignty of the States-General. Necessary as such an incorporation was for the very existence of the Union, no constitutional union had been enacted. Practically the province of Holland, representing more than half the population, wealth, strength, and intellect of the whole Confederation, had achieved an irregular supremacy in the States-General. But its undeniable superiority was now causing a rank growth of envy, hatred, and jealousy throughout the country; and the great Advocate of Holland, who was identified with the province, and had so long wielded its power, was beginning to reap the full harvest of that malice."[1]

In these circumstances, so perilous for Barneveld, what would seem to have been his wisest and safest policy? To answer such a question would seem presumptuous in us. But it is no great presumption to say that what he

[1] Motley, vol. i. pp. 327, 328, (8vo), and pp. 374, 375 (crown 8vo).

actually did was the very worst for himself. He was a lawyer, and knowing the actual constitution of his country, he was resolved that nothing should be done, and no principle recognised, with his consent, but strictly within the constitutional lines. Within this position he intrenched himself, and nothing would move him. The Prince of Orange, on the other hand, was a soldier, and Stadtholder of five out of the Seven Provinces. In every respect he had a good right to judge for himself what was fitted to consolidate and strengthen the Confederation, and what to loosen its cohesion and keep it weak. He could not but see that national questions would from time to time arise which could never be disposed of satisfactorily if each province, standing on its own independence, should insist on settling it for itself. This religious question, for example, was convulsing the country, and could only be set at rest by a National Synod, at which the mind of the Church could be brought out so unmistakeably as to render the permanent settlement far easier than if each Province were disposing of it in its own way. That was evidently Prince Maurice's view; but Barneveld was dead against it, as necessitating a course of action new to the Constitution. In this view of the matter he was supported by Hugo Grotius and Hoogerbeets in the States-General, and by Uytenbogaert, the cleric. But beyond all doubt there was a dangerous personal element in the question.

"The peace party [in the war with Spain], led by Barneveld, had triumphed, notwithstanding the steady opposition of Maurice and his adherents. . . . A hollow friendship was kept up between the two during the first few years of the truce, but resentment and jealousy lay deep in Maurice's heart. . . . It was impossible, as Aerssens, the Dutch ambassador at the French court, thought and whispered, that two heads could remain on one body politic. There was no room in the Netherlands for both the Advocate and the Prince. Barneveld was in all civil affairs chief magistrate, supreme judge; but he occupied this station by the force of intellect, will, and experience, not through any constitutional provision. . . . Barneveld suspected the Prince of wishing to make himself sovereign of the country. Perhaps his suspicions were incorrect. Yet there was every reason why Maurice should be ambitious of that position. . . . It was very natural that he should be restive under the dictatorship of the advocate. If a single burgher and lawyer could make himself despot of the Netherlands, how much more reasonable that he—with the noblest blood of Europe in his veins, and whose direct ancestor

three centuries before had been emperor not only of these provinces but of all Germany and half Christendom besides, whose immortal father had under God been the creator and saviour of the new commonwealth, had made sacrifices such as man never made for a people, and had at last laid down his life in its defence; who had himself fought daily from boyhood upwards in the great cause, who had led national armies from victory to victory till he had placed his country as a military school and a belligerent power foremost among the nations, and had at last so exhausted and humbled the great adversary and former tyrant that he had been glad of a truce, while the rebel chief would have been glad to continue the war—should aspire to rule by hereditary right a land with which his name and his race were indelibly associated by countless sacrifices and heroic achievements. . . . Yet it was a chief grievance against the advocate on the part of the prince that Barneveld believed him capable of this ambition. . . . So undefined was the Constitution, and so conflicting were the various opinions in regard to it of eminent men, that it would be difficult to say how high treason could be committed against it. Great lawyers of highest intellect and learning believed the sovereign power to reside in the separate states, others found that sovereignty in the city magistracies; while during a feverish period of war and tumult the supreme function had, without any written constitution, any organic law, practically devolved upon the States-General, who had now begun to claim it as a right. The Republic was neither venerable by age nor impregnable in law. It was an improvised aristocracy of lawyers, manufacturers, bankers, and corporations, which had done immense work and exhibited astonishing sagacity and courage, but which might never have achieved the independence of the provinces unaided by the sword of Orange-Nassau, and the magic spell which belonged to that name. Thus a bitter conflict was rapidly developing itself in the heart of the commonwealth; above all, the rivalry of one prominent personage against another, whose mutual hatred was now artfully inflamed by partisans. *And now another element had come, more potent than all the rest—the terrible, never-ending struggle of Church against State.*"[1]

We have italicised the last sentence of these long extracts from Mr Motley's brilliant pages, not so much as shewing how unhappily the great religious controversy had got mixed up with political differences and party jealousies, which were straining the Confederation almost to the breaking, but because it shews clearly the false light in which Mr Motley views the whole religious question, and accounts for the supercilious way in which he pronounces upon it. It was "a struggle (he says) of Church against State." Not so. It was precisely the reverse—an attempt of the State to overbear the Church in the Church's own province. "State-supremacy in religion" was the motto of all the Remonstrants, including

[1] Motley, vol. i. pp. 326–330 (8vo), and pp. 373–378.

their distinguished political supporters; and Mr Motley, quite aware of this, goes along with them. "The magistrates throughout Holland (he says), with the exception of a few free cities, were Arminian, the preachers Gomarians;[1] for Arminius ascribed to the civil authority the right to decide upon church matters, while Gomarus insisted that ecclesiastical affairs should be regulated in ecclesiastical assemblies." By this we suppose is meant that the party to which Gomarus belonged did so; for we are not aware that Gomarus himself weighed more than any other in this particular question, if indeed he said a word on the subject. Yes. The Contra-Remonstrants did indeed repudiate the Erastian principle; but in public papers still extant they once and again protested their entire loyalty to the Civil Powers, insisting only that they should be at liberty to maintain the faith of their fathers, as embodied in the public Standards, without interference from the Civil Authority. The order that had been issued by the States-General, that each party in the Church should tolerate the other, they could not submit to, as it virtually nullified the Standards. But just for that reason the Remonstrant preachers took shelter under it, preaching their own doctrines with such openness that at length a separation took place between the two parties in the public services of religion. This rupture began at Alkmaer in 1611. One of the three pastors having been suspended, not only for wrong doctrine, but immoral life, by the churches of North Holland, a tumult was raised by this man's friends against the magistrates for sympathising with the sentence. This led to their enforced resignation and the installation of others in their place, who expelled not only the elders and deacons, but the other two pastors of the city—one of them an aged and much-respected minister. On this the faithful party felt themselves compelled to withdraw from the public services of the intruded ministers, and to set up a separate service of their own; and in this they were soon followed by those at Rotterdam, who were in circumstances not dissimilar. The example became so infectious that the strange spectacle was pre-

[1] Meaning those loyal to the Calvinistic principles of the Standards; but such a name for them is an unworthy fling of Mr Motley's, for Gomarus was in no way entitled to represent them (vol. i. p. 325).

sented of the national pulpits being occupied by those who impugned some of the distinctive doctrines of the Standards, and had only a select audience; while the ministers to whom those doctrines were dear met for divine service wherever they conveniently could, having with them, however, the bulk of the earnest worshippers.[1] "As the schism grew deeper (says Mr Motley), and the States-General receded from the position which they had taken up under the lead of the Advocate, the scene was changed. A majority of the Provinces being Contra-Remonstrant, and therefore in favour of a National Synod, the States-General as a body were of necessity for the Synod." The schism was consummated at the Hague, the seat of Government and the Court. There Rosæus, one of the preachers, was so hurt at the Remonstrant preaching of his colleague Uytenbogaert, that in the year 1616 he refused to worship and participate in the communion along with him. For this Rosæus, having been excluded from the city pulpit, he set up a separate service at Ryswyk, two or three miles off, with some 1200 worshippers from the Hague. Every effort was made to heal this scandal, which created an immense stir, but in vain. Nay, a secret meeting of a number of Contra-Remonstrant ministers and elders was held at Amsterdam in the following year, when all present signed a document pledging them to hold no church-fellowship with any who impugned the Confession and Catechism. And an "Assembly of Correspondence" was held at the Hague, identifying themselves with the Amsterdam policy, and binding themselves by an "Act of Union" to support one another,

[1] *Acta Syn. Nat. Dordr.*, præf. p. 4*a* and *b*.

[2] The "position" here referred to as that taken previously by the States-General under the Advocate's lead, is thus stated in the previous paragraph, as expressed in "a solemn State Manifesto": "That my Lords, the States-General, were the foster-fathers and the natural protectors of the Church, *to whom supreme authority in Church matters belonged.*" The opposite position of the Contra-Remonstrants is thus caricatured in the next sentences by Mr Motley: "It was felt by the clergy that if many churches existed they would all remain subject to the civil authority. The power of the priesthood would thus sink before that of the burgher aristocracy. There must be one church—the Church of Geneva and Heidelberg—if that theocracy which the Gomarites meant to establish was not to vanish as a dream. It was founded on Divine Right, and knew no chief magistrate but the Holy Ghost"! But there are readers whose ideas of religion this style of writing will suit admirably.

at whatever cost, in a determined resistance to the corrupt Remonstrant teaching. Such a state of things could not possibly last long. For toleration, as now understood, was a thing then undreamt of; and the Remonstrants, while the churches were in their possession, were for putting down their opponents with as high a hand as they knew their opponents were ready to do to them. "Even the illustrious Grotius (says Mr Motley) was at that very moment repudiating the notion that there could be two religions in one State. 'Difference in public worship (he said) was in kingdoms pernicious, but in free commonwealths in the highest degree destructive.'"[1] Which then was to yield?

"The abyss was wide and deep, and the wild waves were raging more madly every hour. The Advocate, anxious and troubled but undismayed, did his best in the terrible emergency. He conferred with Prince Maurice on the subject of the Ryswyk secession. . . The prince had not yet taken a decided position. He was still under the influence of John Uytenbogaert, who with Arminius and the Advocate made up the fateful three from whom deadly disasters were deemed to have come upon the commonwealth. He wished to remain neutral. But no man can remain neutral in civil contentions threatening the life of the body politic any more than the heart can be indifferent if the human frame is sawn in two. . . It was not long before he fully comprehended the part which he must necessarily play. To say that he was indifferent to religious matters was as ridiculous as to make a like charge against Barneveld. Maurice had strong intellectual powers. He was a regular attendant on divine worship, and was accustomed to hear daily religious discussions. . . But if Maurice were a religious man, he was also a keen politician; a less capable politician, however, than a soldier, for he was confessedly the first captain of his age. He was not rapid in his conceptions, but he was sure in the end to comprehend his opportunity. The Church, the people, the Union—the sacerdotal, the democratic, and the national element—united under a name so potent to conjure with as the name of Orange-Nassau, was stronger than any other possible combination. Instinctively and logically, therefore, the Stadtholder found himself the chieftain of the Contra-Remonstrant party. . . The power of Barneveld and his partisans was now put to a severe strain. His efforts to bring back the Hague seceders were powerless. The influence of Uytenbogaert over the Stadtholder steadily diminished. . . The seceders appealed to the Stadtholder, pleading that at least they ought to be allowed to hear the Word of God as they understood it without being forced into churches where they were obliged to hear Arminian blasphemies. At least their barns might be left them. 'Barns (said Maurice), barns and outhouses! Are we to

[1] Motley, vol. i. p. 343 (8vo), and p. 393 (crown 8vo).

preach in barns? The churches belong to us, and we mean to have them too.'"[1]

The Hague seceders and Rosæus their pastor got naturally weary of having to trudge from the Hague to Ryswyk, through two or three miles of such a sloppy road that they got the nickname of the "Mud Beggars;" and having first got the use of a house in the city, which was found inconvenient, they clamoured loudly for the use of a church. The magistrates told them they had two of their own party preaching in the Great Church, and Rosæus had only been silenced for refusing to hold communion with Uytenbogaert. Maurice, however, insisted on their having a separate church; and for a while they were accommodated in the church appropriated to the English Embassy. But at length what was called the Cloister Church—an old Convent which had been used as a cannon foundry—was promised them as soon as it could be got properly fitted up; but in their impatience they took possession of it one Sunday night (July 1617) before the repairs were finished, and Rosæus preached in it to an enthusiastic congregation. Next Sunday the Prince attended the Great Church for the last time. Uytenbogaert enraged the Prince by a violent attack in his sermon on the proposal for a National Synod, which deepened the Prince's determination openly to espouse the Contra-Remonstrant side, and this great measure in particular.

"On the following Sunday Maurice went in solemn state to the divine service at the Cloister Church, now thoroughly organised. He was accompanied by his cousin, Count William Lewis of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland, who had never concealed his sympathy with the Contra-Remonstrants, and by all the chief officers of his household and members of his staff. It was an imposing demonstration, and meant for one. . . . An immense crowd thronged around his path, and accompanied him to the church. . . . More than four thousand persons were present at the service, or crowded around the doors vainly attempting to gain admission into the overflowing aisles; while the Great Church was left comparatively empty, a few hundreds only worshipping there. But how felt Barneveld under all this?

"The Advocate (by whose house the procession passed as it proceeded to the Cloister Church) was wroth as he saw the procession graced by the two Stadtholders and their military attendants. He knew that he was now to bow his head to the church thus championed by the chief per-

[1] Motley, vol. i., pp. 345-347 (8vo), and pp. 395-397. Compare Brandt's similar statement, vol. ii. p. 280.

sonage and captain-general of the State ; to sink from his post of supreme civil ruler, or to accept an unequal struggle in which he might utterly succumb. But his iron nature would break sooner than bend. . . . He now resolved upon very bold measures, and that too without an instant's delay. He suspected the Prince of aiming at sovereignty, not only over Holland, but over all the Provinces, and to be using the Synod as a principal part of his machinery. The gauntlet was thrown down by the Stadtholder, and the Advocate lifted it at once. Barneveld instinctively felt that Maurice, being now resolved that the Synod should be held, would lose no time in making a revolution in all the towns through the power he held or could plausibly usurp. Such a course would, in his opinion, lead directly to an unconstitutional and violent subversion of the sovereign rights of each Province, to the advantage of the central government.[1] It was with no thought of treason in his heart or his head therefore that the Advocate now resolved that the States of Holland [who sympathised with his views] and the cities of which that college was composed should protect their liberties and privileges . . . and if necessary by force. Force was to be apprehended. It should be met by force. To be forewarned was to be forearmed. On the 4th August, Barneveld proposed to the States of Holland a resolution which was destined to become famous"—[in effect] refusing the National Synod as conflicting with the sovereignty and laws of Holland; and, with the view of preventing violence against persons and property, authorising the regents of cities to enrol men-at-arms, who should be responsible for what they did to the States of Holland alone. And, as if to bid defiance to the Stadtholder, "it was resolved to send a deputation to Prince Maurice, the Princess-Widow [his mother], and Prince Henry, requesting them to aid in carrying out this resolution. Thus the deed was done. The sword was drawn. . . . Thenceforth this measure of the 4th August was called the 'Sharp Resolve.' . . . It was a stroke of grim sarcasm on the part of the Advocate thus solemnly to invite the Stadtholder's aid in carrying out a law which was aimed directly at his head, to request his help for those who meant to defeat with the armed hand that National Synod which he had pledged himself to bring about. . . . On the same day Maurice was duly notified of the passage of the law. His wrath was

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[1] Let the reader mark here how Barneveld meant his political theory to apply to church matters. Each of the Seven Provinces must so stand upon its own independence, that there shall be no such thing as a National Faith, save in so far as each province might or might not choose to think the same as all the rest. There must be no *national* expression of faith, because the constitution makes no provision for any assembly which shall have the right to express it. What wonder if such a view met with the approval only of such as were afraid of what any national synod would probably express, and that the loyal adherents of the Church's Standards, who were the immense majority of the ministers and even of the people, should hail the determination of the Prince that the disintegration of the Church and chronic dissension that Barneveld's policy would infallibly have produced should on no account be endured, but be at once stopped by a national synod?

great. High words passed between him and the deputies. . . . Next day he came before the Assembly to express his sentiments, to complain of the rudeness with which the resolution of the 4th August had been communicated to him, and to demand further explanations."[1]

The Advocate explained the intentions of the States, and boldly demanded that the Prince should assist the magistrates in carrying out the policy decided upon. He was interrupted by one of his Excellency's party, and altercations and personalities arose. But though the Prince kept his temper, "the time for argument had passed." At a meeting of the States-General, Maurice made a vehement speech, and demanded that the States of Holland should rescind the "Sharp Resolution," and desist from the new oaths required from the soldiery they were enrolling. Barneveld, firm as a rock, resented the charges made against him, and the meeting closed, but only to issue in hostile action. While the Advocate lost no time in directing the military occupation of the principal towns of Holland, and the cities of Holland were now thoroughly "waartgeldered," the Stadtholder "bided his time, not choosing to provoke a premature conflict in the strongholds of the Arminians, as he called them, but with a true military instinct preferred making sure of the posts." "It was a melancholy spectacle. No commonwealth could be more fortunate than this Republic in possessing two such great leading minds. No two men could be more patriotic than both Stadtholder and Advocate. No two men could be prouder, more overbearing, less conciliatory."

"The States-General in full Assembly, on the 11th November 1617, voted that the National Synod should be held in the course of the following year. The representatives of each province voting as one, there were four in favour to three against the synod. The minority (Holland, Utrecht, and Overyssel) protested against the vote as an outrageous invasion of the rights of each Province. But the minority in the States of Holland protested against the protest. The defective part of the Netherlands Constitution could not be better illustrated. This was reducing politics to an absurdity and making all government impossible."[2]

But why bring this "absurdity" into the affairs of the Church when, but for the course it would probably take, every one must have seen that a National Synod was the

[1] Motley, vol. ii. pp. 127–133 (8vo), and pp. 146–152 (crown 8vo).

[2] Motley, vol. ii. p. 138 (8vo), and pp. 158, 159 (crown 8vo).

one only way of having the Church's faith legitimately expressed? Sir Dudley Carleton, King James' envoy at the Hague, only spoke the truth when he wrote of Barneveld: "He doth no whit spare himself in pains nor faint in his resolution, wherein notwithstanding he will in all appearance *succumbere* afore long, having the disadvantage of a weak body, a weak party, and a weak cause." As a last effort to prevent a National Synod, the Advocate and Grotius recommended that a Provincial Synod should first be called, and should that fail in reconciling parties, then a general or Œcumenical Council. But the answer to both these proposals was obvious—Provincial Councils would want weight, and perhaps unity; and an Œcumenical Council, even if practicable, would involve delay, while despatch was of the utmost consequence.[1] Besides, the Provincial Synods would have to meet at any rate to elect deputies to the National Synod. Accordingly, the States-General decreed that this National Synod should meet at Dort (Dordrecht).

But civil war was likely to anticipate the Synod, and Barneveld seemed bent on precipitating it. The States of Utrecht enrolled six companies of regular soldiers, on pretext of defending themselves from large masses of troops in the adjoining countries; but, it was well believed, to protect the Remonstrants from their opponents. These soldiers were sworn to obey the States of Utrecht, and take orders from none else; and so bold were these States that they addressed a letter to the States-General and the Prince, informing them of what they had done, and why. A courteous remonstrance against this unheard-of step was sent to Utrecht, as utterly unwarrantable, and pledging themselves, as the Supreme Government, to defend them against all enemies and all dangers.

"The conflict between a single province of the Confederacy and the authority of the general government had thus been brought to a direct issue, to the test of arms. . . Utrecht was in arms to prevent, among other things at least, the forcing upon them by a majority of the States-General of the National Synod, to which they were opposed. . . . There is no doubt that Barneveld deeply deplored the issue, but that he felt himself bound to accept it. . . . In the bloody battles which seemed impending in the streets of Utrecht, and in all the principal cities of the Netherlands, between the soldiers of sovereign states and soldiers of a general govern-

[1] *Acta*, &c., Præfatio, pp. 17*b* and 18*a*.

ment which was not sovereign, the letter of the law and the records of history were unquestionably on the side of the provincial and against the general authority. *Yet to nullify the authority of the States-General by force of arms at this supreme moment was to stultify all government whatever. It was an awful dilemma, and it is difficult here fully to sympathise with the Advocate, for he it was who inspired, without dictating, the course of the Utrecht proceedings. With him patriotism seemed at this moment to dwindle into provincialism, the statesman to shrink into the lawyer.*"[1]

In other words, Barneveld deliberately resolved, for the sake of a theoretical crotchet, to precipitate the country into the first stages of a civil war, which he could not fail to see would be interpreted by his adversaries into treason against his country. And that Mr Motley, whose object is to glorify Barneveld to the uttermost, should all but admit this, is the best proof that his conduct "at this supreme moment," as he well calls it, was utterly indefensible. That "pride and obstinacy," which he admits to have been deep in Barneveld's nature, led him to abide by and work his pet theory of Provincial independence to the bitter end, though it should plunge the country into all the horrors of civil war. What though "even then (so at least says Mr Motley) he did not anticipate civil war"? That only shews how he had blinded his own eyes, for any one might have seen that either that or his own ruin was the only alternative. Still one chance of peace remained. The States-General, though dissatisfied with the defence of their measure put in by the Utrecht authorities, sent four commissioners to confer with them, to set before them calmly the unseemliness, at a time when all good people should be seeking to restore harmony and mitigate dissension, of levying soldiers on their own account; to entreat them to disband those levies; and to assure them that they had no wish to trench upon the laws and liberties of the province and city of Utrecht. Mr Motley is obliged to own that here "there was an opening for compromise, that the instruction was so worded as not to wound the susceptibilities of Utrecht, and that soon after the States-General went many steps further in the way of concession, making another appeal to the government of Utrecht to disband the "waartgelders" [the soldiers they had levied] on the ground of expediency; and, in so doing, almost expressly admitting the doctrine of Provincial sove-

[1] Motley, vol. ii. pp. 164, 165 (8vo), and pp. 188, 189 (crown 8vo).

reignty." But how were these conciliatory measures responded to?

"Towards the end of the year a meeting of the nobles and knights of [the province of] Holland, under the leadership of Barneveld, was held to discuss the famous Sharp Resolve of 4th August, and the letters and arguments advanced against it by the Stadtholder and the Council of State. It was unanimously resolved by this body, in which they were subsequently followed by a large majority of the States of Holland, to maintain that resolution and its consequences, and to oppose the National Synod, and proposing instead of it a provincial synod of their own to settle the religious question, and failing that, 'a synodical assembly of all Christendom.' And thereafter 'the States of Holland declared by a large majority of votes that the Assembly of the States-General, without the unanimous consent of the Provincial States, were not competent according to the Act of Union, the fundamental law of the General Assembly, to regulate religious affairs, but that this right belonged to the separate provinces, each within its own domain."[1]

And what was this "Act of Union, 1579," which rendered a National Synod, for the settlement of religious differences which were tearing the country in pieces, illegal and unconstitutional, save on a condition which everybody knew to be absolutely hopeless, "the unanimous consent of the Provincial States," each entirely independent of the others, and notoriously divided on these questions? What says Mr Motley himself of this Act of Union? It "was a league of petty sovereignties, a compact less binding and more fragile than the Articles of Union made almost exactly two hundred years later in America, and the worthlessness of which, after the strain of war was over, was demonstrated in the dreary years immediately following the peace of 1783. One after another certain Netherland provinces had abjured their allegiance to Spain, some of them afterwards relapsing under it, some having been conquered by the others." And for the sake of keeping this improvised, this "fragile," this "worthless" union untouched—a union forced on the country in a state of war, but totally useless in time of peace, nay, in the then circumstances of the country, an insuperable barrier in the way of any National measure for healing the festering religious sore—that this union, giving each of the Seven Provinces independence of all the rest, might remain intact, Barneveld and the States of Holland, whose virtual

[1] Motley, vol. ii. pp. 176, 177 (8vo), and pp. 202, 203 (crown 8vo).

dictator he was, caused soldiers to be raised on their own separate act, who were sworn to resist by force whatever might be ordered by the States-General without their consent; while yet, by this very Act of Union, "the chief attribute of sovereignty had been taken from the separate states (as Mr Motley says) and bestowed on a government provided with a single executive head (the Stadtholder), a supreme tribunal (the States-General), with power to deal directly with the life and property of every individual in the land." Surely, if ever a man was guilty of virtual treason against his country—disloyal to the whole spirit, though sustained perhaps by the letter of the Constitution—it was Barneveld; and Maurice saw that his only course was to maintain the authority of the States-General by force against force. Accordingly he "organised his campaign this year against the Advocate and his party as deliberately as he had ever arranged the details of battles and sieges against the Spaniard. And he was proving himself as consummate master in political strife as in the great science of war." Wherever the municipal governments were of the Barneveld party, whom he saw to be preparing resistance by force to the orders of the States-General, he determined that they should be made to resign in favour of others better affected. To accomplish this, he determined to see it done at the head of his own soldiers. Accordingly, early in the year 1618, he went from city to city, accompanied by a sufficient number of troops to secure obedience, and changed the government in every such city. Of course, this was regarded as an unlawful usurpation of authority by all who were in the Barneveld interest, and so Mr Motley represents it. For ourselves, we merely state the facts, leaving the reader to judge for himself in the light of the remarks we have ventured to make on the principle which governed Barneveld.

In July, matters were seen by the heads of the Barneveld party to be "converging to a catastrophe, and it might prove a tragical one," and they met in secret council with the States of Utrecht to see what was to be done. They, together with the Holland deputies, communicated with Maurice. His two peremptory conditions were—the disbandment of the levies they had raised, and the holding of the National Synod.

"Three nights after Maurice quietly ordered a force of regular troops in Utrecht to be under arms at half-past three o'clock next morning (31st July 1618). About one thousand infantry . . . had accordingly been assembled, without beat of drum, before half-past three in the morning, and were now drawn up on the market-place or Neu. At break of day the Prince himself appeared on horseback, surrounded by his staff, on the Neu—a large, long, irregular square, into which the seven or eight principal streets and thoroughfares of the town emptied themselves. . . . Each of the entrances to the square had been securely guarded by Maurice's orders, and cannon planted to command all the streets. A single company of the famous Waartgelders was stationed in the Neu, or near it. The Prince rode calmly towards them, and ordered them to lay down their arms. They obeyed without a murmur. He then sent through the city to summon all the other companies of Waartgelders to the Neu. This was done with perfect promptness, and in a short space of time the whole body of mercenaries, nearly one thousand in number, had laid down their arms at the feet of the Prince. There was an end to those mercenaries thenceforth and for ever. The faint and sickly resistance to the authority of Maurice offered at Utrecht was attempted nowhere else. . . . Four days afterwards the Stadtholder, at the head of his body guard, appeared at the town house. His halberdmen tramped up the broad staircase, heralding his arrival to the assembled magistracy. He announced his intention of changing the whole board then and there. The process was summary. The forty members were required to supply forty other names, and the Prince added twenty more. From the one hundred candidates thus furnished the Prince appointed forty magistrates such as suited himself. It is needless to say that but few of the old remained, and that those few were devoted to the Synod, the States-General, and the Stadtholder. . . . The Cathedral church was at once assigned for the use of the Contra-Remonstrants. This process, was soon to be repeated throughout the two insubordinate provinces, Utrecht and Holland. . . . Less than three weeks afterwards the States-General issued a decree, formally disbanding the Waartgelders—an almost superfluous edict, as they had almost ceased to exist, and there were none to resist the measure. Grotius recommended complete acquiescence. Barneveld's soul could no longer animate a whole people. The invitations which had already, in the month of June, been prepared for the Synod to meet in the city of Dort, or Dordrecht, were now issued. The States of Holland sent back the notification unopened, deeming it an unwarrantable invasion. But this was before the disbandment of the Waartgelders and the general change of magistracies had been effected."[1]

What was Barneveld now to do? Like the noble fox, hunted from cover to cover till almost ready to sink from exhaustion, yet resolute to the last, he now sought an interview with the Prince, through his brother, Count Lewis, who, though of one mind with Maurice, was always respectful to

[1] Motley, vol. ii. pp. 233–236 (8vo), and pp. 266–270 (crown 8vo).

the Advocate. Lewis, though he forewarned him how fruitless it would prove, brought the interview about. The Advocate "repeated his usual incontrovertible arguments against the Synod as illegal, and '*directly tending to subject the magistracy to the priesthood*—a course of things which twenty-eight years before [in their war with the ecclesiastical tyranny of Spain] had nearly brought destruction on the country, and led both the prince and himself to captivity in a foreign land."[1]

"The prince sternly replied, in very few words, that the National Synod was a settled matter, that he would never draw back from his position, and could not do so without singular disservice to the country, and to his own disreputation. . . . His brow grew black when he spoke of the proceedings at Utrecht, which he denounced as a conspiracy against his own person and the constitution of the country. Barneveld used in vain the powers of argument by which he had guided kings and republics, cabinets and assemblies, during so many years. . . . Maurice had expressed his determination, and had no other argument to sustain it but his usual exasperating silence. The interview ended as Count Lewis William had anticipated, and the Prince and the Advocate separated to meet no more on earth."[2]

On the 28th August Barneveld had a call from two friends, solemnly warning him that danger was impending, that there was even a rumour of an intention to arrest him. He simply thanked them. Next day he was arrested, as also were Grotius, Pensionary Hoogerbeets, and Secretary Ledenberg.

Seven months after this came the Advocate's trial, for which a special tribunal of twenty-four commissioners was created—twelve from his own Province, Holland, and two from each of the other six Provinces. Judging from the composition of this body, it is no injustice to say that it did not bode well for the prisoner. The details of the trial need not be given here. Suffice it to say that it was conducted according to no principles of judicial procedure which we

[1] Pp. 241, 274, 275. The reader will observe how uniformly both Barneveld and his present biographer hold up the adherents of the Confession and Catechism, in their wish to have a National Synodical expression of loyalty to them as the Standards of the Church, as nothing less than a Popish attempt to subject the State to a "*priesthood.*" Were we not too much accustomed to this sort of clap-trap nearer home, we should be more astonished at it; but at least it will teach the reader how to estimate Barneveld's whole course of action in this case, and the ingenious defence of it at every stage which is put in by his eloquent biographer.

[2] Motley, vol. ii. pp. 241, 242 (8vo), and p. 275 (crown 8vo).

should consider fair to the accused. He was furnished with no articles of impeachment—these were asked for, but refused. He was forbidden the use of writing materials, and his papers and books were all taken from him. He was allowed to consult neither with advocate nor friend. He had to justify his procedure in a number of cases extending over more than forty years with nothing to trust to but his memory; and while all this had to be done orally, his defence was every now and then interrupted by interrogatories, which he had to answer on the spot and from memory. In a word, the judges bound themselves by an oath to divulge nothing of what passed in the court-room, but to bury all in profound secrecy for ever. When it was seen how the case would likely go, Count William, the Prince's brother, induced the most influential of the twenty-four judges to speak with Maurice, and see if no way of saving so valuable a life could be devised. After a long interview, it was decided that the family of Barneveld should be urged to ask pardon for him. They all declared they would not, even though it should cost him his head—implying, as that would, an acknowledgment of his guilt. The sentence, after about sixty examinations, was as follows:—

"Whereas the prisoner, John of Barneveld, without being put to the torture and without fetters of iron, has confessed to . . . having perturbed religion, greatly afflicted the Church, and carried into practice exorbitant and pernicious maxims of State . . . inculcating by himself and accomplices that each province had the right to settle religious affairs within its own territory, and that other provinces were not to concern themselves therewith, therefore the judges, in name of the Lords States-General, condemn the prisoner to be taken to the Binnenhof, there to be executed with the sword that death may follow, and they declare all his property to be confiscated."[1]

Next morning he was visited by three high officials, and requested to listen to his sentence of death. "Sentence of death!" he exclaimed three times, "I never expected that," &c. After some brief words he requested writing materials, and having written a touching farewell letter to his "Very dearly beloved wife, children, sons-in-law, and grandchildren," dated 12th May 1619, protesting his entire innocence and commending them to God, he sent it to his judges, who

[1] Motley, vol. i. pp. 356, 360 (8vo), and pp. 407, 408, 412 (crown 8vo).

had it conveyed to them. He then sent the following message to Prince Maurice:—

"Tell his Excellency that I have always served him with upright affection, so far as my office, duties, and principles permitted. If I, in the discharge of my oath and official functions, have ever done anything contrary to his views, I hope that he will forgive it, and that he will hold my children in his gracious favour." "Maurice (says Motley) heard the message with tears in his eyes, assuring Walæus [the bearer] that he felt deeply for the Advocate's misfortunes. He had always had much affection for him, he said, and had often warned him against his mistaken courses. Two things, however, had always excited his indignation. One was, that Barneveld had accused him of aspiring to sovereignty. The other, that he had placed him in such danger at Utrecht. Yet he forgave him all. As regarded his sons, so long as they behaved themselves well they might rely on his favour."[1]

The details of the execution, which are touchingly related by Mr Motley, we must not give here. Suffice it to say that on Monday, 13th May 1619, the military, to the number of 1200, had assembled by four o'clock in the morning in the outer and inner courts of the Binnenhof, and at half-past nine he walked forth to find himself in the presence of more than 3000 spectators. In a loud firm voice he thus addressed them: "Men, do not believe that I am a traitor to the country. I have ever acted uprightly and loyally as a good patriot, and as such I shall die." Then, drawing his cap over his eyes, he said, "Christ shall be my guide. O Lord, my heavenly Father, receive my spirit." He then told the executioner to be quick, whereupon his head was struck off at a single blow. Maurice remained in his cabinet with windows and shutters closed, and (as was testified by the officer who alone was with him) he heard the final catastrophe with sorrowful emotion. "He died at the age of seventy-one years, seven months, and eighteen days."[2]

[1] Motley, vol. ii. p. 366 (8vo), and p. 419 (crown 8vo).

[2] It may not be uninteresting to add that Grotius and Hoogerbeets were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and were conveyed on the 5th June to the castle of Loevestein, at the junction of two of the three rivers into which the Rhine divides itself as it enters the Netherlands, a fortress made by nature and art almost impregnable. Having crossed the drawbridge, they were led through thirteen separate doors, each secured by iron bolts and heavy locks, till they reached their separate apartments. They were to have no communication with each other; but their wives, if they choose, were allowed to live with them and cook for them. This did Grotius' young wife, an heiress in her own right, and a woman of singular spirit and intrepidity.

Were we called to pronounce judicially on this lamentable end of the great Advocate, we should have to consider, first, whether he was blameworthy at all; and next, if he was, whether so severe a sentence was warranted or required. On the first question, Mr Motley not only justifies the Advocate, but with all the fervour of a special pleader, and all the eloquence he can command, urges every plea in his favour, even reiterating the same statements, chapter after chapter, as if to make sure of carrying his readers along with him. But, considering the length of this paper, and

His property having been confiscated, and his prison allowance scanty, his lot was trying enough; but he cheerfully submitted to it, and every facility for study being granted him, there did the young and handsome Grotius (only thirty-six years old then) devote himself to classical, juridical, and theological work, by which his already European renown was even advanced —his exercise and recreation consisting in whipping a huge top for several hours daily. Boxes of books were sent him from time to time by his literary friends, and in particular by the celebrated Orientalist, Erpenius. After nearly two years, the thought occurred to both his wife and himself that he might get packed into the empty box instead of books, and thus escape. On trying how he could get in, and how he could stay in it long enough not to be stifled, they arranged that one morning the box should be entrusted to a faithful maid-servant, his wife meantime remaining in bed, and his clothes lying before it as if waiting to be put on. In carrying it down stairs, through the thirteen doors, and on to the vessel that was to convey it to the town of Gorcum as a box of books, a number of ugly questions were raised as to the contents, owing to the unusual weight; but with infinite and amusing ingenuity they were all parried by the maid in charge, who was able to signal to Madam Grotius from the ship to her window that all was right. At Gorcum the box was conveyed to a friend's house; exhausted as he was when let out, he hastened in the disguise of a bricklayer to the ferry, across which he had to be conveyed into the territory leading to the Spanish Netherlands. So boisterous was the weather that for a *bricklayer* he was refused a passage, but a heavy bribe did the business, and he got safely to Antwerp, where, on his passport being demanded, he told his story and was welcomed. But, alas! for Barneveld's widow. She had two sons, both in the prime of life; the elder a man of quiet and easy habits, but the younger of a dark, revengeful, turbulent disposition. Brooding for years over the fate of his father and the confiscation of all his own property, he at length gathered around him a set of daring and desperate men, to whom he disclosed a plot he had hatched for assassinating the Stadtholder, overthrowing the government, and restoring to power all those who had been removed when his father was arrested. His chief difficulty was to get his brother drawn into it. But at last succeeding, he persuaded him, being a man of some wealth, to sign bills for the money required. All was arranged to a wish when, just as it was to be carried into effect, one of the party in his drunken moments let out the secret. The younger brother, with whom the whole originated, managed to make his escape, but along with others the elder one was eventually arrested and executed, owning on the scaffold that his death was just.

what ground we have yet to overtake, we shall leave the facts to speak for themselves, with the remarks which we have thought it proper to make on them as we went along. On the second question we are scarcely competent to pronounce. If guilty at all, the guilt was certainly very like treason; and in one of such high standing and vast power in the State, his policy at this crisis was fitted to compromise the stability of a commonwealth but recently wrenched away from the most powerful kingdom in Europe, while the ten adjoining Provinces that had refused to separate remained a constant menace against their continued independence and consolidation. In such circumstances, those who had the safety of the State committed to them, and he who had the command of the army, and, if there was to be any at all, was certainly the natural head of the Confederation, might at a "supreme moment" (to use Mr Motley's words), and in a distracted state of the country, deem it indispensable to proceed to extremities in this one case without perhaps incurring the charge of wreaking upon an enemy unjustifiable vengeance. Still, it is hard to see that something short of the extreme measure might not have sufficed. And when one thinks of the mode of procedure employed in the trial —so contrary to all our ideas of justice and fairness—it is impossible not to see that an enormous deal of personal feeling was mixed up with this case, leaving a stain upon the actors in it not to be wiped out.

But what of the National Synod? It met duly at Dort, on the 13th November 1618. It consisted of thirty-eight Dutch and Walloon divines, five University Professors, and twenty-one Lay Elders—making sixty-four native members, of whom but a very few were Remonstrants. But there were besides Foreign divines, representing all the foreign Reformed Churches, except that of France (the French king having refused to allow his Protestant clergy to attend)—from Great Britain, the Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland (German and French), Bremen, Emden, Nassau, and Wetteravia—amounting in all to twenty-eight. This swelling the total number to ninety-two.[1]

[1] The English deputies were—(1) George Carleton, D.D. (afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, and thereafter of Chichester); (2) George Hall, D.D., Dean of Worcester, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. He attended the early meetings

After the usual preliminaries—the choice of presidents, an ecclesiastical and a secular one, assessors and secretaries, verification of commissions, &c.—the Synod refused a petition of the Remonstrants to be allowed the choice of their own commissioners, they being there not as *members*, but as *parties at the bar*, but that any minister they might select might propose their objections with the leave of the Synod, provided they would submit to the Synod's judgment. Episcopius, however, as a Professor of Divinity, appeared as a member, though he afterwards placed himself at the bar like the others. When explaining why the Remonstrants had not appeared till fourteen days after the opening of "the *Conference* about the points in debate," he was informed that they had not been cited to a "Conference" (*Collatio*)—there had been enough of fruitless conferences—but to offer their opinions and reasons, and submit to the Synod: the Synod, by the terms of their citation, was to be their *judge*, not a *party*. On the same day the Remonstrants, having visited the Foreign divines, requested them to hear a statement of their case, to use their influence with the Synod in their favour, and give them their best advice. The Synod, hearing of this, took it very ill, as an attempt to influence judges before the case was opened. Episcopius replied that, considering how they had been treated, it was no wonder they should try to help themselves. He then requested leave to say "a few words to the Synod," but being permitted, he delivered a Latin oration, an hour and a half long, according to Brandt,[1] but according to "Memorable Hales" (who, as

of the Synod, and preached before it a Latin sermon; but as the climate did not agree with him, he had to return home, and Thomas Goad, D.D. (Precentor of St Paul's, London), was substituted for him; (3) John Davenant, D.D. (Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury); (4) Samuel Ward, D.D. (Master of Sydney College, Cambridge, afterwards prosecuted by Charles I. for puritanism); (5) Walter Balcanquhal, B.D., Master of the Savoy. Of him Neal says (*History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 105):—"Mr Balcanquhal, a Scotchman, but no friend to the Kirk, was also commissioned by King James to represent that Church. He was taken into consultation, and joined in suffrage with the English divines, so as to make one college. For the divines of each nation gave only one vote in the Synod as their united sense. And though Balcanquhal did not wear the habits of the English divines, nor sit with them in the Synod—having a place by himself as representing the Scots Kirk—'yet (says the Bishop of Llandaff) his apparel was decent, and in all respects he gave much satisfaction.'"

[1] *Hist.*, &c., vol. iii. p. 52.

chaplain to Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador at the Hague, attended the Synod to report its proceedings to his Excellency), a long and tedious speech of two hours at the least."[1] But it was in flowing and graceful Latinity, and had in it some tender touches. Its object was to insinuate that the Belgic Confession represented the views only of one party, and that an extreme one—opinions unscriptural, dishonouring to God, and unknown to the first Reformers, &c.[2] The Moderator complained of this speech, not only from its immoderate length (under pretext of speaking "a few words"), but as prejudging what they were there to decide. But since it had been made, he demanded a copy of it, that they might judge of its tenor and spirit (*quo spiritu et genio pronunciata sit*). This was the occasion of much hot words and humiliation, in the course of which Episcopius was charged with two gross equivocations (in fact two *lies*).[3] Episcopius denied the charge, and his friends presented a petition to be put on oath as to what they heard him say, but the secular president ruled that this subject should be dropped.

The Remonstrants being now called on to present their opinions on the Five Points in order, Episcopius read a document (1) repudiating the Synod's authority, as being neither lawful nor equitable judges and most of them avowed enemies; and (2) laying down no fewer than twelve conditions on which alone they would hold the Synod entitled to confidence.[4] These conditions were pronounced extravagant, unjust, unreasonable, and inconsistent with the terms in which the Synod was convened, and they were admonished to behave more discreetly. They flatly refused to do as required—to begin with *Election*, and answer the questions put to them: rather than not take their own way—to begin with *reprobation*, and criticise the writings of Calvin, Beza, &c.—they would resign their ministry, and suffer all extremities. The Foreign divines being appealed to, the English deputies said they were quite weary of their obstructive procedure;

[1] *Golden Remains* (2d ed. 4to, 1673), p. 37.

[2] Mark here their change of front. Their first plea was that they were as loyal to the Confession as their opponents, differing only as to its sense. Now they scruple not to denounce the Confession itself.

[3] See *Acta*, pp. 65, 66, 69, 70; pp. 102, 103, 105, 122-125. *Brandt*, pp. 67, 68, 79.

[4] They will be found in the *Acta*, pp. 71–74.

and as their presence was neither necessary nor useful to the Synod, whose authority they had indeed disowned, they might proceed in their absence to judge them from their books. To the like effect spoke the other deputies. Whereupon the President of the States-Commissioners, the votes of the Synod being taken, announced that a Deputation should be sent to inform the States-General of their refractoriness. (Indeed, at a subsequent session, he scrupled not to say that their evident object was to *tire out the Synod.*[1]) The result was an order from the States that the Remonstrants were to obey the Synod's injunctions on pain of civil penalties; that if they refused, the Synod was to judge them from their writings; that they must answer all questions put to them, whether orally or in writing, and were not to leave the town without express leave. Episcopius, however, refused to answer the very first question put to him; and on the 7th January 1619, they sent a letter to the States, explaining why they could not comply, and deprecating civil penalties. The reply of the States was, that the penalties were to be inflicted in case of refusal, and requiring the Synod to proceed to judge of them from their books. The Lay Commissioners dealt privately with them on the futility of their opposition, and its unreasonableness on a mere point of form, as to *how* they should proceed. They signed a promise to do what was required, but added a condition amounting to a virtual refusal. The foreign divines, being again appealed to, said the perverseness of these men was unconquerable, and they saw no reason why the Synod should not do as the States required. On this the President rose and asked them, one by one, if they adhered to their own conditions of pleading, and would sign a declaration to that effect. On answering, Yes, and each having signed the paper, the ecclesiastical president, after shortly but sharply addressing them, added these words:—

"The Synod do hereby discharge and dismiss you, and when they have any further occasion for you they will let you know it. You ought likewise to take notice that, since your obstinacy has been very great and complicated, and has discovered itself even in opposition to the Synod and the Supreme Powers, care will be taken to inform all Christendom of it, and you shall find that the Church wants no spiritual weapons for punishing you. There shall a just censure be put upon you, and no

[1] Brandt, vol. iii. p. 219.

doubt the Synod will make its equity appear to the whole Christian world. I therefore dismiss you in the name of the Lords Commissioners and of this Synod. Be gone" (*Dimittimine, exite*).

At this word the Remonstrants, fifteen in number, rose and left the Assembly on the 14th January 1619, and at the fifty-seventh Session of the Synod; the English chaplain, however,[1] and even some of the Contra-Remonstrants, expressing their regret at the rough style of this dismissal.

The Synod, now relieved, proceeded to consider how they should proceed in giving their own judgment on the Five Points, and then took them up in order, the Foreign divines taking their full share in the discussions. Each "college" of the Foreign divines gave in a written statement of their judgment upon all the Five Points, which will be found in the printed Acts of the Synod. From these it appears that the English divines, while expressing the "universality of the Atonement," according to the Thirty-first Article of their own Church, were quite as strong in expressing the Calvinistic doctrine on all the other points as any of the others, and the Synod itself. The Synod had got to its 126th session ere the last Point was finished. At the next session a Committee was appointed to draft out canons embodying the mature views of the Synod on each of the Points, to be published for the information of the churches of Christendom. These, when submitted to the Synod, were weighed *seriatim*, and with some alterations adopted and issued by the members individually, the Foreign deputies included.[2] At the 153d session, the Synod pronounced the following sentence on the Remonstrants:—"That they be deprived of all ecclesiastical and academical offices until they repent of their false doctrine,

[1] *Golden Remains*, pp. 78, 79.

[2] Brandt, vol. iii. p. 152. But how, it may be asked, in view of the Thirty-first Article of the Church of England, could the English divines subscribe the canons on the second point (on the *extent of the Atonement*)? Brandt will explain this:—"Those of Great Britain left the usual distinction of the *efficacy* [for the elect] and *sufficiency* [for all] of Christ's death untouched. . . . As to this judgment of the English, what Dr Balcanquhal says, in one of his letters to the ambassador Carleton, is remarkable, namely, that they confined themselves to the instructions they had received from England, on account of the disagreement that had arisen among them with respect to this Point. He adds that the purport of the Letter which his Grace, by whom he means some eminent prelate in England, and probably the Archbishop of Canterbury [Dr Abbot—'a sound Protestant (says Neal), a thorough Calvinist, an avowed enemy to Popery, and even suspected of Puritanism'], had

and can produce unexceptionable evidence of the same," &c.[1] At the following session the English deputies were dismissed, after thanks had been offered to God for the assistance they had rendered to the Synod, and a handsome speech made to themselves. They were informed that at the Hague they would personally receive the thanks of the States-General, together with their re-credential Letters. Twenty-six more sessions were held to finish up some necessary business. A deputation was appointed to the States-General to thank them for the great service they had rendered to the Church, and to request them to confirm the decrees and canons of the Synod, and authorise them to be carried into effect. (This was accordingly done on the 2d July 1619.) And after a number of formalities, "the President once again returned solemn thanks to Almighty God; so this Synod, after mutual expressions of friendship—all the members giving one another the hand of brotherhood, with abundant testimonies of fraternal love and unity—broke up in the name of the Lord," at its 180th session, and on the 29th May 1619.[2]

A few days thereafter a deputation from the States-General had an interview with the Remonstrants, stating that one year would be allowed them to consider whether they could receive the canons of the Synod, during which their stipends would be continued to them, provided they would cease from all exercise of ministerial functions, and not live in the places of their former ministry. If they agreed to this, and did not stir up factions, they would use their influence with the States to grant them more liberty. As for Episcopius, he must promise to write neither letters nor books to promote his own opinions. Their answer was, that they would preach in none of the National churches, but, as a duty to Christ and their own ordination vows, they must minister to their flocks wherever they had opportunity.

written either to them or to Carleton, was that they should keep to the common distinction and limitation which his said Grace had communicated to the king, and which his Majesty had approved" (Brandt, vol. iii. pp. 255, 256).

When the "Equality of Presbyters" came up for discussion, the English, without pretending to pass any judgment on such matters, contented themselves with maintaining that their Church Government was founded on apostolical institution; Carleton adding that it had been well for the Belgic Church if it had had bishops too (Brandt, vol. iii. p. 288).

[1] See *Acta*, p. 324. [2] Brandt, vol. iii. p. 330.

"But what if forbidden by public placard?" said one. "We hope other things from their High Mightinesses in these Free Netherlands," was the reply. Meeting after meeting was held with them, to no purpose. At length they were summoned to appear before the States-General, at the Hague, on the 2d July. Having all obeyed, they were formally asked if they would sign a promise to refrain from all ministerial functions. All refused save one, who agreed to demit his ministry; and when it was seen that this was their final resolve, the President, on the 15th July, read to them the sentence of the States, that those fourteen Remonstrant ministers (their names were inserted in the sentence) should be conducted out of the United Provinces and the jurisdiction thereof, without ever being allowed to come or return thither, till the said States should be fully convinced and satisfied that they are ready and willing to subscribe the said Act [to demit their office], and till they have obtained special leave from their high mightinesses for that purpose; on pain, if they do the contrary, of being treated as disturbers of the public peace, for an example to others. Episcopius expressed, in name of his brethren, their surprise at so cruel and unexpected a sentence, to which no answer was returned save an order to withdraw to another room, where they were asked whither each of them would wish to go. They said it was impossible to say without consulting their families, whom they had not seen for eight months, and they begged leave to go home for a few days to settle their affairs. This was refused; but they were told to go to their lodgings without speaking to any one, and to be ready by four o'clock next moning to start on their journey, by which time they might make up their minds as to their future destination. After all preparations had been made, and each had said where they wished to go, they were despatched in nine waggons to their several destinations. On the death of Prince Maurice in 1622, his brother, Prince Henry, succeeded to the Stadtholdership; and as he inherited his mother's favour for the Remonstrants, though it was some time before the general prejudice against them could be so far subdued as to admit of their full restoration to religious liberty, this was gradually brought about, and in ten or twelve years after the death of Prince Maurice a

Remonstrant Theological Seminary was set up for the training of their ministers, Episcopius being the first Professor of Divinity. Its scholarship was of a high order, and some of its divinity professors took a high place in the theological world—none more deservedly than Limborch, whose works are still valuable. Others however, as Curcellæus, were (not without ground) suspected of Arian leanings; while others, as Le Clerc, went still greater lengths in heterodox and rationalistic tendencies.

On this treatment of the Remonstrants, first by the Synod and thereafter by the Government, we have but one remark to make. According to any ideas of judicial procedure, whether civil or ecclesiastical, in this country, the proceedings of the Synod of Dort, from first to last, would be pronounced unfair and harsh in many particulars. It may no doubt be pleaded that in a country and at a time when even the illustrious Grotius, himself so eminent a Remonstrant, held religious toleration in free commonwealths to be "in the highest degree destructive," the banishment of ministers who insisted on having this toleration extended to themselves might be deemed necessary to the safety and peace of the country. But nothing can justify the gratuitous harshness with which this was carried out; nor is it improbable that, by a natural revulsion, this ultimately tended to pave the way for the comparative welcome with which they returned.

III. *The Theological Question.*—We have no intention, even if space remained, to discuss here the comparative merits of the Calvinistic and Arminian Theology, as exhibited in the Theses of the *Remonstrants* (in all 34), and the canons of the *Contra-Remonstrants* (in all 59), amounting to nearly a hundred theological propositions.[1] History too sadly shews that the tendency of all protracted and keen polemical discussion is to drive both parties into extreme positions, or at least into extreme forms of conception and expression, in the enunciation of their respective opinions. It is impossible to read the proceedings of the Synod of Dort, with the papers from time to time handed in on both sides, without perceiving that neither party was blameless in this

[1] They will all be found in the *Acta*.

respect. But after studying and comparing with each other the theological positions of both parties, as expressed in their respective documents, the following general remarks have occurred to us as sufficient for the purposes of this paper:—

1. Though there is not a little truth in the Theses of the Remonstrants, much of what truth there is in them consists in the repudiation of extreme representations of Calvinism. That such representations are to be found in the writings of respectable Calvinists is quite true; but intelligent Calvinism is not responsible for them, and candid Calvinists disown them.

2. Much of what plausibility there is in the Theses of the Remonstrants lies in their representations of the *injustice* of God involved in Calvinistic principles. But this applies to much of the Divine procedure, which nobody denies, but which no one who believes in a holy God at all pretends to explain; nor can the apparent ground for such charges be wholly got rid of without sweeping away undeniable facts and principles, as well of Natural as of Revealed Religion.

3. It is hard to reconcile the total *impotence* of man for anything good or saving, affirmed in some of these Theses, with the *ability* claimed for him in others—the desire to rebut the charge of Pelagianism being the apparent explanation of the former, antipathy to Calvinism of the latter. Hence—

4. Such is the scope and tendency of these Theses, especially when interpreted in the light of the explanations and defences given of them, that one feels as on an inclined plane while standing on such ground; convinced that though in some cases no downward progress may ever be made, very different and disastrous results may still be expected. Strong personal piety, a traditional conservatism, wholesome surrounding influences, and an indisposition to push, or inability to trace, principles to their legitimate results—some or all of these causes may operate to check the injurious development of false principles. But the love of logical consistency, coupled with a feeble apprehension and slight experience of the deeper principles of spiritual religion, will lead others recklessly to go through with a vicious principle once taken up, no matter whither it may lead them. The history of the Remonstrant school of Divinity strikingly illustrates both these positions, and the same may be said of similar schools

of Divinity elsewhere. Coming now to the Contra-Remonstrants—

5. We cannot but regret the use of questionable forms of expression in conveying divine truth, fitted only to create needless prejudice against it; such, for example, as the "Irresistibility" of saving grace. If there is such a thing as the freedom of the will (and without freedom, will is not will), then every influence operating upon the will—whether from above, from beneath, or from within—must be resistible. For what cannot be voluntarily resisted cannot be voluntarily yielded to. In fact, the sublimest act of the soul of man is the voluntarily surrender of itself to the love of Christ *constraining* it (causing that it cannot choose but yield to it). And when the Lord says, "Ye will not come unto me that ye may have life," "How often would I have gathered you, but ye would not," He ascribes a mysterious liberty of undoing himself to the will of man, which has its counterpart in the sublime liberty of "not in vain receiving the grace of God." But whence the difference in the two cases? It is written with the point of a diamond in these few words: "It is God which worketh in you, of his good pleasure, both to will and to do." Nothing is more clearly written in Scripture than, on the one hand, that the first upward movements of the soul towards God spring from a prevenient operation of the Spirit of God upon that soul—in other words, that the first pulsations of the spiritual life are Divinely set in motion; but, on the other hand, that in the production of this change the soul is absolutely unconscious of any motions save its own. The prodigal son simply "comes to himself," and says, "I will arise and go to my Father." Nay, it is *because* it is "God which worketh in us both to will and to do" that we are called to "work out our own salvation." The instinct of every renewed soul realises this fact, and his every prayer expresses in one and the same breath both the *Divine source* and the absolutely *voluntary character* of all his Christian emotions and activities. How the two interact and blend into one is a beautiful subject for thought, but not to be fully apprehended here, and possibly never.

6. It is one of the unhappy effects of a keen and prolonged controversy on theological points that there is engendered a

tendency to multiply distinctions unknown to Scripture, and present truths with a sharpness of outline and a logical bareness which, in the absence of those Scripture surroundings that clothe them with flesh and blood, give them a gloomy and repulsive aspect, and by encasing them in a network of nicely articulated propositions, do them no little injustice. To some effect this is unavoidable, perhaps, in the construction of a Creed in a time of religious division and distraction, and it is but fair to give the Synod of Dort the benefit of this consideration in so far as it needs it. But we are coming on times and circumstances which will demand a wisdom that, while retaining with a firm grasp the essential principles of the doctrine of grace, commonly called Calvinism—principles which have generated the most tenacious and heroic Christianity—can yet sit loose to much of the phraseology and some of the conceptions with which it has been unnecessarily bound up.[1] DAVID BROWN.

ART. V.—*The Moral Argument for Christianity.*

Christianity and Morality; or, The Correspondence of the Gospel with the Moral Nature of Man. The Boyle Lectures for 1874 and 1875. By HENRY WACE, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. London: Basil Montague Pickering. 1876.

THE author of the Boyle Lectures for 1874–75 recalls us to a line of argument very familiar to the English theology of a former age, but somewhat neglected by recent apologists, who have for the most part occupied themselves with answering the objections to the faith brought forward in the name of modern science, and in examining the historical difficulties raised by criticism with regard to the books of the Bible. Mr Wace has done good service by reminding us that there is an argument which is neither

[1] The foregoing was all in type ere the writer was able to procure the rare work, *Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, Knight, during his Embassy in Holland, from January* 1615 *to December* 1620. 4to. London, 1757. Space now admits only of this summary of all Carleton's numerous references to Barneveld, that it was his imperious temper and inflexible obstinacy, his jealousy of the stadtholder, and his *confessed* and unproved charges against him (p. 363), and his determination to uphold the novelties of the Arminian party, that brought the fatal issue on his own head.

scientific nor historical, but founded upon the correspondence between the gospel and the moral nature of man. It is never wise to permit one portion of the Christian argument to occupy the field to the entire exclusion of others; for the character of that argument is such that its full strength can be appreciated only when it is comprehended as a whole. Christian theology owes some debts to apologetics and polemics. They have frequently compelled a more thorough investigation of debated questions, which has been a gain to theological science; and they have called forth many acute reasonings and eloquent discourses on Christian themes; but they have also brought with them certain disadvantages, not the least of which has been that through their influence the symmetry of theology has been often marred, some features being exaggerated and others unduly diminished, and thus a foundation laid for perplexity, and perhaps for scepticism in after times. We should therefore have welcomed the appearance of a new moral theologian, if for no other reason than that such writers have been somewhat unfrequent in recent years; and it is desirable to preserve a certain balance in the various departments of theology. But there are special reasons which lead us to think that the moral argument may be dwelt upon with advantage at the present time. What some of those reasons are will appear in the course of this paper. In the meantime we shall only say that it seems desirable to dwell upon the moral argument with some emphasis at present, because it is generally intelligible. A large part of the apologetic debate of recent years has been beyond the comprehension of all except learned readers. To understand, for example, the theological significance of the famous doctrines of Mr Darwin, one must be trained alike in science and theology; while to form a really independent judgment on the questions which the author of *Supernatural Religion* and Dr Lightfoot have been discussing with such a vast learned apparatus, one must be practised in the difficult art of weighing the value of the testimony of ancient writers. Most laymen, we suspect, who have had the patience to read the books written on this latter controversy, have laid them down with the feeling that the task of determining the precise value to be attached to the testimony of Polycarp and Papias, of Justin and Irenæus, must be left in the hands of professional scholars who have been able to

devote years to the study of that most perplexing legacy of antiquity — patristic literature. As Christianity however appeals not to scholars only, but to all men, its advocates may be fairly asked to produce reasons in its defence which shall be free from technical difficulties, and which can be understood by all serious and thoughtful men who, in these days of perplexity and debate, would fain render a reason of the hope that is in them. The moral argument is such an intelligible line of thought, and requires no other qualifications to appreciate it than sober sense, and a willingness carefully to compare the facts of life with the teaching of the Bible. In Mr Wace it has found a most able and trustworthy interpreter, who knows how to present the fruits of ripe learning and mature reflection in a form intelligible to all.

We do not, of course, mean by the foregoing remarks to imply that the moral argument alone is sufficient, or that we can dispense with historical investigation. Christianity claims to be a historical religion; and if its claim to be such can be seriously discredited, no pleadings based upon its moral grandeur, or on its suitableness for mankind, can preserve for it the position of a divine revelation. But although the moral argument can never supersede the historical, it may add to its force, and prepare the way for its reception.

"If it could be shewn," writes Mr Wace, "that the most imperious necessities of men's moral nature could be met without the miraculous facts alleged in the creeds and the doctrines based upon them, it would be far more difficult than at present to gain a hearing for the evidence on which they rest. But if, on the other hand, it should appear that those doctrines, and those alone, satisfy the imperious cravings of the moral and spiritual nature—if the conviction can be aroused that they supply a fatal deficiency in the highest moral teaching, and in the noblest efforts of moral practice—in this case I do not say we raise a presumption in favour of the facts having occurred, but we certainly diminish the difficulty of procuring assent to them. They are brought within the sphere of experiences which it is not unreasonable to expect; they acquire the character of verisimilitude, and find a place in the general constitution of human nature."

The subjects which Mr Wace discusses in his admirable volume are of the most fundamental character. The present condition of thought renders it needful for an apologist to discuss foundation truths. It is not for the outworks, but for the very centre and citadel, not of Christianity only, but of all religion, that believers and unbelievers now contend.

We are told in unambiguous language by some of our ablest opponents that when we speak of a personal God, we make an assertion which is not capable of verification, and which we cannot expect those to accept who have learned to regulate their opinions and feelings strictly by evidence. As this is the difficulty to which all others seem now to converge, we shall dwell for a little on this modern agnostic position with regard to the existence of God. It is important to understand from what quarter the influences come which have given rise to this startling phase of unbelief. The usual explanation is, that it is the result of the study of nature. Modern science, we are told, has revealed to us a universe of order and law, which neither requires nor admits the Creator and Governor of which religion has been accustomed to speak. Now, it is true that science has unveiled to us a continuity in nature, a connection between the various natural phenomena, of which we were not previously aware; and it may be conceded that the constant study of this aspect of nature, if unaccompanied by other study, may have a tendency to shake faith in the doctrine of miracle, and of special supernatural interference. But there is nothing in the discoveries of modern science that at all weakens the force of what is termed the argument from design. If he will speak of the matter at all, the modern man of science is just as much under the necessity of postulating intelligence and will to account for the origin of nature as Cicero and Paley. Even Haeckel, the most anti-theological of all modern men of science, admits that modern science has nothing to say on the subject of the origin of the universe; and that distinguished philosopher, lately deceased, whose great influence on English thought was usually exerted in opposition to the claims of religion, after subjecting the argument from design to a severe and not over-friendly scrutiny, admitted that there is a balance of probability in favour of creation by intelligence. Mr Wace reminds us, what we are apt to forget, that the full force of the argument for an intelligent and moral Creator is only seen when the mind of man is taken into account. If it is difficult to credit blind power with the production of the solar system or the human body, by how much is the difficulty augmented when we take into account the human mind and conscience. On

this point we shall quote Mr Wace's words, who, when speaking of a principle of continuity in nature, says:—

"You tell me that every chemical element, however insignificant, that every star, however distant, that every stage of geological development, however remote, that every fossil, however buried in the depths of the earth, that every force, however slight and imperceptible, have all been co-operating—and for what? For what final and ultimate cause it is neither necessary nor possible to consider. But at all events, among other things for this, that your conscience might be what it is now; that you might have that sense of right and wrong; that you might have that idea of a life, a virtue, and a beauty eternal in the heavens; that your little child might have that gentleness and trustfulness; that your wife or your husband might have that devotion, that faith, hope, and love towards you which are to you eternal and imperishable possessions; that men might develop self-sacrificing bravery and truth, and women a self-abandoning patience and an unearthly purity—nay, it was for the production of the Sermon on the Mount, and of the character, viewed merely as a human character, of Christ. . . Now, is it not incredible—far more incredible than that which may seem at first sight the most abstruse speculation of theology—that the most exquisite and most delicate, the most moral of spiritual characters, a character which finds its apotheosis in death, and its life in the invisible, should thus have all nature co-operating towards its realisation, and yet that no moral or spiritual will should have been the agent in that infinite co-ordination of cause and effect?"

With regard to the position taken up by a distinguished man of letters, that we are right in saying that there is an eternal power external to ourselves that makes for righteousness, but that it is a gratuitous assumption to call that power a person, it appears to us such a statement really concedes what it denies; for the only way in which the human mind can conceive of a power that makes for righteousness is to think of it as a person. A stream or tendency making for righteousness, unguided by any personal will, is perfectly inconceivable by man. "Righteousness," as Mr Wace says, "consists in personal relations;" and he quotes Aristotle's definition of virtue as a relative mean to be determined by reason. "Aristotle cannot, however, stop here; and he is obliged to add, 'such a mean as a wise man would determine.' In other words, he is obliged to introduce, for the determination of what is right in each case, that personal estimate which only a living person can exercise."

We cannot think that the causes of the present scepticism

are to be looked for only in intellectual difficulties conjured up by modern science. Rarely indeed has a religious revolt proceeded solely or even chiefly from the intellectual part of man's nature; and the present is not an exception to the general rule. It will be found that the cause of the present revolt against theism has its root in men's moral nature, although science may have supplied certain facts and principles which have enabled men to give a philosophical form to what was in its origin a blind uneasy cry of pain and dissatisfaction. It would be unjust to assert that the state of mind which has given rise to modern scepticism is altogether discreditable. The great English apologist of a former age complained of the gay and scoffing spirit of the antagonists of Christianity in his time. They do not take the trouble, he says, to argue against it; but assuming that it is fictitious, they "set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were, by way of reprisals for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." It has been often and truly said that the deepest reason of many religious sceptics for opposing Christianity is a dislike to the stern front which it presents to unbridled appetite, to injustice and wrong. We are by no means sure that such scepticism is dead among us; but we cordially join with Mr Wace in allowing that another and a higher spirit animates many religious sceptics of the present day. Many such men are animated by a "deep and sincere desire to know what is good, and to do it;" and shew a devotion to duty, a zeal for righteous dealing and for the moral progress of mankind, which might put to the blush many who profess Christianity. A considerable amount of the higher-toned scepticism of the present appears to be a reaction consequent upon disappointment in religion. It may seem to some an unwise admission to allow that earnest and honest inquirers can be disappointed in religion. We certainly believe that the Christian religion, when presented in its purity, is capable of satisfying man's deepest wants and holiest aspirations; but religion in Christian as well as in pre-Christian times has not unfrequently been presented in a form in which it could but very inadequately meet the spiritual necessities of earnest and penetrating natures. During the whole history of the race a divinity or divinities

have been adored by men. Nature proclaimed to man the existence of a higher intelligence than his own; and conscience bore witness to the fact that this intelligence, to which nature and the human soul owed their origin, was on the side of righteousness. This sentiment of natural religion has been, generally speaking, an elevating, and in an especial manner a restraining influence; but even apart from the distortions it has suffered in the theologies and mythologies of the nations, this religion of nature has a side of great weakness, of which men of keen intellect, of intense moral feelings, are apt to become more conscious than less cultivated natures. No other conception of God can possibly satisfy one whose intellectual and moral nature has been cultivated than that of a Being of perfect goodness, as well as of perfect wisdom and power. But when the inquirer who has reached such a conception of divinity, scans nature, history, and human life, with the not unnatural expectation of finding in all sure marks of the continual presence of such a divinity, he is apt to be disappointed. In all he finds occasional evidences of the presence of such a power; but he is tormented with a sense that such a power is not so fully present as was to have been anticipated. Thus it has come to pass that, from the days of Job to the present time, earnest men have found much in the course of the world hard to reconcile with the idea of the constant presence of a holy moral Governor; but the scepticism gendered by a contemplation of the mysteries of nature and providence, although it may be a sign of weakness, and may be not altogether free from blame, ought not to be rashly confounded with that rejection of religion which springs from a heart set upon evil.

There is certainly less excuse now for this scepticism of perplexity, as we may call it, than there was in the days of Job and of the psalmists, when as yet the full light of Christian revelation had not shone upon mankind. We must remember, however, that unfortunately men do not usually derive their ideas of Christianity from a study of those original documents in which its true spirit and character may be seen, but from the teaching current in the age in which they live. And it cannot be denied that there has been not a little both in the exposition of Christian doctrine and in the practical exhibition of Christian life not altogether fitted to satisfy

the moral instincts of men. Bland and well-conditioned theological optimists have too often talked as if this world were already the very kingdom of God. God is credited in their discourses with all that is done in the world. The unjust social restrictions of a selfish and corrupt society are sometimes described from Christian pulpits as the arrangements of Almighty God, which it is sinful to oppose; conquests, which are often the victories of the strongest battalions in an unrighteous cause, are celebrated in *Te Deums* and in thanksgiving sermons as mercies of heaven, while wealth and worldly prosperity, not unfrequently the fruit of successful fraud, are spoken of as tokens of God's peculiar favour to the possessor. Such teaching does not certainly deserve to be called Christian teaching; but it is sometimes heard from Christian pulpits, and is clad in Christian phraseology; and it is hard to say how much of the scepticism of the present day is to be traced to it, and to a practical exhibition of so-called Christian life in correspondence with it.

The remark has often been made regarding nations as well as individuals, that it is not in days of intellectual and moral rudeness, nor in times of trial and struggle, but rather where there is much outward comfort and a large amount of intellectual and moral cultivation, that a dissatisfied and sceptical philosophy is most in vogue. The sceptical eras of Greek and Roman history shew the truth of this observation; and we have an interesting illustration of it in our own time in the increasing popularity of the philosophy of Pessimism in Germany. In the days of national disaster Germany listened only to those philosophers and teachers who spoke words of cheer and comfort; now, in the noonday splendour of an almost unexampled national glory, the philosophy of Pessimism, which on its promulgation was treated with a neglect which exasperated beyond measure its morbid and misanthropic founder, becomes daily more popular, and calls forth more treatises and articles in the course of every year than any other system. The substance of this singular philosophy is, that the world is so thoroughly bad in every aspect under which it can be considered, that it is a pity it ever came into existence, and that the best thing that could happen is that it should cease

to exist as speedily as possible. Life, according to the pessimist, contains far more pain than pleasure; and were it not for certain scientific and æsthetic joys which the cultivated man can enjoy, it might be called hell itself. The usual consolations with which men have been wont to comfort themselves in the face of life's trials and the disappointments are one and all pronounced to be delusions by the pessimist. The first of those illusory hopes is the hope of finding happiness in this present life. The pessimist agrees with Solomon that life is vanity and vexation of spirit. The second illusion is the hope of a better state of existence in a future life; and with regard to that the pessimist agrees with the materialist. The third cup of comfort which he dashes from the lips of distressed humanity is the expectation that as the race becomes older, life will gradually become happier and more desirable. The only comforts which the pessimists can afford are the scientific and æsthetic pleasures of which we have spoken, and the hope of "a world redemption by means of world annihilation." *Exitus patet* for the individual, as well as for the race, is the pessimist's only gospel. "I comfort you," says one of them, "with regard to existence by promising you non-existence." Another writer of the same school, while agreeing with his brother philosophers regarding the evil of existence, has doubts whether the human race will ever reach the heaven of Nirvana. "So far as our experience and investigation can penetrate, we find nothing but vain misery in the world, and no prospect of redemption. This world is of all possible worlds, that is, of all that could have existed, the worst. The movement of the world is circular; and let the radius of the evolution cyclus extend ever so far in time, it must at length exhaust the fulness of its powers, and will have to begin the game again *a novo et ab ovo*." The preachers of pessimism of necessity have embraced an atheistic conception of the universe. The pantheism of an earlier German philosophy is contemptuously rejected by Schopenhauer, who says that he would be indeed an ill-advised God who would transform himself into a wretched world like this, and suffer innumerable times all the ills that flesh is heir to; and in another place, the same writer says that it would be more rational to identify this world with the

evil than with God. But the world, he says, must be regarded as the offspring of a blind will or irrational impulse whose work is its condemnation.

If a creed of despair like Pessimism were to prevail, we should not only be obliged to abandon all hopes of better times for mankind, but we should soon lose those redeeming features which have hitherto relieved the moral darkness of human life. Saints and heroes could not possibly be produced by such a creed, and we should never witness the spectacle of great nations striving together to promote ends of patriotism or humanity. Men would be deprived of all motive to self-sacrificing effort, to any effort whatever, and universal suicide would be the logical consequence. It is, perhaps, fortunate for the pessimists that they did not live in the reign of Frederick William I. of Prussia; for had his attention been called to their teaching and its possible consequences, he might have considered it his duty to employ even sharper measures than those he applied in the case of the philosopher Wolff. There need be no apprehension, however, that pessimism will ever be accepted by mankind as a practical belief. Even if logically correct, the instincts of men must reject it; and we are not surprised to learn that those who profess to have accepted it, do by no means exhibit that dolorous aspect and melancholy spirit which might be expected in the disciples of a philosophy of despair.

Although Pessimism requires no serious refutation, as a phenomenon in the world of thought, and as an indication of the mood of men, it deserves serious consideration, specially by the Christian theologian. Pessimism is the last word of the great philosophy of Germany after a century of investigation, during which it has attracted to its standard many of the profoundest and acutest minds of Europe. That such a system should obtain many followers, and excite a deep interest throughout Europe, may be taken as a sign that there is much sadness at the heart of humanity even in these days of comfort and progress; it may be taken, too, as an admission that unaided human thought can work out no salvation for humanity. We have often been told in recent years, that we had better abandon, as the obsolete phrases of a forgotten metaphysic, such old

world terms as sin and redemption, atonement and justification. But here we have a system of thought, which has got rid of them, and has come to the conclusion, that the world is in such a state of moral disorder and so past redemption, that all we can do is to pray for its annihilation. May we not add, that those theologians who have shewn a disposition to abandon or to thrust into the background the Scripture conceptions of sin and redemption, may learn a lesson when they see that, by the want of these conceptions, theism itself is endangered. While there are wide differences, there are also striking points of similarity between pessimism and Christianity; and although pessimists have always been opponents of Christianity, the Christian feels in a certain fashion drawn to men who really open their eyes to the disorder of the world, and who do not refuse to acknowledge the reality of evil. Both Christian and pessimist speak of disorder in the physical as well as in the moral world. The pessimist points to wholesale slaughter that continually goes on in the animal world in the struggle for existence, and to the fearful amount of physical suffering in the world; the Christian too knows that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth." To the moral disorder of human society, to the darkness of human history, is the Christian as alive as the pessimist; he admits that "the world lieth in wickedness," but he does not believe that it is past redemption, but looks for a kingdom of righteousness to succeed the present reign of war and wrong. But it is just because he still cherishes a belief in discredited theological conceptions, sin and atonement, justification and sanctification, that he is able to retain his faith in God, and in a better future for mankind. It has ever been in times of despair, whether in the cases of individuals or nations, that Christianity made its power most felt; and the Christian apologist may take courage, in view of such a phenomenon as pessimism, and bring forward without fear and with much hope the old truths which were so mighty from the lips of Paul, Augustine, and Luther in like seasons of despondency.

The pessimist who rejects the theological conception of sin, nevertheless finds so much misery and so much disorder in the world that he feels constrained to deny the existence of a moral Creator and Governor, and finally lands himself

in conclusions so repulsive to all man's highest instincts, that even those who proclaim them cannot practically accept them. The optimist again, in order to retain his best of all possible worlds, is compelled to evade the force of patent facts, and to content himself with a shallow, dishonest system. Let us place in opposition to pessimistic and optimistic theories the Christian doctrine regarding moral disorder. The Christian revelation admits the disorder, but attributes it to the disobedience of free and responsible creatures to their Creator and Governor. Does not such an explanation harmonise better with the moral sense of man than any other that can be given? Everyday experience supplies us with analogies. The disobedient son or the rebellious subject brings much wretchedness on himself, and introduces elements of disorder into the family or nation to which he belongs; but we regard such unhappiness as the inevitable result of free-will abused and lawful authority resisted; and however we may pity the offenders, we do not even wish that it should be otherwise, for we feel that disobedience to lawful authority must entail suffering upon those who rebel if the precious bonds of family and of social order are not to be utterly destroyed; while as for the suffering which such disobedience sometimes brings upon those who are not personally guilty, we feel that it is a necessary consequence of the solidarity of the race. It must be conceded however, that when we transfer the thought to the sphere of relation between God and man, although we neither expect nor desire that in this sphere disobedience should pass unpunished, there is a sentiment that something of compassionate help may be expected from God even towards erring creatures. "He will not always chide, neither will he keep his anger for ever." Such is man's sentiment when he thinks of God in relation to his creatures. Most gloriously does Christianity satisfy, and more than satisfy, this sentiment of natural religion, if we can venture to call it such. Mr Wace has some weighty and admirable words on this subject, which we shall quote:—

"It is not, at all events, a Christian who need shrink from admitting that it would be hard to entertain trust and love towards a person who, while himself abiding in the imperturbed serenity of divine existence, had created human beings to struggle alone as they best might with the laws he had established, and to suffer to all eternity the consequences of the imperfection which his will had once for all imposed upon their

nature. I am very far from saying that all difficulty of this kind is removed by the Christian hypothesis. It is not probable that, while the subordinate problems of life and science present such innumerable perplexities, the ultimate problem of all should offer no mystery. But it may at least be said that, in proclaiming a God who takes upon himself the sins and sorrows of his creatures in deeper measure than any of them have themselves experienced, we obviate some of the most urgent objections which can be raised by human conscience. There is an insuperable mystery in the very idea of a suffering or of an incarnate God; but so far as the conscience and the heart are concerned, the conflict between the evil of life and the goodness of God receives an inexpressible alleviation when we are bidden to recognise one exhibition of that goodness in the acceptance by God himself of the consequences of our evil. We behold God, as it were, entering into the experience of the creature whom he has made; and from the moral point of view, his character becomes in harmony with the world of moral beings. It is invariably kept out of sight by the opponents of Christianity, and should be incessantly remembered by its apologists, that it is God himself who is revealed as taking upon himself the sins of the world."

The idea of a vicarious sacrifice has been often described as a relic of paganism irreconcilable with a truly moral conception of the relation between God and man. Mr Wace ventures to reply to that objection by affirming that it is by the consciences of men, and not by the schemes of divines, that the demand for an atoning sacrifice has been created.

"In fact," he says, "the force of the argument for the necessity of an atonement can only be realised in proportion as personal repentance is developed. Men may argue, so to speak, in cold blood that such remorse and amendment as I have been speaking of are an adequate atonement for their faults. But let their conscience be fully touched, and the whole springs of their nature aroused, and they are sure to feel overwhelmed with the sense of the miserable disproportion that exists between the evils they have done, the wrongs they have inflicted, and the reparation they have made or can make."

The term justification is specially banned by the modern men of culture; but when the matter is looked into, it will be found that what is wanting, in order to lay a sure foundation for that moral renovation which the moralist desires, is just the process implied in the abused word justification. Ancient moralists saw that the true hope for moral elevation lay in fellowship with higher powers. They exhorted men to live with the gods, in fellowship with them, and to preserve a constant consciousness that the gaze of heaven was upon their thoughts and actions. The advice was good.

Human experience shews that there is no school for morality so good as association with those higher and purer than ourselves. But such association is powerless for good unless it becomes a real fellowship. If we are, or suppose we are, objects of disapproval or suspicion when in such company, we shall never benefit by it. And this has always been the difficulty of man having fellowship with God under the religions of nature. In such religions, whenever the thought of a superior being is aroused, there is awakened a feeling of fear; and Christianity has deepened instead of weakening that sense of sin and evil which is the true root of that fear which is awakened by the name of God. How then is confidence to be restored, and that fellowship begun, which more than any law, however pure its enactments and severe in its penalties, would banish darkness and introduce light into the thoughts and deeds of men? May we not reply with Mr Wace, that the way of justification is that which best commends itself to our moral sense, and to which all human analogies appear to point.

"If a violated relation between two persons is to be re-established, must it not necessarily be by an act of forgiveness, which in its result would have the effect of imputing to the offending person a character he does not deserve? . . . In such a case, suppose the father to send a message to his son who had left his house to the following effect:—Although you have acted unworthily of yourself and of me, my love towards you is unchanged, and I entreat you to return to my protection. I will forgive you the past, and say not one word about it. I will treat you in all respects as my son. I will impute to you the full character of a true son of mine; and though I fear you may not be able at once to shake off your inveterate bad habits and false ways of thought, I will not allow your failures to alter my way of regarding you. Would any one feel that this language was unnatural?"

We cannot pursue the subject further; but enough has been said to indicate the true character of those Christian doctrines about sin and forgiveness which have raised so much opposition from the side of proud philosophic thought, and yet have been so infinitely precious to sinful and sorrowing men and women. And, regarded from the general point of view, we may say that they, and they alone, cast a light upon the future of mankind, and preserve to thoughtful men the conception of a God almighty in power and perfect in goodness—a conception which modern speculation feels

well-nigh constrained to abandon in face of the moral disorder of the world. If many of mankind have indeed become reconciled to God, and have learned to walk in moral fellowship with him, we may hope that the course of human history will not be always circular, and the nations of this world will one day exhibit a spectacle of blessed harmony and peace, such as the seer saw in the apocalyptic vision of the nations of the saved walking in the light of God's glory.

It may be said with regard to the line of argument which we have been pursuing that, while it may obviate some difficulties, and make certain Christian doctrines less improbable, it is not exactly evidence in the strict sense. A man may agree with it all, and yet not feel constrained to give his full assent to Christianity. To this we reply that it is not the function of the apologist to make men Christians. The special function of apologetics is to clear away those objections which malice, ignorance, or prejudice have raised with regard to Christian doctrine. If Christian doctrines are in plain contradiction to man's moral sense, to the laws of reasoning, or to the undoubted facts of history, a rational man cannot place himself under the sphere of their influence. In such a case he would be like one listening to a plausible and pathetic tale which he knew to be false; and it would be impossible for him to open his mind to it at all. But if the apologist can dissipate prejudices, and shew that no fatal objections such as are sometimes alleged can be fairly urged against the faith of Christ, he has done his part, and he can do little more. In order to become Christians, men must place themselves in the full light of the Christian verities, and as moral and spiritual beings endeavour to experience their power. And it is in the experience thus obtained of the power of Christian truth to purify and to comfort that we get nearest to what is called evidence. At all events, when fully enjoyed, its experience can give a certainty to the possessor which leaves him in no doubt with regard to him from whom the experience has come. Such was the feeling of St John when he wrote his first epistle. The moral fellowship was so real that every sentence speaks of a certainty which a physicist could not surpass in talking of the facts of his science.

"Those words," writes Mr Wace of the first chapter of John's first epistle, "in their natural simplicity, suggest with intense vividness the vision which overpowered the soul of the apostle. He felt himself in that sacred presence, in an atmosphere of pure and undimmed light. No veil of secrecy, no shadow of evil, no momentary gloom affected for an instant the radiation of that moral and spiritual sun which gleamed upon him without variableness or shadow of turning. He had ascended a mount of transfiguration, above all clouds and mists which here darken the intercourse of soul with soul, of conscience with conscience; and in spirit he ever discerned his Lord with the fashion of his countenance altered, and his raiment white and glistening. He was like some inhabitant of a narrow valley, suddenly placed on a mountain peak so lofty that it was perpetually illumined by the undimmed rays of the sun. He was brought under a moral and spiritual illumination, which penetrated to the recesses of his being, and refused to endure in him the least shadow of darkness."

It is not when men are thus illuminated that they feel disposed to question the reality of the "Fountain of Light" from which the illumination proceeds. It may be said that when we appeal to men to yield themselves to the influence of the Christian verities, rather than coldly scrutinise them, we are asking them to put themselves into a state of mind which has been fruitful in delusions. Men have often become credulous and fanatical by abandoning themselves to religious impulses; and intellect and conscience must always keep guard over the feelings in matters of religion. If religious impulses are in opposition to their dictates, they cannot be right; but after we have allowed reason and conscience their rights, there must be an exercise of faith ere the full force of the Christian evidence can be experienced. We do in religion as we do in other matters. In those things of which we have no personal knowledge we abandon ourselves to the guidance of those who appear to be best fitted to instruct us; and there are few fair-minded men, if set down quietly to read the words of Christ and of his apostles, who will not feel that among all those who have claimed to be the religious instructors of mankind, these Galileans hold the pre-eminence. The great moral advances hitherto made by men have been through listening to those leaders whose character and words inspired them with confidence. To quote Mr Wace again:—

"The strong, the truthful, the clear-sighted, the pure, arouse the trust of the weak, the faith of the uncertain, the hopes of the defiled, and thus

induce them to believe before they see, and to act on grounds the sureness of which they could never have satisfied themselves. It may be observed that it is this capacity in human nature which is the necessary supplement to the principle of probability as the guide to action. Invaluable as that principle is as a means of decision in doubtful circumstances, it is obviously deficient as a motive power. Its force as an argumentative weapon has been demonstrated and exemplified to perfection by our great English apologist; but if we look historically at the cause which first induced men to become Christians, and which converted the Roman world, we find that it is anything but a balance of probabilities. That which is often adduced as a taunt against the early Christians is perfectly true as a matter of fact; they did not act on the rational principle advocated by the philosopher just referred to[1]—that of regulating our feelings, as well as our opinions, strictly by evidence, understanding by evidence, as is clearly implied, judicial and intellectual evidence. But the feelings have their own evidence, and their own laws of action; and the Christians acted on those dictates of the heart which impelled them, as they impel all men in proportion to the healthiness of their moral and spiritual condition, to recognise those who are wiser and better than themselves, and to follow their guidance in the obscurities and uncertainties of moral and spiritual action. Faith, hope, and love are not mere theological virtues, they are the three cardinal functions, so to speak, of man's nature regarded as a whole; and it is in their operation that the principles of human development and of moral and spiritual salvation are to be discerned."

One of the best lectures in Mr Wace's volume is that on "The Moral Witness to Jesus Christ." The person and words of Jesus Christ form the centre of the claim of Christianity upon the faith of man. This claim is essentially a moral claim. Miracles were given in condescension to human weakness; but our Lord said that his words alone ought to have been sufficient to draw after him all who were "of the truth." Mr Wace says that Jesus was to many to whom he spoke as a conscience incarnate. "Whatever," he writes, "the divine claim of a conscience within us, such is the natural claim of a conscience personally incarnate before us; and those who feel themselves to be in the presence of a man who in every word and act revealed himself as their judge, yielded allegiance to him just in proportion as they yielded allegiance to their secret conscience."

Another lecture, in which we find some fresh and valuable thinking, is that on the general evidence of revelation. In that lecture Mr Wace points out that the evidence for religion has all along been mainly moral evidence. The

[1] John Stuart Mill.

Scriptures speak of those who believed, not as thinkers who after a process of investigation had arrived at certain intellectual conclusions, but that they treat the acceptance of God's revelations by those to whom they were vouchsafed as "moral acts, as righteous exertions of faith, as winning the approval due only to reasonable and conscientious conduct." The lecturer points out in another place that Abraham's faith was counted to him for righteousness, "because had he not believed God, he would have been untrue to the deepest convictions of his conscience." He concludes the lecture with the following weighty appeal:—

"The demand for faith is a moral appeal, and applies to every man to whom it comes a moral test. Far be it from me, indeed, to say that every man who rejects it is false to his conscience. The appeal may have reached him in a perverted form, and with its best evidence obscured by traditional misconceptions. But speaking generally, and on principle, Christianity and all the previous revelations of the Bible have claimed faith because, so far as they can be tested, they are authenticated by conscience, and because, in the points on which they go beyond our experience, they have a moral purpose, and, so to speak, a moral limitation. We ask for faith, but not for blind faith. We do appeal to authority, but that authority is, in the first instance, the voice of God within us; and the other authority, so far as it has commended itself that supreme guide.'

In parting with Mr Wace's volume, we would express a hope that it may find its way into the hands of those for whom it is primarily intended, and that many religious sceptics may be convinced by his fair and sober argument. One somewhat disappointing feature in the scepticism of the present day is a certain reluctance to give a fair and full consideration to what can be urged on the Christian side. A sharp attack on the Christian faith, or a clever caricature of Christian doctrine, finds innumerable readers of every age and sex. We wish there were the same desire to hear the other side, and that men read as eagerly apologies like that of Mr Wace, where the Christian argument is stated with knowledge and discretion, and with a full understanding of the sort of difficulties which men who breathe the air of modern society feel with regard to our faith. Surely if Christianity has 'their vote to be true if it can,' as they sometimes say, such men should be at least as willing to consider what can be alleged in its defence, as they are to peruse the writings of its assailants. JOHN GIBB.

ART. VI.—*Vatican Influence in the Sixteenth Century.*

FEW periods of history offer more varied and painful interest than those marked by what are termed the "Religious Wars" of the sixteenth century in France; for nowhere has the history of prosecuting intolerance been more striking, nowhere have the heroism and endurance of the unhappy Huguenots been surpassed.

Our attention has been directed to this tragic period not only from the constant allusions made to it during the "Vatican Decrees" discussion, but also from a perusal of some articles in the *Dublin Review*, *North British Review*, *The Month*, and others, which have just now a renewed interest. They treat of pontiffs during whose reigns persecution against heretics was strictly enforced, and endeavour to clear St Pius V. and Gregory XIII. from having had any hand in, or expressed any approval of, these atrocious severities; the last of the canonised Popes is represented in the most glowing colours as a gentle, fatherly character of the utmost tenderness, full of love and charity towards friends and foes alike, and whose life was one continued exercise of the highest virtues. With "heretics," however, he is looked on rather as the harsh and worthy follower of St Dominic, the stern Supreme Inquisitor, the relentless persecutor, the fulminator of excommunication, and the instigator of rebellion.

We purpose investigating by the light of historic evidence which of these views is correct, and whether the Church of Rome, by its constant advice, persuasion, and compulsion, is not answerable for the deeds which we shall shew she heartily approved at that time, and still justifies.

The line of defence taken up by the champions of the Church is, that she urged their extermination, not as "enemies of the Church, but as rebels," that "religion had nothing to say to the massacre," that "the Pope held the Huguenots to be worse than Italian brigands," and that, "restless, insatiable, and implacable, they vowed the destruction of the Church, and were thought to be *preparing a descent upon Rome*, and the Catholics were furious at the

massacres, sacrileges, and repeated treacheries of the Huguenots." They distinctly state that when Gregory XIII. ordered the rejoicings at Rome and medals to be struck and frescoes to be painted, he did not know the real events of the massacre as now known in history, but believed it to be the just execution of a few of the chief Huguenots for an attempt on the King's life. Such is their reading of history.

We might easily shew from the most conclusive evidence, even from their own acknowledged authorities, that the Huguenots took up arms only when no other resource was left to them, when solemn compacts and treaties had been openly disregarded by the Guise and Catholic party, whose chief strength (as Michelet says, p. 168, vol. 9), lay in their persecution of the Huguenots, when private assassination, public burnings, popular massacres, were decimating them with greater rapidity than open warfare. "Religion had nothing to say to it." What, we would ask, were the four *only* accusations that could be brought as early as 1559 against the noble Dandelot and Coligny? (1) That they did not go to mass; (2) That they had services in their homes; (3) That they had joined in the singing at the Pré-aux-Clercs; (4) The transmission of heretical books. When called before King Henry, what was Dandelot's reply to these accusations? "My sword and my life belong to the king; my soul belongs to God;" and yet for this the enraged sovereign hurls a missile at his retainer, he is arrested, deprived of his dignities, and compelled by force to attend mass. Was this not for religion?

What were the trials of the advocate Trouillas and his daughters and others; of councillors Dubourg[1] and Du Faure; the burning of thirty-six Huguenots by slow fires on one day in the presence of Francis I., the Bishop of Paris, and a host of cardinals, bishops, prelates, and abbés; the burning at Lyons in 1553 of five young students; the sacking of the house of M. de Longjumeau, the "little

[1] Ten years before the execution of Anne Dubourg, in 1554, Father Picart, Dean of the very church whence the signal bell was rung for the massacre, preached from the pulpit that "the king ought for a time to feign himself a Lutheran, so that, taking advantage of their then openly assembling themselves everywhere, it would then be possible to lay violent hands on them, and purge the kingdom of them."

massacre" which the Bishop of Mans, on 23d April 1561, writes has been perpetrated by "his good people" (*son bon peuple*), and which he tries to justify; similar ones at Beauvais, Vassy, and in the suburbs of Paris? What was the slaughter of 27th December 1561 but an unprovoked and gratuitous onslaught by the Curé of St Medard, aided, "de l'armée de deux grandes abbayes, frères convers, chantres, domestiques, bedeaux, sergents ou porte-croix" on a peaceable prayer-meeting? Was not all this caused by "religion"?

What caused the persecution of the learned Lefèvre; the burning of Bervuin, and of "The Hermit of Livry;" the murder of Rousel, Bishop of Oléron; the *holocaust* of the "heretics" at the coronation process of Henry II. to Notre Dame, when the poor victims were fastened to swinging beams which alternately dipped them into and then raised them from the flames; the barbarities at Amiens, Cahors, Sens, and Toulouse, all ecclesiastical towns, at the last of which three hundred Huguenots, after being kept three days without food, were led from their prison two at a time and butchered in a common slaughter-house? Will it be pretended that religion did not originate and sanction all this?

Of course we are told that it was *caused* by the "atrocities of the rebels." This, however, we distinctly find is not borne out by facts; for the horrors perpetrated under Louis XII., Francis I., and Henry II. (a few only of which have we named above), took place before there was any attempt on the part of the Calvinists to protect themselves. They took up arms only when goaded to do so; when petitions, remonstrances, and defencelessness were found of no avail; when every peaceful means had been exhausted, and they were still the victims of every sort of cruelty, oppression, and treachery; while the *Conjuration d'Amboise*, of which so much has been made, was but an attempt to carry off the boy king from the midst of the Guises and their fatal influence; and great would have been the blessing both to France and her rulers had it been successful, for the Calvinists, so far from wishing to hand over France to Spain, were always in favour of upholding the French monarchy, notwithstanding all they had suffered from it. Duplessis-Mornay testified to this (see *Memoires de la Ligue*, vol. i. p. 79); and many successive pamphlets (says M.

Labitte) appeared on their side endeavouring to establish the monarchy on a logical basis. Hotman and Languet were exceptions, but both had the narrowest escape of falling victims to the Massacre of St Bartholomew in their endeavours to save Duplessis-Mornay, so that considerable allowance must be made for them, and for such like reformers who wrote after suffering lifelong persecutions for their faith.

We do not desire to defend or palliate one whit more than strict justice demands the dreadful reprisals and terrible retributions of the exasperated Huguenots; it is reserved for the Church of Rome to canonise persecutors such as Pius V., St Dominic, and St Ferdinand of Castille, and to confer her choicest rewards and caresses on a Charles IX. and a Duke of Alva. We unhesitatingly reprobate these reprisals of the Calvinists, but must at the same time bear in mind that the heaviest responsibility of such acts rests on those "through whom the offence cometh," and that the reformed faith was, as Beza said, "the anvil that had worn out many hammers." Nor can we pass over in silence the one-sided and falsified view taken by the articles we have alluded to; this it is which makes them lose whatever influence their pleading might have had (for evidence they adduce none), were it combined with conscientious impartiality; while the constant harping on the Huguenot retaliations, without any allusions to the torments which provoked them, may be summed up in the words of a witty French poet—

"Cet animal est très méchant
Lorsq 'on l'attaque il se défend!"

But our present object is not to justify the Huguenots, or to prove the long premeditation of their wholesale destruction in 1572; this has been triumphantly done by John Allen (vide *Edinburgh Review*, 1826), and other first-rate authorities. In these pages we desire only to exhibit by historic proofs, selected from the best Roman Catholic sources alone, the part played by *the Church*, and we particularly wish to call attention to the remarkable fact, that none of the events, or authorities quoted by us are alluded to, or explained by the writers of the above articles, though they must be quite as cognizant of them as we are.

So much has already been written on this subject, that we purposely refrain from adding many comments or

arguments of our own, but will leave our witnesses to speak for themselves. It will appear from them that St Pius V. urged forward the extermination of the heretics; that the massacre of St Bartholomew was the result of that advice, and also that the church and its most ardent supporters did not disapprove that deed, but rejoiced in its success and magnitude. In doing this we shall only shew what we believe to be the truth, and shall prove it by references to the best original authorities selected from *Roman Catholic sources only*, so that those interested in the question may investigate these authors and documents for themselves. History is the foe most to be dreaded by that branch of the Christian church, and had she, instead of destroying men's bodies, and "indexing" their writings, been able to destroy the genuine documents of ecclesiastical history, she would have done her cause more benefit, and deprived reformers of their most valuable weapons.[1]

[1] As we should have repeatedly to quote names which may not be as commonly known to the general reader as they are to the student of history, we here give some details respecting the principal authorities for our statements :—

"Vita del Gloriossissimo Papa Pio V. Descritta da Girolamo Catena; con una raccolta di lettere del medesimo Pontefice a diversi Principi, e le Risposte loro," &c., &c.—Printed with Papal sanction, 1st edition, Rome 1586, 4to. He was highly thought of at the Vatican, was secretary to Cardinal Alessandrino, nephew to Pius V. [who approved the work before its publication], and also occupied the same important post to the Congregation of Bishops, and to the Sacred Consulta. His sources of information were first-rate, he was a personal friend of Pius V., Sixtus V., expressed his approval of the work, and ordered it to be printed; and in his dedication of it to Sixtus, he says :—"I have derived all that I have written in these pages, partly from the originals of letters written by Nuncios and princes themselves, and from instructions and writings which have come into my possession of the Pope himself, partly from the manuscript relations of those who conducted the affairs, others I have myself inspected, and have had communicated to me by mouth from the Pontiff . . . whatever was dubious or to me uncertain, or not to my purpose (however valuable) I have altogether declined." Not only from his official position, but from his general integrity and sources of knowledge, he is entitled to our confidence.

Capilupi (Camillo), nephew of Cardinal Capilupi, Bishop of Fano, was author of a letter to his brother Alphonso, *written within a month* of the St Bartholomew's Day. This was seen and approved by Cardinal de Lorraine, and under his authority its printing was begun, but delayed, as its account was (being truthful) different from that notified by Charles' ambassadors to the various courts. He gives a most detailed account of the massacre, and is full of joy and exultation at its result, loading the Royal family with encomiums for their dissimulation and craft, and boasting that it had been all

Born in 1504, Michael Ghislieri was ordained priest at the age of twenty-four, having when fourteen years old entered the order of Dominicans, in which he became prior, to which office however he preferred that of Inquisitor, to which he was advanced, and the duties of which he "undertook with such ardour that he shewed himself," says Gabutius, "a formidable defender of the Christian truth, and an eminent pupil of St Dominic;" and Fuenmayor observes that "his zeal as commissary, in reducing and chastising those who wandered from the faith, was marvellous." Consequently he was appointed *Supreme Inquisitor*, an office which had previously been held by the Popes alone. It was (according to

arranged two years previously. Capilupi had an official appointment at the Vatican. A manuscript copy of his letter to his brother, dated 22d October 1572, is in the library of the Prince of Piombino, and a French translation appeared in 1574.

De la Place (Pierre), author of "Les Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et Republique sous les Rois Francois II. et Charles IX.," which was published 1565. He was born 1520, at Angouleme, was acquainted with Calvin at Poitiers, and in 1560 became a Calvinist. In his pages we find detailed mention of the medals struck by Favier for the St Bartholomew by order of Charles IX.

Papire Masson's *Life of Charles IX.* He was a member of the Society of Jesus; and wrote this work in 1575. Lingard makes the curious mistake of considering him a Protestant, though he complained that the massacre was not complete enough! He was born 1544; became Professor at the College of Plessis, and Vice-Procureur-Général, dying in 1611.

Fuenmayor (Antonio) was Canon of Palencia, and author of a Life of Pius V. published in 1595, "con Privelegio."

Gabuzio (Giovanni Antonio), Prefect of the Society of St Paul, ad Columnam, published in 1605 his work, "De vita et rebus gestis Pii. V. Pont. Max. Libri Sex." This work is reliable as far as it goes, states that it was derived from the most authentic sources, was written almost contemporaneously with the events therein described, and received the approval of Cardinals Alessandrino and Borghese, afterwards Paul V.

Goubau (Franciscus), Compiler in Rome of a most interesting and valuable collection of letters of Pius V., "a me Romæ collectæ," entitled "Apostolicarum Pii Quinti Pont. Max. Epistolarum Libri Quinque, 1690. Gouban was secretary to the Legate of the Spanish Sovereign at the Vatican, and dedicated his volume to Prince Ferdinand of Austria, Infanta of Spain, and Viceroy of the Netherlands. Many more letters of Pius may also be found in Giulio Poggiano's *Epistles and Orations* (Rome 1762).

De Thou, according to Bossuet, the most faithful of the historians of that period, yet *condemned* by Cardinal Barberini, not only because impartial towards the Huguenots, but because "vous avez blasmé ce que feu Monsieur le President de Thou vostre père avoit approuvé—qui est la S. Barthélemy," this was written as late as February 1610, and it will not be said that all the facts of the case were not then known.

Leti) through him that Felix Peritti, afterwards Sixtus V., was named Inquisitor-General at Venice by Paul IV., and he there carried out his duties with such severity that he was compelled to flee from that republic. Under Pius IV. he was made Bishop of Mondovi, and in 1566 was elected Pope.

Two things now occupied his chief attention—the enforcement of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the advancement of the powers of the Inquisition, "preferring to postpone everything to it, believing all else to be of less consideration and moment," says Catena. His very first constitutions were concerning this end, and order all legates, governors of provinces, and numerous similar official persons, to obey the Inquisitor's commands, under pain of excommunication. This was followed by another decree of the same tenor the same year.

This tendency to severity is mildly described thus by the Dublin reviewer: "The gifts and graces of the new pontiff were so well known that the only fear entertained upon his accession was that the inflexibility of his sanctity might deal over-rigorously with the evils of the time;" and even Dr Newman does not deny that "he was stern and severe," a view borne out by his personal appearance, which is described by Fuenmayor as of "such austerity and severity that at first sight courageous men who had seen a thousand dangers trembled, and could not behold him without great emotion."

Amongst the many victims of this severe saint were Francesco Cellario, who for imparting Huguenot tenets was dragged from the Valteline to Rome, and after a year's imprisonment was burnt alive in 1569. Pietro Carnesecchi, of Florence, one of good extraction and high attainments, who had received his reformed views from Valdez, was seized in his own palace by the duke, brought to Rome before the Inquisition, and beheaded and burnt in 1567. Gabutius names Guido Zanetti, of Faenza, an influential man, as another victim. Catena's description of the negotiations in this affair is curious, the Pope declaring to the Venetian Republic (where Zanetti had taken refuge) that in cases of heresy the *temporal* authorities have *no* jurisdiction, but *are compelled*, and swear to put heretics to death when condemned by the Church and handed over to them, and that if the secular power was appealed to, it was not because the Church

had not the *right* to use its own executioners, but from either not having them at hand, or because they could not get at the heretics without secular aid.

The eminent and learned Palearius was another, who, after some years' imprisonment was, at the age of seventy, put to death for the same cause in 1570. Palearius previous to execution had to acknowledge in writing not only that the Church had the right to kill heretics, but that the Pope himself might do so *with his own hand*, as did Samuel and Peter ("quod ipsemet summus pontifex, in casu aliquo potest, *etiam per se hæreticos occidere*, ut legimus de Samuele et Petro"). De Thou mentions amongst the victims of Pius V. for *religion*, Scipio Tettio, of Naples, sent to the galleys, where he died; Palearius burnt; and Nicholas le Franc, of Benevento, hanged. (See *Pantheon Litt.*, Lib. i. p. 579.)

Gabutius confers high praise on Pius for his never wearying and keen severity, and says he had a regular system of spies, composed of "religious" persons, to "smell out" (odoratum) heresy wheresoever it lurked. The condition of Rome at this time has been thus described by Thobias Eglinus (quoted by M'Crie): "At Rome some are every day burnt, hanged, or beheaded; all the prisons and places of confinement are filled—they are obliged to build new ones. That large city cannot furnish gaols for the numbers of pious persons who are continually apprehended. In short, heretics were daily executed in Rome[1] ("ogni giorno faceva impiccare e squartare ora uno, ora unaltro"), and no wonder, when Pius said openly he would spare one guilty of many murders rather than a single invincible heretic,[2] for they were "more culpable than pagans."

The letters we shall refer to were written by the Pope to various princes and celebrated personages, and extracts from some of these will give the best evidence possible on the subject we have in hand. They are animated solely by one spirit, and that is the extermination of heresy and heretics, no matter at what cost; no attempt at peace or reconciliation was to be made; employ fire and sword; hesitate over no means, provided you take vengeance of the enemies of God and us. Yet we find him admitting inadvertently that religion was *not* as yet seriously endangered. These remark-

[1] Cantu, *Eretici d'Italia.* [2] Legazioni di Serristori.

able words appear in a letter from Pius V. to the Duc de Nevers, dated 16th October 1567, mentioning that an envoy had come from Charles IX. to ask aid in money, and adds:—

"We have promised the king should always find us ready to be of use to him, provided religion were seriously menaced, *and not in the way she has been as yet* . . . yet the money we can get together we will send as rapidly as possible, and will always aid the king in any danger he may experience, either by money or men, even beyond what our resources would justify us in doing."

Each letter begins "Beloved son (or daughter) . . . greetings and apostolic benediction"; and is signed, "Given at St Peter's at Rome, under the seal of the fisherman." To the Doge of Venice Pius writes, on 18th October 1567, urging him to aid King Charles against the Huguenots, "as it would be honourable and glorious to his Republic, always desirous of true glory, to have assisted in this strait, such a great king and the Catholic faith." About the same date he writes similar letters to the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy. On the 26th August 1568, he addresses the sanguinary Duke of Alva:—

"We have heard . . . with what success you have contended with the heretics, rebels of his most serene majesty. Blessed be God who, in the midst of such cares and sorrows, has deigned to console us by such joyful news. We are charmed for the sake of the Catholic faith that God has given you such a splendid victory; we are charmed with it for the sake of our beloved son in Jesus Christ, the most Catholic king. Not only do we congratulate you on it, you who are fighting in the cause of the Lord, and are manifestly supported by his help, but we thank you in the name of the whole Church. . . . Continue, beloved son, to multiply these noble actions as being so many steps to eternal glory, and even as you have begun, *neglect nothing* to re-establish in your provinces the Catholic faith in its purity. This glory will surpass that of all generals and emperors. May the divine Majesty protect you."

On 12th December 1568, he writes to him again:—

"We praise God for reserving your courage, wisdom, vigilance, and strength for a period when they were so necessary. . . . There is nothing which may be expected from an affectionate and loving Father, as you will always find us, which is not due by God's grace to your piety towards him, to your love for religion, to your works for the defence of the truth and Catholic faith. Always will we shew these feelings towards you, whenever your honour or advantage may require them."

On 17th January 1569, to the Cardinal d'Armagnac, his governor at Avignon:—

"We have learned with infinite joy of soul that you have ordered and effected the distribution of the property of heretics in our States of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin. This joy will not be the less when we know that the distribution thereof has been made for useful purposes . . . and *desire that these goods be not given to the relatives or connections of their former possessors in any way whatever, even were they good people and Catholics.* ['Deinde, ne bona hæc propinquis ipsorum aut affinibus, quantumvis bonis et catholicis, donentur, aut alia quavis ratione perveniunt']."

Then follow instructions as to the economic use to be made of the appropriated property of the heretics, and its incorporation "under seal" with the legation. On 17th January, same year, to the Cardinal de Bourbon, his Legate-a-latere at Avignon :—

"Ardently do we exhort and excite you to use every effort and employ your influence to make (the faithful) seriously take such steps as will be best calculated to obtain finally the destruction of the implacable enemies of God and the king, without which it will be impossible to prosecute the war with ardour to a happy issue. . . . We exhort and move you to exhort and excite the most Christian king, the queen, and all whom you think necessary, and whose co-operation in the war is useful, not to lose sight of these considerations. The praise you will have merited from all men by your good intentions and actions in this matter, will not be lessened by the success with which you will have re-established the tranquility and security of the kingdom, and consolidated and promulgated the Catholic faith."

On the same day (17th January 1569) he writes to the Cardinal de Lorraine :[1] "We exhort ardently Your Prudence by this letter to prepare with extreme diligence everything necessary for the attack and defeat of our enemies, so as to shew that you have wanted neither the will nor the power to aid the Catholic religion." A little further he alludes to the Prince of Orange as "nefarius ille vocatus Aurangiæ Princeps," and goes on :—

"We remark with pain that the edict of the king relative to the *confiscation of the goods of heretics has not been put in execution*, as it ought to have been ; this would have been most useful in restraining those who waver in the faith, and to drive away with fright all others from the abominable society of heretics, and all friendship with them. Not only do we ask you to do all we require with the greatest zeal, but beg of you to inflame the spirits of the king, queen, and all those participating in the war. . . . Nothing could happen which would be more agreeable to us, or that we could more desire, nothing which could bring you greater honour and glory."

[1] He was Grand-Inquisitor for France.

On 6th March 1569, Charles IX. is thus addressed:—

"To our most beloved son in Jesus Christ, greeting and apostolic benediction. Our solicitude for you and your kingdom in such a critical condition is such that we send your majesty in the name of the all-powerful God *auxiliary troops, both infantry and cavalry*, even as you have asked for. We send them to save you and your kingdom in the war which the heretics, enemies of God and the Catholic Church, animated with hostility, cease not to wage against you and your states."

He then recommends their chief, General Sforza,[1] to the king, and trusts that everything in the way of provisions and material of war will be afforded them, and concludes thus:—

"When God shall, as we trust, have in his goodness granted you victory, it will be for you *to punish with the extremest severity the heretics and their leaders*, for they are the enemies of God, and *to take revenge on them*, not only for your own injuries, but also for those of Almighty God, so that they may bear the penalty of their crimes, which shall be such as you, the executor of the righteous judgment of God, shall inflict on them."

In another long letter of 28th March 1569 to King Charles, and one of the same date to Catherine ("our beloved daughter in Jesus Christ." . . .), Pius congratulates them on the bloody victory of Jarnac, and death of Condé:—

. . . "Lifting up our hands to heaven, we hastened in the humility of our hearts to render thanks to Almighty God, who in this victory has graciously showered on us such treasures of his mercy. . . . But the more the Lord shews such goodness to us, the more should you profit with care and diligence of this opportunity *to follow and destroy all that*

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[1] Besides the General Sforza here mentioned, and whose atrocities and horrible immoralities are too abominable for perusal, another favourite of the Vatican, Fabrice Serbelloni, was general commanding the papal troops at Avignon during a part of the religious wars, to which post he was appointed by Pope Pius IV., whose cousin he was, in 1560, and held it for about six years. He came of a strictly ecclesiastical family; one of his brothers was bishop of Cassano and governor of the Castle of St Angelo, another was bishop of Novarn, and subsequently Legate and Cardinal and Dean of the Sacred College.

Let us see some of the acts by which this highly valued general served Popes Pius IV. and V. Having espoused the Catholic cause with extreme warmth, he persuaded his French allies to attack the town of Orange at a time when its garrison was absent. During the assault, the Catholics in the town admitted his troops through one of the gates; at first they killed only those they met, but subsequently perpetrated horrors only to be equalled by those of the tyrants of antiquity. Those who had escaped them at first they put to death gradually and by slow methods, that they might feel themselves dying. They threw them on stakes, on halberds, on swords, on pikes; some

remain of our enemies, and extirpate entirely all the roots, and even the least fibres of roots, of such a terrible and rooted evil; for unless *radically destroyed*, they will spring forth again. . . . You will succeed if you allow *no human respect for persons or things to cause you to spare* the enemies of God, who have never spared him or you; for you will not turn away the anger of God except by *rigorously avenging yourself on the foul criminals* ('scelertissimorum hominum debita pœna severissime ulciscaris') who have offended him."

Then comes a long paragraph giving the history of Saul, Samuel, and the Amalekites, and saying that if these counsels be followed, the help of God will disperse the foes, and the ancient Catholic faith be re-established for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Catherine is required to "fight openly and ardently against the enemies of the Catholic faith *till they are* all massacred ('ad internecionem usque'), and the ancient worship can only be restored by the entire extermination of the heretics ('deletis omnibus'). This it is which we should ask daily of God in prayers."

She is again told on 13th April 1569, in another very long letter, full of strong advice and approbation and thanksgiving for sanguinary acts:—

"We hear that certain persons work hard to *save a few of* those taken prisoners and obtain their freedom. *Be careful that this be not permitted*, and spare no means, *no efforts, to make these execrable men perish by the deaths they so justly merit* ('homines secleratissimi justis afficiantur suppliciis'). We conjure your majesty to believe we are actuated by no selfish motive, but only by the glory of God.

"We decide rightly what ought to be done; and because we love you and your son, the most Christian king, with a most paternal affection,

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they burnt by slow fires in chimneys, others they mutilated in the most horrible manner. . . .

Neither infants, old men, nor the sick were spared. Girls and matrons, after suffering the foulest treatment, were abandoned to the soldiery, and finally made targets for their guns or hanged from the windows; those who had slain themselves rather than suffer such horrors were suspended naked in the public squares. . . . Many were absolutely larded with strips of their Geneva Bibles, and not even the Catholics who had let in these monsters were spared.

The soldiers who, though few in number, had defended the town as they best could, were allowed to capitulate, and their lives guaranteed them, but had no sooner left the castle than they were surrounded and slaughtered, many by being thrown from the heights, after which the bishop's palace and town were burnt, with those who still survived in them.

Yet Serbelloni was kept in the service of his papal approvers, and further promoted by his Holiness. Our readers will find these and further details in Varillas' "History of the Wars," in De Thou; and De Pernssi's *Journal*.

we give you both this excellent advice, the most suitable and useful for your kingdom. . . . . We give you our benediction, and pray God Almighty to grant you his grace and assistance."

On the 13th April 1569 he tells his "beloved son," the Duke of Anjou, "Be inexorable to all" ("omnibus inexorabbilem te præbere"), and uses the same words in another letter of the same date to his legate, Cardinal de Lorraine, pressing him to "punish with *extreme severity* of law those who have caused such troubles . . . and *cease not to excite* the most Christian king, our beloved son, to take vengeance of his enemies."

On the same day he wrote to Charles :—

"There will be no peace or order as long as all do not embrace unanimously and preserve faithfully and solely the one Catholic faith. To arrive at this it is necessary your majesty should persecute without pity the enemies of God and rebels against you, in punishing them with the just penalties and executions ordained by law ('justis pœnis, justisque suppliciis quæ legibus statuta sunt, severè animadvertere'). . . . For if from any motive you neglect to follow up and punish the injuries done to God (which we are far from believing), you would certainly exhaust his patience and provoke his wrath ; the more he treats you with kindness, the more ardently should you avenge his injuries. On this account listen to the supplications of none no matter who he may be ; give way neither to friendship nor the ties of blood, but you must shew yourself inexorable to all those who would dare to speak to you in favour of these foulest of criminals. . . . We give you most lovingly our blessing," &c.

On 26th April 1569 he thanks the Duke of Anjou for the flags sent him, and which had been taken in battle from the heretics :—

"We exhort you, most beloved son in Jesus Christ, to make every effort in your power to prevent these rebels and enemies of God from escaping or remaining unpunished, but rather seek to make them undergo the *extreme penalties* ('suppliciis') deserved by their black deeds. . . . Let not the sin be committed of letting these guilty men escape with indulgence, and be also yourself inexorable to such as would speak to you in favour of these foul criminals. For if one forgot oneself so far as, either by negligence, complicity, or compassion, to permit such offences against Almighty God to go unpunished, it is to be feared that his anger against your brother, the most Christian king, and against yourself would," &c.

Most interesting evidence is Catena's description (p. 85) of the reception of the conquered standards by the Pope, and of their being placed in the church of St John, with a long inscription in marble.

The king sent these standards to the Pope, who received them with a solemn ceremony at St Peter's.[1] Pius claimed such a share in this victory at Moncontour, that it was commonly called "his victory entirely" ("si diceva communemente essere tutta sua"), his troops having been the first in the attack and the last to desist pursuing the enemy, from whom they took these twenty-five standards, and made prisoner d'Assier, commander of the infantry, who offered a ransom of 10,000 scudi, "which the Pontiff having learnt, *complained of his general* (Sforza) that he *had not obeyed his orders to slay forthwith every heretic who fell into his hands.*"[2] Processions and rejoicings were held throughout Rome, which were the forerunners of the rejoicings ordered after the St Bartholomew by Gregory XIII., and shewed the spirit which actuated the Papacy throughout.

Great is the praise given by Pius to Charles on 12th October 1569, for taking the post of Admiral and other honours from Coligny, "as a mark of his infamous character so richly deserved by that detestable and execrable man, if indeed he can be called a man;" and five days later a letter is despatched to Catherine on this subject:—

"It is difficult," says his Holiness, "for us to express the joy we have experienced in learning that our beloved son in Jesus Christ, the most Christian king, who owes his existence to you, had condemned (through the parliament's righteous sentence), together with his whole family, had deprived of his honours, had branded with ignominy, long due for the turpitude of his actions, the most deceitful of men, Gaspard de Coligny, of execrable memory, who calls himself admiral of the kingdom. . . . Do not believe, most beloved daughter in Jesus Christ, that anything can be done more agreeable to God than to persecute openly his enemies, with a pious zeal for the Catholic religion."

On the same day (17th October 1569) he addresses congratulations to Coligny's successor, the Marquis de Villars, in which he calls Coligny "the son of perdition . . . an infamous man, covered with every sort of crime, treachery, heresy, and abominations. . . . Remember that they who die in defending the most holy faith do not pass from life to death, but from death to life."

[1] See Ciaconio's *Vitæ et res gestæ Pontificum*, vol. iii. anno 1566.

[2] "Di che accertato il Pontefice si dolse del Conte, che non avesse il commandamento di lui osservato, di ammazar subito qualunque heretico gli fosse venuto alle mani" (p. 35).

On 20th October 1569, he congratulates the French sovereign on his victory of Moncontour in profuse joy, and adds:—

"It now only remains for your majesty not to relax his first activity, his zeal, his perseverance. . . . We know there will be many who, under the plea of friendship, or relationship, or even of piety, will ask your majesty's pardon for many of his enemies who are those of God himself; but the fatherly care we take of you, and the duty of our office oblige us to warn you, that you must not allow yourself to be touched by these prayers, and not to be turned away from your determination to inflict upon them the extreme penalties they deserve by law. Fear if you give way to the ties of flesh and blood more than to legitimate vengeance, the anger of God which will be shewn terribly towards you as it was to Saul. . . . The fruit of this victory should be the extermination of these infamous heretics, our common enemies. . . . Do not allow yourself to be deceived by the affectation of sentiments of compassion, and do not seek, by pardoning sins against God, the false glory of a pretended clemency, for nothing is more cruel than mercy towards those impious men who deserve the extremest penalties ('ultima supplicia')."

To "Cosmo, Duke of Florence," he wrote nine days later, rejoicing equally, and thanking him for the aid sent by him, and which had greatly contributed to the victory. On 3d November, he writes to the Cardinal de Bourbon in equally strong terms, and beseeches him "to urge the king to pursue with vengeance those who had escaped from the field."

In January of the following year we find him urging Charles not to enter into any peace with the Huguenots, "vengeance with the sword" being the only means of re-establishing the faith. "Listen not to any contrary advice, but *to our paternal counsels, and the words of our beloved daughter in Jesus Christ, your dear mother* . . . we write this in the the plenitude of our paternal love for you, and hope that Almighty God will grant your majesty *one complete and signal victory.*"

On the same day Catherine is told by this saint of God that he dreads this peace, and hopes for one complete victory over the common enemy! And another letter is simultaneously sent to the Duke of Anjou with the same advice.

The same subject furnishes material for a voluminous epistle to King Charles on 23d April 1570:—

"In making this peace, remember that it will enable your majesty's

enemies to pass from their haunts to your very palace, whence may arise many a danger, and every sort of ambush for you, and even if these heretics had not the desire to prepare ambushes (which we are far from believing), God himself, by an equitable retribution of his divine providence, would inspire them with that idea, so as to punish you for neglecting religion for your own ends. We need hardly point out how terrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God, who not only chastises and purifies by wars the corruptions of men, but who overwhelms States for the sins of their masters and people, taking them from one master to serve new ones. . . . We exhort and conjure your majesty by God Almighty to take warning by others, and avoid raising the fury of divine anger against yourself and your kingdom. We have warned Your Majesty because it is our duty, and because of our paternal love for you in the Lord.

"If you hearken to our advice, great will be the advantage, and we shall find therein great joy; if you do not, our grief, springing from the interest we take in the whole of Christendom, will yet be mitigated by the reflection that no efforts have been neglected on our part, dictated as they are by our office and our duty to your majesty as father of all the faithful." . . .

The Cardinal de Lorraine and the Cardinal de Bourbon are also similarly addressed on the 14th August 1570:—

"No peace between Catholics and heretics is possible, unless it be a fictitious and simulated one; on the contrary, under a specious name of peace lies a most insidious snare of fraud and treachery. . . . Use every effort to foil this proposed peace, and never suffer by any means a blow so fatal to the Catholic faith. . . . This on your part at this crisis will be most agreeable to the Almighty, worthy of your fidelity, and will fill with joy us whose pastoral solicitude is under much anxiety as to the result of these negotiations for peace. We would excite you yet more did we not know that you will neglect no part of your duty," &c.

The peace, however, having been signed, bitter letters are again addressed, full of reproach and invective, in September 1570 to the same prelates; and Cardinal Alessandrino, nephew of Pius, was sent as legate to Charles to urge this advice on him personally. Charles received with honour and private confidence the legate and his counsels, but the prelate was not to be deceived by specious phrases and courtesy; and matters came to such a crisis (say Davila and others) that he refused the king's gift of a valuable ring, "because your majesty's jewels are but mud to the faithful, since your zeal for the faith has waxed cold;" and these strong reproaches and public rebukes and expressions of anger so galled the king that an open rupture would doubtless have ensued had not Alessandrino

been recalled owing to the sudden and dangerous illness of the Pope. Yet Charles, to get rid of his importunities, was goaded into saying, "Monsieur le Cardinal! would to God that I could tell you all, you would then soon see, and the Sovereign Pontiff also, that nothing is so likely as this marriage to establish religion in France and exterminate my enemies. Yes," added he, affectionately pressing his hand, "believe my word yet a little longer, and the Holy Father himself will be obliged to praise my designs, my piety, and my ardour for religion."

This is vouched for by Catena (196), Davila (liv.), and Capilupi; the first of whom relates likewise that when the news of the massacre reached Rome, the cardinal exclaimed, "Praised be God! this is what the King of France promised me!"[1] The crime was eminently an Italian deed, as Mezeray observes; but Catena's original words are so convincing that we cannot refrain from giving them. Let us remember that he was secretary to Cardinal Alessandrino before the massacre of St Bartholomew took place.

"The king, grasping the hand of the legate, said, 'Let Pius be sure that my only object in concluding this marriage with the King of Navarre is to revenge myself on the enemies of God and to punish all the rebels, as indeed the result will shew that there is no other way except this wedding to liberate him from his enemies, and from the admiral (Coligny) that bond of union between the heretics and Navarre. I do indeed desire to punish these malefactors and felons, cutting them in pieces, or else will not remain king, but lose my crown altogether; and wish *to do all this in obedience* to the reiterations and counsels of Pius, who is always spurring me on, not to put up with such injuries which are being done against God and the crown. But after having tried all other ways, I see none better than to secure them in this manner.'"

How true was the foresight of Bethune, father of the illustrious Sully, when he said, "Si les noces se font à Paris, je prévois que les livrées en seront vermeilles," and of Langoiran, who preferred "being saved with the fools, rather than slain with the wise men;" but few were wily enough to see through the crafty politeness and natural courtesy of Charles and his mother, and least of all the artless and honourable mind of Coligny, who refused to see his assassin in him who called him father, pressed him to his heart, made every concession, and seemed ready to carry out his every wish.

[1] See also Cardinal D'Ossat's *Letters*, edition 1641, p. 426.

Indeed, even the uncompromising Bossuet says of the noble admiral, "tout ce qu' on employait pour decrier l'Admiral, ne servoit qu' a illustrer sa memoire."

There have been denials of the truth of the anecdote about Cardinal Alessandrino's exclamation, "Praised be God! the king of France has kept his word with me." We will therefore give a full reference to the best and most unimpeachable authority for its veracity, as it arose from the conversation we have just recorded.

In 1599 Marguerite sued her husband, Henry of Navarre, for a divorce, and amongst her supporters was Cardinal d'Ossat, a man celebrated alike for his uprightness, veracity, and political talents. Amongst the arguments he used, he stated that King Charles and Catherine had forced this marriage against Marguerite's will, and the Pontiff (Clement VIII.) himself was in favour of dissolving the marriage. D'Ossat writes, in September 1599, to Villeroy, the French Secretary of State, that he had an audience with Clement on the 13th relative to this affair:—

"His Holiness was very well acquainted with this matter, and himself told us of the reason why King Charles and the queen, his mother, had forced Queen Margaret into this marriage. . . . You must know, then, that on one of the many occasions on which the Pope sent for me respecting this transaction, he said that while this marriage was being arranged, Cardinal Alessandrino, legate of his uncle Pius V., met him in France, and did all he could to dissuade him from it; and after having repeatedly spoken to the said King Charles, his majesty one day took him by the hand, and said, 'Monsieur le Cardinal! all that you say to me is very good. I acknowledge it, and thank you and the Pope; and if I had any other means of taking revenge on my enemies, I would give up this marriage, but I have no means except this.' His Holiness added, that when the news of St Bartholomew's massacre reached Rome, Cardinal Alessandrino exclaimed, 'Praised be God! the king of France has kept his promise to me.' His Holiness said he knew all this, because he had been auditor to the said cardinal, and had accompanied him through the entire journey he took, first to Spain, and then to France; and that he had himself written it down, and might even yet be able to find it written in his own hand amongst the papers of the said Cardinal Alessandrino. And, moreover, you must know also that as I was going about informing the cardinals of the congregation of this, one of them, Borghese, told me the Pope had already told them it, on the day when he assembled them for this subject, at which I am greatly pleased. From all which you may see his Holiness is well disposed in this matter, and the gratitude the king and we owe him. I have also made use of this narrative of his Holiness in my official writings to prove the compulsion used towards

Queen Margaret to make her enter into this marriage" (*Lettres d'Ossat*, vol. iii. pp. 418–420; or fo. edition, Paris, 1641, *Lettre* 185, p. 426).

What evidence can be better than this? The fact is vouched for by the Pope, who related it as evidence before the cardinals assembled as a court of law, and he declares that when he was originally told of it by Alessandrino, he forthwith committed it to paper; and when he tells all this to Cardinal d'Ossat, the latter gives the information in the usual diplomatic letters to his superior, the Secretary of State, adding that he had been informed by Cardinal Borghese of the fact that his Holiness had already informed the Sacred College of this piece of evidence when assembled in solemn form to consider the pleas for Marguerite's divorce.

An additional proof of the truth of this anecdote, if such be required, is found in a letter written by Alessandrino to Rusticucci in March 1572, and alluded to by Ranke in his *Franz. Gesch.* vol. iv. ch. 3.[1] He says, "Con alcuni particolari che io porto, de' quali *ragguagliero* N. S^ne^ a bocca, posso dire di non partirmi affatto male expedito," shewing there were items of intelligence of a joyful nature, but too dangerous to be transmitted by letter, so that the Pontifical Court knew the intention of the king as early as the February of 1572 at least. The above narrative is also adopted by Folieta (*De Sacro Fœdere*); and the account written by Clement VIII., and to which he referred D'Ossat, is proved to have existed, for it is alluded to by both Giorgi and Mazzuchelli, and a copy is now among the MSS. of the Marquis Capponi.

So much for the letters of this gentle Vicar of Christ.

But France and the Netherlands were not the only countries in which the Pontiff was exerting untiring efforts to annihilate the professors of the Reformed faith.

While this correspondence was going on, St Pius was constantly writing to the Duke of Alva, Philip of Spain, Mary Queen of Scots, and Catherine, to send troops to the aid of the English Roman Catholics against Elizabeth, "who is called Queen," and in favour of the Queen of Scotland, "their legitimate sovereign." Two of these letters,

[1] See also *Memoire au Cardinal d'Alexandrin fevrier* 1572. *Bib. Nation. F. Dupuy*, p. 523, where it is stated, "Le temps et les effects luy temoignèrent encore davantage."

of 15th January 1571 and 4th February 1570, are most interesting and important, as conveying distinct proof of the existence of dangerous conspiracies organised in our own country by the chief Catholic princes of Europe, and headed by the Papacy, to deprive Elizabeth of her crown and life. In these also Ridolphi is named as a confidential adviser and agent. This man was an Italian who, under the guise of a wealthy merchant, was a chief spy in England, and the medium of communication between Rome and the rebels. He was only one of many such emissaries, for as M. de Falloux acknowledges in his *Life of St Pius*:—

"Les Papes avaient fondé deux seminaires Anglais à l'abri de toute atteinte; l'un à Rome l'autre à Douai, ville alors sous la domination espagnole. Cette seconde maison fut au milieu des troubles des Pays-Bas transférée à Reims par Gregoire XIII. De ces deux sanctuaires s'elancaient chaque année, et specialement sous la protection de Pie V., les apôtres qu'un saint courage rappelait dans leur patrie. . . . Ces nouveaux missionnaires rendaient un compte assidu de leurs travaux au général de la compagnie de Jesus."[1] . . .

It was therefore from these head-quarters that the priestly emissaries were sent to England for treasonable objects; this at a time when all Europe was arrayed against us, when rebellion was breaking out with the express object of placing Queen Mary in the place of Elizabeth, and when Spain was making stupendous preparations to overrun our shores. Was it then any wonder that heavy penalty should be inflicted on those who were identified with such foreign plots? We see on all sides the clearest proof that this so-called persecution was caused not by spiritual or religious offences, but by a series of dangerous and treasonable attempts against the State, all instigated by Rome and Spain, with such success that our very existence as a nation was endangered.

In 1569 Pius despatched Nicholas Morton, a priest, to England, urging Lords Westmoreland and Northumberland to revolt against Elizabeth, and replace her by Mary Queen of Scots. They appear to have written for aid in money from Rome; for on 20th February 1570, Pius writes them a long letter, urging them thus:—

[1] Vide *Hist. du Schisme d'Angleterre, de Sandérus, traduit par Maucroix*, 1673.

"*Deliver yourselves and that kingdom from the basest servitude of a woman's lust, and recover them to the primitive obedience of this Holy Roman See.* This pious and religious wish of your hearts we commend with due praises in the Lord, and bestowing upon it that benediction of ours which you seek . . . . exhorting you in the Lord, and with the greatest possible earnestness of our mind entreating you to persevere constantly in this your excellent wish and laudable purpose, being assured that Almighty God . . . who has excited you to deserve well of the Catholic Faith in that kingdom will be present to your aid. But if in asserting the Catholic faith and the authority of this Holy See you should hazard your death and spill your blood, far better is it for the confession of God to fly by glorious death to eternal life, than *living basely and ignominiously to serve the will of an impotent woman, to the injury of your souls.* . . . . We will not only assist by performing the offices which you desire with Christian princes, *but by immediately granting the sum of money of which, according to our power, and agreeably to your request, we are able to supply, as you* will more clearly and fully understand by our beloved son, Robert Ridolphi, endeavouring to contribute hereafter a larger sum than the paucity of our means will allow, and with a prompt and cheerful mind, we will with all our means and power aid your pious attempt" (*Goubau*, p. 290).

Elizabeth's legitimacy was coarsely called in question, England termed "a sink into which every filth of heresy flows;" and in 1570 was issued that most remarkable document, the "Bull of Damnation and Excommunication."

This long and interesting document calls Elizabeth "the pretended Queen of England, a slave of wickedness . . . . with whom, as in a sanctuary, the most pernicious of all men have found a refuge; *deprives her of her pretended title* to the aforesaid kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; anathematises and cuts her off from the unity of the body of Christ; *absolves all her subjects from the oath of allegiance,* and *all others* from their oaths *for ever*; those who obey her are excommunicated and anathematised, even as the queen herself is."

One of the most peculiar effects of this bull was, that it excommunicated the Roman Catholics, as well as the heretics, so that as they had not the power, though they had the will to obey it, they humbly craved from the successor of Pius permission to be released from its obligations while unable to obey them, which prayer was necessarily granted (see Lord Burghley's *Execution of Justice, not for Religion, but for Treason*).

The bull was founded, says M. de Falloux, on the evidence

of certain English refugee clergy then at the Vatican, of whom the chief were Godwell, Bishop of St Asaph; Shelley, Prior of St John; Lennock, Bishop of Bangor; Morton, Canon of York; Henshaw, Rector of Lincoln College; Daniel, Dean of Hereford; Bromborough, Hall, and Kirton, doctors of divinity, and others. Parry, Allen, and Parsons, the English Jesuits, declared that an oath given to a heretic sovereign did not hold good (see the *Ad persecutores Anglos pro Christ. Responsio*), and that "subjects should depose their monarchs when they did not protect the faith" (see the latter's attack on Elizabeth under the feigned name of Philopater and Dollman).

Our limits will not here permit a review of the repeated conspiracies and attempted assassinations of Queen Elizabeth, all fostered by the Pope himself, so we can only refer our readers to Froude's *History of Elizabeth*, vol. iv. ch. xix. p. 13; vol. xii. ch. xxxvi., p. 288; Motley's *Dutch Republic*, ch. xii., p. 37, where it is shewn that Pius declared he would sell his chalices and vestments to further her murder; to Catena's *Life of Pius V.* (p. 102), for his statement about Ridolfi's attempts against her; to Gabutius (*Vita Pii*, lib. iii. c. ix., Antwerp, 1640), who declares the Pontiff's intention was to take her life if she would not become a Romanist; to Hallam's *Constitu. History*, cap. iii. vol. i., p. 121, for the sedition preached by Jesuits disguised as Protestant preachers; while Priest Sander's book (of 1572), Hume's *History*, cap. xli. an. 1584, vol. iv. p. 33; Camden's *Annals*, B. ii. p. 213 et passim; Strype's *Annals;* Dodd and Berington, both Roman Catholic historians; Rapin, the French writer, and others too numerous to detail, all corroborate our views that all these attempts originated with the Vatican.

We might have multiplied our quotations of similar passages from these letters, which abound with ferocious phrases. They remind us more of the bloodthirstiness of a Mahommedan conqueror than of a follower of a meek and lowly Messiah, and seem to surpass each other in an inexhaustible and sickening vein of barbarity.

How different to the spirit displayed by the noble Coligny who, after the engagement of Arnai-le-Duc in 1570, exhorted the young princes of Bearn and Condé to moderate their zeal:—

"Ask me not (said he) whether we have taken many guns, or slain many men; these men are Frenchmen, and I trust that none of us will now be compelled to shed the blood of our fellow-countrymen even in self-defence. How I long to sign the peace, to make it lasting, and draw my sword only for my king! Young princes! whom I would in my heart name my children, if I have taught you by my firmness to overcome adversity, you have yet a more precious lesson to learn—that is, to avoid civil war at any cost. Yes! I *will* sign a peace useful to my brethren, necessary to my country, *even if it be with certainty of being a victim to it, and suffering* an ignominious death. . . . Rather than begin another civil war I would be dragged bleeding through the streets of Paris" (see Lanoue's *Memoirs*).

He grieved over excesses and reprisals committed by his troops; and be it remembered that for every Des Adrets of the Huguenots, there was a Montluc and a Tavannes amongst the Guises. We may remark in passing that the Baron des Adrets, of whose cruel reprisals the Catholics make so much, was himself originally of their faith, and became Huguenot to enable him to take revenge on the Guise party for personal grievances. The other Calvinist leaders even put him in prison at Valence, whence he was only released at the peace; and this treatment so angered him that he returned to the Roman communion, and died in that faith. So much for the savage renegade who professed himself a Huguenot merely to serve his own ends; while as to the devout Catholic Marshal de Montluc, Buchon in his *Notice* [which precedes Montluc's *Commentaries* in the Pantheon littéraire] says, "No historian could bring together so many of his cruelties as those he himself has in his works."

Amongst other horrors mentioned by De La Barre-Duparcq in his biographical sketch of this monster, it is stated that he slew at Toulouse on *one* occasion 3000 Huguenots ten years before the massacre of St Bartholomew, and at one of his last sieges he slaughtered every Huguenot in the town of Rabasteins to revenge a serious and disfiguring wound he received there. This was when he was seventy years old, and his truly Christian maxim was to the last, "Il n'y arien qu'un grand cœur n'entreprenne pour se venger."

The Papal advice thus reiterated was hardly needed, for both the court, the soldiery, the clergy, and the people were already exasperated into fanaticism. Such literature as then circulated was full of calumnies and exhortations,

appealing to the fierce passions of the nation; not, however, in this surpassing the letters of his Holiness. The priests and friars even accused the king and Catherine de Medicis of favouring heresy; every pulpit goaded the faithful to persecution and murder; forcible baptisms in the Roman faith of Huguenot infants was compulsory by law; and the restrictions on their trades, places of abode, and personal freedom were similar to those enforced against the Jews three hundred years previously. Charles, his mother, and Anjou were compared to Judas, Jezebel, and Joshua by the fanatical clergy for not destroying heresy utterly, and nothing did they leave unsaid which could influence the public mind and ferocious instincts of the mob to carry out the advice which was being impressed *ad nauseam* by the Vatican on Charles and his advisers.

As our statements relative to the sanguinary sentiments of the Catholic clergy towards the unfortunate Huguenots are sure to meet with denial from the supporters of the Infallible Church, we shall here give some proofs and references in support of our view, and in doing so would impress on our readers that these are utterances of members of a strictly-disciplined and obedient Church, which would not tolerate then, any more than she would tolerate now, any expression of sentiments she disapproved; that the Church never disavowed or reprobated these ebullitions then, any more than she has the ferocious epistles of Saint Pius V. since, and that she was and is distinctly responsible for these effusions of her clergy, and for their too successful results on the populations thus exasperated by her ministers; for she never repudiated these sentiments, never reprimanded those who gave them utterances, but adheres to them at this very day, as may be seen by the extracts in M. de Falloux's *Life of St Pius V.* She is therefore just as answerable for them as is the Society of Jesuits for the opinions contained in works written by its members.

Great was their praise of the murderers of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange; their approval of Salcede, of Timmermann (the Jacobin confessor of the Spaniard Taurigni), and Balthazar Gerard, whom they called "the real martyr" (see *Sancti Belgi Ordinis Prædicatorum*, Douai, 1618). But amongst the numerous specimens of conscien-

tious fanaticism we may select *Guillaume Rose*, Bishop of Seulis and preacher to Henry III., so highly praised by Monseigneur Launoy; *John de Hans*, the friar who, according to Pasquier (*Œuvres* in fo. 1728, s. T. ii., 89) preached twice a day with immense eloquence, calling the people to arms; and when he was sent to prison for these harangues was released at the instance of the populace; Father *Fournier*, who openly designated Coligny for assassination (see Felibien et Lobineau, *Hist. de Paris*, T. ii., 1074); *Musso*, Bishop of Bitonto, who had been friar from the age of nine years, declared that "pity to them would be cruelty, and cruelty would be piety"; *Hennequin*, Bishop of Rennes, openly approved, in his pulpit, the massacre, and applied to Charles IX. the words of St Ambrose respecting Theodosius, "Vir quem vix possumus invenire" (see his *Brevis Descriptio Missæ*); *Sorbin*, Bishop of Nevers, absolutely raved against Charles, whose confessor he was, because he would not exterminate the Huguenots, and publicly urged the Duke d'Anjou, his younger brother, "to undertake the work himself, giving him hopes of a reward of primogeniture even as Esau obtained over Jacob." Such was the odious part played by the ecclesiastic who had charge of the king's soul (see Philarète-Chasles *Table de la Litt. Fran. au* 16 *Siècle*, p. 155, and Le Duchat *Confess. de Sancy*, p. 430).

Panigarola, Bishop of Asti, preached before the king and the whole royal family a month after the massacre, extolling that deed and its perpetrators in the most fulsome language, full of ferocity. This and other choice specimens of the eloquence of this popular and peace-making Christian may be seen in his collected sermons, *Prediche di Monsignore Panigarola*, Venice, 1596, 8°.

Vigor, priest of St Paul's, and subsequently Archbishop of Narbonne, was another violent preacher against the Calvinists. He accompanied the unfortunate Dubourg to execution, but used to declare that "isolated executions were not enough for him," and related that horrid tragedy in his sermons (see *Sermons Catholiques pour Carême*, 1597, 8°, and *Sermons pour Dimanches*, 1587, 8°; also Labitte *Predicateurs*, and Joly, *Hist. de la Predication*), where we find such passages as these:—

"Our nobility will not strike down the Huguenots. . . . Is it not, they

say, cruel to draw the sword on one's uncle, on one's brother? . . . But which is the nearest relation, your Catholic and Christian brother, or your carnal and Huguenot one? Much greater is the spiritual affinity than the carnal . . . and I say if ye will not destroy the Huguenots ye have no religion." . . .

Indeed, even Charles IX. found it necessary as early as 1563 to forbid the clergy to preach "incendiary sermons exciting the people to commotion, tumult, and the defiance of authority" (see Leber's *L'Etat de la Presse depuis Francois*, 1er 1834, 8°, p. 12); but the law appears to have been disregarded by these holy men. We find at a later period Father Bossu, the monk of St Denis, who openly preached regicide, and without any ecclesiastical restraints averred that Jacques Clement, the murderer of Henry III., was inspired by God to perpetrate the act (see his *Dialogues*). George Criton or Crighton, the Scotch conspirator and professor in Paris, who appropriately dedicated his violent writings to the Papal legate, Cardinal Sega. Amongst other fanatical priests who disgraced this period by their ferocity were Father Pigenat and his brother, a Jesuit; Boucher, the Curé of St Benoist and a doctor of the Sorbonne; Cardinal de Pelvé (Bishop of Amiens); the Abbé de Piles; Frizon (Dean of Rheims); the Bishop of Comminges, who later on instituted a confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, in which he enrolled in favour of the League the lowest ruffians of Toulouse (De Thou, vol. v., and *Notes on Satyre Menipée*); Edmond Bourgoing, Prior of Jesuits (who was convicted of having encouraged the assassin of Henry III. by promising him a higher place in paradise than even the apostles) executed for treason (see *Notes of Satyre Menipée*; Labitte *Predicateurs de la Ligue*).

These violent harangues were not confined to the monks or itinerant preachers, but were indulged in, as we have seen, by the high dignitaries of the Church, and to these delinquents we may add the names of some of the most distinguished and learned Jesuits of that day; for instance, Maldonatus, the confessor of Elizabeth, wife of Charles IX., for fifteen years one of the principal preachers against the Calvinists; Mariana, for five years professor of theology (and we might add of regicide) in Paris, just the very time when persecution had reached its culminating point, viz.,

from 1569 to 1574, and who subsequently declared that Clement, the assassin of Henry III., was the "immortal glory of France" ("Galliæ decus æternum"). Before these came Lainez who, though present at the Conference of Poissy, would not condescend to converse with the heretics, whom he called "monkeys, wolves, and foxes" (see De Thou and Mezerai). Then came Father Hay, the Scotch Jesuit and professor of rhetoric, who taught that "whoever killed the Calvinist Henry IV., would go straight to paradise without passing through purgatory;" Father Hamilton, another Scotch Jesuit, rector of the university, who participated with a cortège of priests in the murders of Councillor Tardif and President Brisson; Fathers Mathieu and La Varade, Christin and Guarini, Nouvelet, the eloquent benedictine, and author of a "triumphal hymn" on the massacre of 1572, and printed in that year.[1]

Surely these specimens suffice to prove the utter falsity of the bold and always unproved statement that "religion had nothing to do with it." Not a word of warning or reprimand, not a single counsel of moderation, was ever addressed to these ecclesiastical firebrands—these "accessories" both before and after the fact—either by Pius V., Gregory XIII., or Sixtus V., who however could not consistently disapprove these sanguinary sentiments, since his own joy at the murder of Henry III. was equal to that of his predecessor at the news of St Bartholomew's Day. He called together a consistory, in which he extolled the murderous deed of the regicide Jacques Clement, which he called the work of God, and an admirable working of divine providence; he praised the courage, the zeal and piety of Clement as above that of Eleazar and Judith, and went so far in his blasphemy as to compare this act to the mystery of the Incarnation and the Resurrection; so that here we find a regicide turned into a martyr, and his murderous act into a miracle, and that the very monarch who had been most subservient to the Papacy and the monks, had a monk for his murderer and a Pope to devote his soul to eternal perdition.

[1] See Bayle's *Diction. Satyre Menip.*, De Thou, vol. iv.; Davila, vol. i. p. 630; Naudé, vol. ii.; Mezerai, vol. v. p. 47; Peleus' *Vie de Henri IV.; Vie de Pithou*, vols. ii. and iv.; *Journal of Hen. IV.;* Lenglet, vol. iii.; Fleury's *Hist. Eccles.; Journal de Hen. III.; Journal of L'Etoile*, vol. ii.

The eloquence and activity of the clergy seem, however, to have been directed to inciting the faithful to attack the heretics, rather than to taking care of their own souls; for, according to Varillas (*Hist. de Henri II.*, vol. i. p. 46), it was nearly three hundred years since a bishop had been heard to preach, and Et. Pasquier declared it was as rare to hear a priest preach as it was to hear a cardinal. And when they did so, we see what good effect it had, for[1] instead of healing the wounds of their country, they used the pulpit to raise the masses against the Calvinists, even the Cardinal de Lorraine on many occasions preaching with such *force* as to cause his hearers to rush to arms.

The Venetian ambassador Correro writes to his government in 1569:—"If the Catholic priests ('i nostri curati') gave themselves half the trouble the Huguenots do, Christendom would not be in the confusion it now is" (tom. ii. p. 115). We have hardly any State documents relative to this period so comprehensive as these reports of the Venetian envoys. They are written most impartially, and with a clearness of appreciation and acuteness of understanding which are most remarkable. They are the reports of statesmen of the highest order, speaking only after mature deliberation and a thorough knowledge of the men and things they treat of; strong Catholics, yet most just and impartial, actuated by a strong affection for France, yet probing every source of her then unhappy condition and her misgovernment in the most able and impartial manner.

There is yet another point connected with this portion of our subject on which we would say a few words; and though at first sight this appears a digression, yet it is in reality intimately connected with the ecclesiastical influences we are treating of. Few persons who have followed the history of the religious wars can fail to have observed how much more severe were the crusades against the Calvinists in the centre and south of France. This, we believe, is explained by the fact that Avignon then belonged to the Vatican; and though it shews clearly that it was to the unceasing efforts of Rome to fan the flame of religious intolerance we owe the

[1] Tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 100 of *Et. Pasquier; Le Cardinal de Lorraine*, by Guillemin; Mathieu's *Hist. de France*, vol. viii., p. 408; *Memoires de Castelnau*, vol. iii. ch. vi.

long continuance of these persecutions, yet we must say a few words about this outpost of the Papacy, and the special influences which emanated thence, and actuated the clergy, both regular and secular, to take the disgraceful part they did at this period. Purchased in 1348 by Pope Clement VI. for 80,000 gold florins (which were never paid), Avignon remained in the power of Rome till the Revolution of 1791; and from this centre, through her vice-legates and their Court at Avignon, she obtained immense influence over the excitable populations which surrounded this ecclesiastical colony, and, emboldened by their distance from the French king and capital, they soon made Avignon a centre of intrigue and discontent, an arsenal where were forged arms and fetters for the neighbouring provinces of Dauphiny, Provence, Lyons, and Languedoc. The cardinal-viceroys were usually French archbishops, and frequently governors of Languedoc and Provence at the same time. The majority of the nobles of Provence were, though French subjects, vassals of the Pope; they served both in his army and in that of the French king; served alike as officials of the Apostolic Chamber and members of the Provincial Parliament; thus the leading inhabitants were bound to serve two masters, and we may well believe that this was a fruitful cause of injustice and discord, in which the local ecclesiastical power would easily overpower and neutralise the legitimate influence of the sovereign absent in his Parisian capital. To foster this influence the cardinal-legates maintained a brilliant court, which became the resort of every hot-headed partisan in the South. Those who could not go to Rome to receive their mission from the Holy Father were satisfied with instructions from the Viceroy at Avignon. Here the good Catholics came to enliven their devotion, to stimulate it into action, and carried back their religious enthusiasm into their own districts. In fact, it was a second Rome, where were to be found her unalloyed spirit and policy, her indulgences, her incendiary briefs, and all the holy incentives with which she governed her votaries. The leaders of the Catholic party regularly rendered an account here to the Pope's representative; every attack on the Calvinists first received its sanction through him, and the entire province swarmed with Italian settlers and adventurers, such as the Malvezzi, Fantini,

Fapoco, Oddi, Saporoso, Tesoro, only too ready to fly on and plunder the heretics, under the pretext of serving religion.

All this, however, was not enough. Further influence was obtained by bestowing the cardinal's hat more lavishly than heretofore. This it was which had bought over Cardinal Du Prat, the legate and chancellor of Francis I.; had brought about his adhesion to the Concordat of 1516 with Leo X., so disastrous to France; had stimulated him in his atrocities towards the Calvinists.

This it was which impelled Cardinal de Tournon to his horrible severities with fire and faggot against the unhappy inhabitants of Merindol and Cabrières.

This induced Strozzi, Archbishop of Toulouse, to originate the first league for the extermination of the Calvinists; this caused Archbishop and Cardinal d'Armagnac, the Pope's viceroy, to pursue the unfortunate Jeanne d'Albret, papal bull in hand, to deliver her over to the Inquisition; drove Cardinal de Joyeuse and Cardinal de Pellevé to their desperation and fanaticism; abased Cardinals du Perron and d'Ossat so low as to endure the most humiliating insults, and even stripes, from the overbearing pontiff then reigning at the Vatican; this prompted Cardinals de Birague, de Guise, de Lorraine, and de Retz to aid in organising St Bartholomew's massacre; caused the fanatical violence of Genébrard, Archbishop of Aix, of Rose, Bishop of Seulis; but we will not weary our readers with more instances. Suffice it to say, that in the reigns of Henry II. and Charles IX., just the period when persecution was most unflinchingly carried out, we find there were at the French court no less than twelve of these hybrid ecclesiastics, wearing the red hat at the same time, and all considering themselves independent of the sovereign whose throne they surrounded, and whose actions they influenced for the benefit of their Italian ruler.

It was owing to the efforts of some of the above-named prelates that France so narrowly escaped the establishment of the Inquisition. Cardinals de Tournon, de Lorraine, de Strozzi, d'Armagnac combined with Cardinals Granvelle, de Guise, the Duke of Alva, and Philip II. to accomplish this. Indeed, we find that they were so far successful that the office and title of Inquisitor for the Faith was revived in

France, under the auspices of the vice-legate at Avignon; and an Inquisition began its terrible work in Provence and Languedoc.

Already a papal brief had in 1547 appointed the Cardinal de Lorraine and two other cardinals to discharge the duties of inquisitors; and in 1571 the vice-legate at Avignon had endeavoured to establish the permanent appointment of an "Inquisitor for the Faith." The parliament of Provence, however, had the courage to refuse its sanction to the measure, and on the matter being referred to the king, both the office of Inquisitor and his tribunal were suppressed in 1574. Not content, however, with all the slaughter the Church had caused in France, a bold requisition was in 1588 presented to Henry III., urging him to establish the Inquisition in all the principal towns of the kingdom; and though this was not carried out, we find in 1593 a similar tribunal seated in Paris to take cognisance of acts or deeds adverse to the Pope, his legates, and the Church, which, being brought to the notice of the Paris parliament, it soon suppressed what it termed "an endeavour to introduce the Inquisition from Spain." In fact, had it not been for the courageous resistance of men like the noble l'Hopital, and the independence of some of the provincial parliaments, the efforts of the Church would have been only too successful, and the Bloody Tribunal with all its horrors would have been firmly established in France.[1]

So well had these clerical stimulants acted on the populace that we find, some years before the final butchery, repeated massacres all through the country; and l'Huillier, writing as far back as 1562 to his uncle, the diplomatist and bishop of Limoges, says that in Paris "toutes choses sont icy en si grand trouble, que si Dieu n'y met la main, avant dix jours, j'ay peur que vous n'oyez parler du plus beau massacre qui fut depuis la passion de Jésus Christ;"[2] and the Venetian ambassador, Barbaro, in 1563, says that in Paris "ove è stato in ogni tempo il numero de' Cattolici cosi

[1] See Papon's *Hist. of Provence;* Abbé Fleury's *Eglise Gallicane;* Brantome *Under Strozzi;* De Boutigny, *Antorité des Rois; Hist. de Languedoc* in fol., tome v.; Mezerai, tome v., p. 313; *Notes on Satyre Menip.*, vol. ii., p. 218; Lenglet's *Monarchie Franc*, tome iii.

[2] *Negotiations sous Francois II.*, p. 32, compiled by L. Paris from the bishop's correspondence.

grande, che s'avesser avuti l'armi in mano con libertà, senza dubbio, non ci sarebbe restato in quella citta vivo pur un eretico."[1]

In March 1568 was signed the hollow peace of Longiumeau, which, according to Mezerai, "left the Huguenots at the mercy of their foes, without further guarantee than the word of the Italian Catherine," and which the fierce Montluc declared to the Toulouse parliament, "was only to give breathing-time and opportunity for further preparation for war;" and indeed this period of peace was more disastrous to the unhappy Huguenots than the war, for many thousands perished during that time in isolated massacres, such as at Orleans, where two hundred were thrown into the prisons, which were then set on fire, and those striving to escape were thrust back by pikes and halberds into the flames. This example was followed at Lyons, Rouen, Auxerre, Bourges, Troyes, and many other places; and in June 1568 we find the names of Beaufremont, bishop of the last-named town, and a large number of clergy attached to the "Oath of the Associates of the Christian and Royal League," one of the societies of which the members engaged to take arms for the Catholic cause, and at the same time Baron de Rapin (ancestor of the well-known historian) was, although Intendant of the Prince de Condé, and while actually bearing the treaty into Languedoc, arrested and beheaded by order of the Toulouse parliament, notwithstanding the fact of his having a safe-conduct from the king.

We have moreover evidence that Pius well knew long before the designs of the French Court against the Huguenots, for, in 1568, Catherine informed him, through Cardinal Santa Croce, that her wish was . . . "accogliere un giorno l'ammiraglio et tutte i suoi sequaci insieme e di farne un macello, ma che il negocio era cosi difficile che non si poteva promettere di farlo piu in un tempo, che in un altro," and in 1570 excused the peace with her rebels on the ground that, "il Re non intendeva in altra cosa piu, che nell' estinguere coloro: ma che la forma non si poteva sapere, ne si doveva comunicare ad alcuno," and this peace of 1570

[1] "Where at all times the number of the Catholics is so great, that if they had had arms in their hands, and the liberty, without doubt not a single heretic would have survived."

was evidently a part of the long-meditated plot, for we find Marshall Tavannes[1] advising this to the king, "il n'y a moyen que de prendre les chefs tout à la fois, pour y mettre, fin," and Brantôme gives great credit to the marshall for this advice of overthrowing the enemies of the Church, "par la voye du renard, . . . et au bout de guelque temps la St Barthélemi s'inventa—de la quelle M. de Tavannes avec le Comte de Retz furent les principaux anteurs," not that the peace was to be permanent, but "pour se preparer mieux à la fête de St Barthélemi, et attirer à soi par ce moyen M. l'Amiral." This view is the one taken by Père Griffet, Le Laboureur, Mathieu, Adriani, Davila, Calignon, La Noue, and more especially the General of the Fanciscans, who declared to King Philip that he had seen Charles and his mother two years previously, and they were then so full of this intended blow, that the only thing that surprised him was, that any one should dare to tarnish their glory by denying this forethought (see *Græs.* vol. iv. app. 28). C. P. STEWART.

ART. VII.—*The Doctrine of the Westminster Confession on Scripture.*

IN view of the high estimation in which the Westminster Confession has been held by all the Presbyterian Churches and many others, it is somewhat remarkable and not very creditable that so little has been done for its critical exposition and theological illustration. The commentaries that have appeared on it by David Dickson,[2] Shaw

[1] It is Tavannes who distinctly says the court was obliged "invener un troisieme mensonge" for the massacre, and this was, that the Huguenots were plotting against the king and Catherine.

[2] *Truth's Victory over Error . . . being a Commentary on all the Chapters of the Confession of Faith by way of Question and Answer. . . .* Written by the late reverend and learned Mr David Dickson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. . . . Glasgow, 1749. This is simply a reprint of a pirated translation of Dickson's Latin Notes, which was published by one George Sinclair in 1684.

of Whitburn,[1] and most recently, Dr A. A. Hodge,[2] are all of a popular kind; and do not make use of a large mass of interesting and illustrative materials that may be gathered from the history of the times, and a comparison of the Confession with other symbolical and theological writings. It is perhaps owing to the want of more adequate exposition that the Confession is not more correctly understood and more highly appreciated. At least, so much misapprehension and misrepresentation of its teaching is commonly met with, especially among its opponents, that it can hardly be said that further explanation of its meaning is superfluous. Even among its friends, it is to be feared that it is more honoured by blind admiration and general laudations, than by careful, intelligent, and sympathetic study. An apology therefore seems hardly to be needed for offering a contribution to the illustration of what ought to be a trite and familiar subject to Presbyterians, the doctrine of Scripture contained in the first chapter of the Confession. In connection with its doctrine on this head, there have been many misconceptions,[3] generally in the way of exaggerating its strictness not only by enemies, but sometimes by friends in their zeal for orthodoxy.

In regard to the doctrine of Holy Scripture, the Westminster divines occupy a somewhat important position in the history of theology. The Reformers, while making the appeal to Scripture as the rule of faith one of their principles, exercised great freedom in judging of the canon; and Luther, Calvin, and others pronounced against several of the *antilegomena* of the New Testament. The earlier Protestant Confessions accordingly speak very indefinitely about Scripture. Gradually, however, there came to be a general agreement in the canon as we now receive it. This was accompanied or followed by a certain tendency to rest in the mere external authority of the canon, and lose sight of the inward spiritual light and power, that to the Reformers proved that authority. Now, the Confession was

[1] *An Exposition of the Confession of Faith*, by Robert Shaw, D.D., Whitburn, 1845.

[2] *A Commentary on the Confession of Faith* . . . by the Rev. A. A. Hodge, D.D. Edited by W. H. Goold, D.D. London, 1870.

[3] Some of these have been exposed by Dr Mitchell, of St Andrews, in an interesting pamphlet on the Confession, published a few years ago.

written at a time when belief in the canon of Scripture had been clearly formulated, but before it had hardened into such extreme rigidity as in the *Formula Consensus Helvetici*, and before the appreciation of the internal evidences and testimony of the Spirit had died away, as in most of the apologists of the eighteenth century. The theology of the Puritans was indeed more precise and articulated than that of the Reformers; but they had so much spiritual life and fervour that it was not, what it became in the hands of some other zealots for orthodoxy, a dry, fruitless scholasticism. These features may be very distinctly observed in the chapter "Of Holy Scripture." Its definitions are very precise and clear; but its conceptions are remarkably lofty and spiritual, and the language in which they are expressed is worthy of the theme, and sometimes of admirable dignity and beauty.

The arrangement of the subject is natural and logical. It may be said to fall into four parts. The first section is introductory, stating the origin of Holy Scripture; next, its contents are defined positively and negatively in sections 2 and 3; then follow the three great qualities of Scripture, its authority, perfection, and perspicuity, sections 4 to 7; and lastly, there is indicated how Scripture is to be practically used in the way of criticism and translation, interpretation, and decision of controversies, sections 8 to 10.

The chapter begins by setting forth the need of Scriptures, and the way in which God has provided it to supply that need (sec. 1). This is prefaced, however, by the admission that there is another and antecedent way in which something may be known of God. That is the manifestation of of God in nature. "The light of nature and the works of creation and providence do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom, and power of God as to leave men inexcusable." Here we have a frank and full acknowledgment of the validity of natural theology and religion. Its source is said to be twofold, the light of nature, and the works of creation and providence. The former of these expressions is sometimes used in a wide sense, as comprehending the whole of our natural knowledge of God from all sources. So it is to be understood in a later passage in the Confession (ch. xxi. sec. 1); but when, as here, it is distinguished from the

works of God, and placed alongside of them, it denotes, according to the *usus loquendi* of that time, the mind's *à priori* intuition or apprehension of first principles or necessary truths. So, for example, it is explained at large by Culverwell in his *Discourse on the Light of Nature*, published in 1652. So also Owen, in his Exposition upon Psalm cxxx., published 1668, says, "There are two ways, as the apostle (Paul) declares, whereby that which he intimates of God may be known—(1) *by the inbred light of nature*: φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς (Rom. i. 19), it is manifest in themselves, in their own hearts; they are taught it by the common conceptions and presumptions which they have of God by the light of nature."[1] The Westminster divines thus take a very comprehensive view of the grounds of natural religion, recognising both empirical arguments, as the teleological and cosmological, and *à priori* principles of ethics and metaphysics. These manifest God's being and character, more particularly his goodness, wisdom, and power; and thus they leave men inexcusable for not thanking and obeying him. There can be no doubt that this is taught in Scripture, and is the necessary foundation of all our other knowledge of God. Unless we know antecedently that he is, and that he is good and true, we cannot intelligently receive any revelation from him.

But while nature can shew us God's character and our sin, there is something that it cannot do. "They are not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his will which is necessary unto salvation." For salvation is an act of God's sovereign good pleasure, of his free grace; hence it cannot be discovered either by *à priori* deductions of reason, or by observation of the works of creation and providence. These can shew us what God's character is—wise, good, righteous—but they cannot tell us how his will may be exercised; they might assure us that he will be favourable to the righteous, but they cannot tell us whether he will be merciful to the guilty. For this knowledge we must have the revelation of his grace. It is worthy of note how the Confession implies that this is the great miracle,

[1] *Works*, Goold's ed., vol. vi. 427 fol.; the whole passage being very much a comment on this section of the Confession. Compare also his "Reason of Faith," *Works*, vol. iv., p. 82.

the supernatural coming in to restore and elevate nature, which had been corrupted and perverted by sin. Revelation is necessary, because God's grace is needed by sinful fallen men. The *word* of grace presupposes a *will* and a *work* of grace on the part of God, and is simply the unveiling or making known that will and work to those for whom it is designed, his Church, the company of the saved.

In regard to revelation, it is distinctly stated that it had a history and various progressive stages. "It pleased the Lord at sundry times, and in divers manners, to reveal himself, and declare his will unto his Church." It is not a mere body of abstract truth; it is given gradually, from time to time, as men are able to bear it, and in ways suited to their circumstances and character. This progressive character of revelation is of great importance to be fully recognised, if we would meet successfully the objection, drawn from the apparently occasional and fragmentary nature of the Bible, against its being the one supreme rule of faith. From no other point of view but a historical one can we perceive a unity and completeness in Scripture; but when we fully recognise the fact, that it is the record of a constantly growing revelation, we cease to be offended at its being given at sundry times and in divers manners.

But the Confession proceeds to assert the necessity, not only of revelation, but of its being committed to writing. This latter, however, is not asserted in such absolute terms as the former. Revelation is indispensably necessary to salvation; there must be a word of God on which man is to hope. But the written record of it is necessary "for the better preserving and propagating of the truth, and for the more sure establishment and comfort of his Church." This implies that saving truth might have been preserved and propagated, and the Church established in the faith, only not so well, even without the written word of revelation. There is thus ample room left for the acknowledgment of the possibility of some knowledge of God's primitive revelation being preserved by tradition even in nations and lands beyond the reach of the written record of it. The Confession does not, either here or elsewhere, absolutely deny the possibility of salvation to all living in heathen lands and ignorant of the Scriptures; and most of the divines who

have adopted its doctrines believe, that God has never left mankind in point of fact to the mere light of nature, but that some scattered and distorted remnants of a higher knowledge that came originally from above are to be found, or at least may possibly be found, in all the religions of the world. So far are the Westminster Standards from being in this respect narrow and extreme, as is often alleged,[1] they are most judicious and moderate, and assert no more than what is absolutely necessary to be maintained, if we are to believe in a supernatural work and revelation of God at all.

The second and third sections of this chapter define the contents of Scripture; the former positively, by enumerating its several books; and the latter negatively, by excluding those that have been falsely ranked along with them. What strikes one most in section 2 is its extreme bareness. It looks as if it had been reduced to the most meagre possible statement, with everything explanatory stripped off; and such indeed is the case.

Thus we have here no indication of any test or mark of canonicity; and we cannot doubt that this was omitted, not by accident, but of set purpose. For in the Thirty-nine Articles, which the Westminster Assembly had before them, there is given what might appear to be such a text. It is said there (Art. VI.), "In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand these canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." The divines in the Assembly began their work by revising the Articles, and in doing so they omitted the last clause of this sentence. Doubtless too they were right in this; because for one thing it is ambiguous, since if strictly interpreted it would exclude the antilegomena of the New Testament, whose canonicity was for a long time doubted by large portions of the early Church. Besides, such a statement is objectionable, as seeming to base the authority of Scripture on the Church. The Westminster divines therefore, probably following the Articles of the Church of Ireland,

[1] These misconceptions are so persistently expressed, and sometimes by men of such ability, as to make it a fair question, whether the statement in ch. x. sec. 4 might not with advantage be altered, so as to make its real meaning unmistakable. Indeed, the statement in ch. i. sec. 1 might well be deemed sufficient without anything more.

avoided any such statement. Nor did they substitute any other mark or condition of canonicity. Perhaps the mention in some of the Reformation Confessions of the apostles and prophets as the writers of Scripture may indicate a theory, held by some, both Jews and Christians, that the authentication of men holding certain offices in the Church is a necessary condition of a book being canonical; but our Confession contains no expression that points in the least in that direction. It simply gives a dogmatic statement of what the books are that make up Holy Scripture, and reserves to a subsequent section an explanation of the ground on which they are to be received as such.

Then the list of the canon itself is as bare as possible, simply giving unmistakable titles of the books, and saying not one word about their authorship beyond what was indispensable to designate them clearly. Thus the books of the Pentateuch are not said to be Moses'; the Psalms are not described as David's; nor the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles as Solomon's; the Epistle to the Hebrews is not ascribed to Paul; nor the Revelation to the apostle John. This may seem a trifling matter, but it is worthy of notice that one or more of those designations of authorship is made in all the other Reformed Confessions that give lists of the canon. Some omit some of them, and others omit others; but the Westminster Confession is the only one that consistently omits them all. Can we doubt that its authors did this on principle, and not by a mere accident? In some of the cases probably their design was to leave open the questions of authorship; but doubtless their general reason was their strong believing conviction that it mattered nothing who the human authors were, since they were all so moved by the Holy Ghost that their writings are the very word of God. We recognise in the form of statement in regard to the canon, as compared with those of earlier Protestant Confessions, the tendency that prevailed in the Reformed Church in the age after the Reformation towards greater precision and strictness of doctrine on this subject. The Westminster Standards pronounce peremptorily on matters as to which great freedom and variety of view existed in the days of Luther and Calvin. The line between divine and human writings is made as clear and rigid as possible. But on that very

account it is the more striking, that no decision is given as to the authorship of many particular books of Scripture. Indeed, the very strictness with which the later Reformed divines, and especially the Puritans, insisted on the absolute distinction between canonical and uninspired books, made them comparatively indifferent to questions of authorship and date. They considered, as Owen says, that "the divine authority of any part of Scripture being vindicated, it is of no great moment to inquire scrupulously after its penman. Writings that proceed from divine inspiration receive no addition of authority from the reputation or esteem of those by whom they were written. And this the Holy Ghost hath sufficiently manifested, by shutting up the names of many of them from the knowledge of the Church of all ages"[1] (on *Hebrews Ex.* ii. sec. i). It is the firmest faith in Holy Scripture as the infallible record of God's revelation that enables us to deal most calmly and freely with all questions that criticism can raise in regard to the times and manners of writing the different parts of it, and to welcome all that will give us a fuller knowledge of the historical circumstances and progressive development in which God has made himself known.

In regard to the inspiration of Scripture, the Confession gives no definition of its nature or mode, but simply declares what is its result, especially in two particulars—(1) that Scripture is the Word of God written, God being the author of it; and (2) that it is the rule of faith and life. These two positions include all that is essential in this doctrine, and they both refer to the result of the Spirit's work in inspiration, which is to provide that we have a communication from God to guide us in faith and practice. The mode of inspiration must remain a mystery to us; and nothing is here said to decide various questions that have been discussed by divines, *e.g.* whether it differs from the ordinary gracious work of the Spirit in kind or only in degree; whether it is the same in all parts of Scripture; whether it extends to the words or only to the thoughts of the sacred

[1] This is a very different position from that taken up by Dr Moody Stuart in a recent pamphlet, *The Fifty-first Psalm and the Encyclopædia Britannica*, that that psalm would lose half its spiritual value if proved to have been written, not by David, but by some other inspired man.

writers. The last of these is decided in the *Formula Consensus Helvetici;* but surely it is unnecessary, and therefore unwise, to include such a point in a public Confession of Faith.

The negative definition of the contents of Scripture in sec. 3, excluding the books called Apocrypha, differs somewhat from the statement in the Thirty-nine Articles, where the Church of England sanctions the practice of reading in public worship books that she acknowledges to be no part of inspired Scripture, and which therefore must be merely human productions. The Westminster divines carry out the logical principle, that there can be no middle term between inspired and uninspired; and therefore refuse to recognise any third class of books, as has sometimes been done, under the title of Ecclesiastical or Deutero-canonical, as if they might be rules of practice, though not of faith, to be read "for example of life and instruction of manners," though not applied "to establish any doctrine." There may indeed be differences in respect of the fulness and clearness of the external evidence with which different parts of the canon are shewn to be inspired, and every one who has studied the subject critically must admit that this is so; but though we may have less cogent testimony for a few of the books of Scripture than for the rest, yet if we admit the idea of a divinely authoritative record at all, we must believe that each book is either inspired or merely human. There is however in the Confession no undue depreciation of so-called apocryphal books. It is simply declared that they are to be esteemed, like other human writings, according to their own intrinsic merits, which are various. They are not all apocryphal in the proper sense of the term, *i.e.* fabulous and false. Some of them are of historical value and use. But as they are not inspired, they ought to be kept separate from the genuine Scriptures.

Sections 4 and 5 define the ground of the authority of Scripture—the former objectively, as it is in itself; and the latter subjectively, as it is proved to us. The former is directed against the doctrine of the Church of Rome, that the authority of Scripture depends on the Church; and this is rejected in both its forms, which were equally admitted in the Romish communion at the time of the Westminster Assembly—the Ultramontane, which located this authority in a single man, the Pope; and the Gallican.

which placed it in the Church collectively in a General Council. In opposition to this, the authority of Scripture is said to depend on God its author. The Protestant principle brings the individual believer into immediate communion with God, hearing his Word directly, without the interposition of any priest or church. But this objective authority of God's Word needs to be made sure to us subjectively; and accordingly sec. 5 indicates the grounds of our belief in Scripture as true and divine. These are of various kinds and degrees; and the paragraph in which they are described is one remarkable, not only for clearness of statement, but also for elevation of thought and beauty of expression. It is perhaps worthy of notice, that there is a passage very like this, both in substance and style, in George Gillespie's *Miscellany Questions;*[1] a work published posthumously in 1649, but in all probability prepared by Gillespie during the time of his attendance at the Westminster Assembly. It is not unlikely, therefore, that we may see in this fine statement traces of Gillespie's hand. There are first indicated certain evidences that give probability of greater or less degree to the claims of Scripture. These are partly external, among which there is only mentioned expressly the testimony of the Church, as being the principal part of it; though clearly by parity of reason, all other testimony to Scripture may be ranked in the same class. The position thus assigned to the testimony of the Church may be reasonably maintained. It was one of the services done by Dr Chalmers to apologetic, that he maintained and shewed that Christian testimony is as much and indeed more to be esteemed than that of heathens, to which former apologists had been in the habit of principally appealing.[2] In this he simply returned to the view taken by the earlier reformation theology, and indicated here by the Westminster divines. Another point, in which recent theological thought has come back from the dry apologetics of a former age to the deeper and more spiritual views of the seventeenth century, is the preference given to the internal evidence, here beautifully summed up, over the external; and the assertion of the self-evidencing power of

[1] Ch. xxi. p. 105, ed. 1844.

[2] See his *Evidences of Christianity*, Book ii. chaps. 1 and 5.

Holy Scripture. Still further, while historical testimony can only give probability, and internal evidence at the most moral certainty; the absolute *certitudo fidei divinæ* is afforded by the testimony of the Spirit. This is the only sure ground of our faith, and safe *via media* between the claims of the Church on the one hand, and the uncertainties of Rationalism on the other. It had been asserted before by Calvin (*Inst.* i. 7); but was most fully established and illustrated by Owen in his work *On the Divine Original Authority and Self-evidencing Power of the Scriptures*, published in 1659, and in that entitled *The Reason of Faith*, published in 1677. The enthusiastic or fanatical abuse of this doctrine by the Quakers and others, who assert an inward light distinct from the Word, is precluded by the statement in the last clause, that the Holy Spirit bears witness "by and with the Word."

The sixth section asserts, in a very judicious and cautious way, the Protestant doctrine of the sufficiency or perfection of Scripture, as not needing to be supplemented either by tradition or by new revelations. This sufficiency is practical, having relation to the great end for which the Word of God has been given, his glory in our salvation. All that is needful to be known for that purpose is declared to be contained, either expressly or by implication, in Scripture. But there are indicated two limitations or qualifications with which this statement must be guarded. On the one hand, the enlightenment of the Spirit is needful for the saving knowledge of the truth, *i.e.* for such a knowledge as is not merely intellectual and inoperative, but accompanied with a relish and love for the truth, and leading to a life of holy obedience. This work of the Spirit, however, is not a new revelation, but only the enabling men to understand the old; so that the need of it implies no insufficiency of Scripture for its own end as an outward revelation. On the other hand, the statement of the sufficiency of Scripture is qualified by the recognition of the room that is left for the exercise both of natural reason and Christian prudence in the application of its general principles to particular circumstances. God's Word in this New Testament dispensation consists, not of minute and precise rules, prescribing all that we are to do down to its minutest particular, but rather of general prin-

ciples, the application of which in detail is left to ourselves. The things to which this applies, however, are not any of the peculiar and distinctive elements of Christianity, these are all distinctly taught in Scripture; but certain matters relating to worship and church government in common with ordinary human affairs, such as having stated places and hours of meeting, an orderly method of procedure, and any helps and arrangements that are found suitable for similar purposes in common life. It is only with this limitation that we can maintain the Puritan principle, laid down elsewhere in the Confession, that nothing is to be introduced into the worship of God without the positive sanction of Scripture. It applies only to what are properly parts of worship, not to mere accessories. Yet even in these minor matters there are general principles indicated in God's Word which are always to be regarded.

The next point taken up is the perspicuity of Scripture (sec. 7); and here too the statement of the doctrine is carefully guarded. It does not imply that there are no difficulties in the Bible; or that all parts of it are equally plain; or that all men have the same facility in understanding it. It is admitted that there are differences in these respects; some passages are hard to be understood, and some men have not the natural capacity or acquired knowledge necessary for explaining these. But it is asserted that practically, for the great end for which it was given, the Bible is plain enough. All that is necessary to salvation is clearly enough taught somewhere or other in the sacred volume to enable even the unlearned to understand it. Nor, however, is this perspicuity of Scripture such that any one may conclude that whatever first strikes him as the meaning of a passage is its true import. We must make use of the ordinary means of understanding any book, such as acquaintance with the language in which we read it, attention to its scope and connection, the explanation of those who are better informed, and above all, prayer to God for enlightenment and guidance. With these qualifications, the doctrine of the perspicuity of Scripture is true and important; and affords the ground of the propriety and duty of circulating the Bible without note or comment, and inviting all men to read and study it for themselves.

The eighth section of the chapter treats of the original text and translations of Scripture, and is directed, as to both of these points, against the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome. In the first place, it is declared that the text in the original tongues alone is authentic, and therefore ultimately to be appealed to in all controversies of religion. This is directed against the assertion of the Council of Trent that the Vulgate Latin version is to be held as authentic, so that none on any pretext should dare to reject it. It is obvious that, as the question here is as to the text of Scripture, the word *authentic* is used, not in the modern sense in which it has been employed by many since Bishop Watson's *Apology for Christianity*, as meaning historically true, but in its more literal sense, attested as a correct copy of the author's work. So it is explained by Turrettin in his discussion on this very question:—"Authenticum scriptum illud est, cui ad fidem faciendam abunde omnia suppetunt, et cui plenissima fides in suo genere debetur, de quo certo constat, quod et profectum sit ab eo authore cujus nomen præ se fert, et quod omnia in eo scripta sint quomodo illa scribi ipse voluit" (Loc. ii. qu. 11). It is the latter of these points that is mainly in view here, for the special point of controversy was not whether the originals were inspired, which the other party did not venture to deny, but whether the text had been preserved to us uncorrupted. In order to maintain the Tridentine doctrine as to the Vulgate, the Romanists made use of the various readings that were revealed by the collation of MSS., and the discovery of the recent origin of the Hebrew points; and some Protestant divines, in their natural anxiety for the purity of the sacred text, were tempted to resist, or unduly depreciate, the evidence for these facts. Thus Owen took up an untenable position in his controversy with Brian Walton, though doubtless there were exaggerations on the other side also. Still all that even he thought it absolutely necessary to contend for was, that the original text is so far uncorrupted as not to need to be corrected from translations; and this is acknowledged, certainly as to the New Testament, by all the best critics. It cannot of course be maintained that any one MS. or printed edition presents an absolutely correct text, but it is true that we can be vastly more sure of the true readings in

Scripture than in any other book of equal antiquity. The very multitude of various lections, at which so much alarm was once felt, has served to make the text more certain and authentic. It is now generally allowed by the best critics, that it is not needful to resort to conjectural emendations of the text, at least in the New Testament. But, as Bentley said, "if that be the case, the New Testament has suffered less injury by the hand of time than any profane author, there being not one ancient book besides it in the world that with all the help of various lections does not stand in further want of emendation by true critic, nor is there one good edition of any that has not inserted into the text (though every reader knows it not) what no manuscript vouches."[1] If this be so, we may well say that, notwithstanding many doubtful readings, the text of Scripture has come down to us in a state of singular purity, and we need not hesitate to ascribe this to the care of divine providence. But while the original is the final standard of appeal, the Confession asserts the need and propriety of translations of the Bible into all languages commonly used. No translator is inspired, and therefore no translation is absolutely equal to the original; but the spiritual qualities that make Scripture precious and saving, are independent of the precise form of the language, and are preserved in all versions in proportion to their faithfulness.

Section nine treats of the interpretation of Scripture, and lays down the rule that it is to be interpreted by itself, and not, as the Romanists held, by the sense of the Church, the comments of the Fathers, or tradition. This statement seems to be founded on that of the *Confessio Helvetica Posterior*, where the rule of explaining Scripture by itself is stated to include the consideration of the genius of the language, and the circumstances in which it was written, as well as the comparison of similar passages, to throw light on each other. This rule, therefore, is virtually the sound principle of grammatico-historical exegesis. It is asserted here parenthetically, that the sense of Scripture is not manifold, but one, in opposion to the mediæval and Popish notions of a threefold, fourfold, and even sevenfold sense of

[1] Remarks upon a Discourse of Free-thinking, sec. 32.

each passage; a mode of interpretation which utterly subverts the perspicuity of Scripture.

Finally, section 10 states the Protestant doctrine of the Judge of controversies in religion; and does so in a more full and satisfactory form than has sometimes been adopted. It has been said by some that the Bible is the judge of controversies, as in the verses prefixed to the Geneva Bible—

> "Here is the judge that stints the strife,
> When men's devices fail."

But the Romanists replied that a judge must be a present living person, and therefore that a book could not be such. Accordingly Chillingworth, in his famous work, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation*, took a safer position; and admitting that there is no living judge of controversies, held that the Bible is the Judge's sentence, and being plain in all things necessary, is all that we require. Now, this is a defensible position against the Romish doctrines, and it is true so far as it goes; but it is not quite complete or satisfactory. The craving for a living judge to interpret and apply the sentence or rule of faith that we have in Scripture is natural; and as long as Protestants do not know how it is to be satisfied, the Church of Rome will have a superior attraction to many minds. The statement of the Confession here seems to meet that want. This has indeed been taken by many, among others Dickson, Shaw, and Hodge, in their expositions, to mean no more than that Scripture itself is the supreme judge; and so Turrettin puts the question, "*An Scriptura vel Deus in Scriptura loquens, sit supremus et infallibilis controversiarum judex*" (*Loc.* ii., qu. 20). So too the later Helvetic Confession, mentioning "God speaking in Scripture," does not seem to have meant anything more. But the phrase "the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture" is more definite; and in the light of the distinct recognition of the Spirit's testimony in sec. 5, clearly points to something more. The Holy Spirit speaking in Scripture is not identical with Scripture itself. It is true that he may be said to speak in Scripture, inasmuch as he inspired it at the first; and if that were all his work in this matter, we could not distinguish the two things. But he does more. Not only did he inspire the Word long ago, but here and now he opens our eyes, and gives us an under-

standing of its true and clear meaning. Thus we really have a living infallible Judge, distinct from the rule, to explain and apply it as occasion arises. The distinction of the Spirit speaking in the Word from the Word itself is indicated by De Moor;[1] and the grounds of it are brought out by Owen in his work, *On the Causes, Ways, and Means of Understanding the Mind of God as it is Revealed in his Word.*

May we not say that the doctrine of the Westminster Confession concerning Holy Scripture is one that cannot be called extreme or one-sided; but while it is full, clear, and precise, is also remarkably moderate and judicious? It can be maintained amid all the light of modern criticism, and will probably be found to mark out in substance the positions that are of vital importance in regard to this doctrine.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

ART. VIII.—*Unitarian Christianity in Creed and Worship.*

1. *Endeavours after the Christian Life.* Discourses by JAMES MARTINEAU. Fourth Edition. London. 1867.
2. *Studies of Christianity.* A Series of Papers by JAMES MARTINEAU. London. 1875.
3. *Hymns of Praise and Prayer.* Collected and Edited by JAMES MARTINEAU, LL.D., D.D. London. 1875.
4. *Common Prayer for Christian Worship, in Ten Services for Morning and Evening, with Special Collects, Prayers, and Occasional Services.* London. 1875.

THE name of James Martineau, which occurs on the title-page of three of these volumes, must command the respect of all who are intelligently acquainted with the philosophic thinking and scientific speculation of the present day. By not a few he is regarded with that reverence which scholars cherish for their master, and honoured with the gratitude partizans entertain for one who has proved an able advocate of their cause, and a formidable antagonist of their opponents. It is not with James Martineau as philosopher and controversialist that we are concerned at present,

[1] *Comment. in Marckii Comp.* ii., sec. 43.

but with Dr Martineau the theologian; and we may still further restrict the scope of our paper by stating, that it is only with his creed, in so far as it bears upon the worship to which he has given literary shape, that we intend to occupy ourselves. That there may be no lack of material for judging on the part of our readers, we shall place Dr Martineau's creed before them negatively, positively, and controversially; and that there may be no injustice done to our author, we shall use his own terms whenever practicable.

Towards the close of the paper, entitled, "One Gospel in many Dialects" (*Studies of Christianity*, p. 399), the writer asserts that he and those who think with him are "pledged to nothing but to lie open to all God's truth." The repudiation of what, in this sense pledged, they feel constrained to throw away, is guardedly put, followed up with a statement of "the divine sanctities that hold us," and introduced in each case with an "if"—"if sin be not *original*, all the more must it be actual; if there is no *vicarious* sacrifice possible, so much the more remains over for self-sacrifice; if you will have it that Christ is only *human*, so much the more divine is your humanity to be." We are surely not doing the writer injustice, when we state his creed negatively in these three positions—no *original* sin, no *vicarious* sacrifice, no *divine* Christ. Dr Martineau, however, is fully alive to the dangers which a negative creed involves, and warns his fellow-thinkers to take heed lest their gospel, instead of being a fruit-bearing branch drinking from the root of the vine, should degenerate into a dead residuum withered and hopeless. For his part he is prepared to furnish a scheme of characteristic faiths for Unitarian Christians. In the paper which bears the title, "Five Points of Christian Faith" (*Studies*, p. 177), the avowed purpose is "to trace an outline of Christian truths which we consider secure and durable as our very nature," to delineate "Unitarian Christianity, not as a barren negation, but as a scheme of positive religion." The following are the points, given in Dr Martineau's own language and order:—1. "The moral perceptions of man." 2. "The moral perfections of God." 3. "The strictly divine and inspired character of our own highest desires and best affections." 4. "Christ as the perfect and tran-

scendent outward revelation of God." 5. "Human immortality, as exemplified in the heavenly life to which Jesus ascended." These are "our five points of Christianity, considered as a system of positive religious doctrine."

For a controversial statement of Unitarian Christianity, we turn to the paper, "Christianity, without Priest and without Ritual" (*Studies*, p. 35). There we find one drawn up in tabulated form, so as to exhibit the Unitarian and Trinitarian theology in most direct opposition. The following is the scheme :—

Unitarian Doctrines	opposed to	*Church Doctrines.*
1. The Personal Unity of God.		1. The Trinity in Unity.
2. The Simplicity of Nature in Christ.		2. Two Distinct Natures in Christ.
3. The Personal Origin and Identity of Sin.		3. The Transferable Nature and Vicarious Removal of Sin.
4. The Finite Duration of Future Suffering.		4. The Eternity of Hell Torments.

In the creed of Unitarian Christianity, thus drawn forth in negative, positive, and controversial form, the point on which our readers are likely to seek further information is that which relates to the nature or natures and person of Christ. According to the extent to which they are satisfied or dissatisfied with the contents of the creed under this head, will they be prepared to admit or dispute the accuracy of the phrase, "Unitarian Christianity." The phrase is not ours; it is Dr Martineau's. His claim for himself and others who think with him, is that they are "Christians, and only Christians"; and when he proposes in his paper on the *Five Points* to trace an outline of Christian truth, he does so with a view to "simply delineating *Unitarian Christianity* according to our conception of it." What, then, does Dr Martineau think of the Christ of Christianity? What has he to say about the claims that have been put forth in favour of Jesus of Nazareth, and the claims he asserted for himself? Whose son does he take Christ to be? Whose nature does he regard Him as possessing? There is some difficulty in extracting definite answers to these questions from the writings of Dr Martineau; for, in common with all Unitarians, he is fond of substituting fine sentiment woven

into rhythmic sentences, and vague generalities expressed with a lavish profusion of dainty words, for plain statements and categorical answers. Ask him what he thinks of Christ's death, and he may answer in such words as these :—

"I conceive of it as manifesting the last degree of moral perfection in the Holy One of God ; and believe that in thus being an expression of character it has its primary and everlasting value."

Ask him how Christ has shewn us the Father, and for reply you may get the following :—

"Ever since he visited our earth with blessing, the soul of Christendom has worshipped a God resembling him,—a God of whom he was the image and impersonation ; and, *therefore, not* the God of which philosophy dreams . . . *not* the God of Calvinism, creating a race with certain foresight of the eternal damnation of the many, and against the few refusing to relax his frown except at the spectacle of blood. Jesus has given us a faith never held before, and still too much obscured, in the *affectionateness* of the Great Ruler ; has made Him our own domestic God, whose ample home encircles all, leaving not the solitary, the sinner, or the sad without a place in the mansions of his house ; has wrapped us in the divine immensity without fear, and bid us claim the warm sun in heaven as our paternal hearth, and the vault of the pure sky as our protecting roof" (*Studies*, p. 194).

With the exception of that old fling at "the God of Calvinism," and the time-worn taunt about "the many" and "the few" which we might have expected our author to be above the temptation to indulge in, the foregoing is finely conceived, beautifully expressed sentiment; but it does not contribute much, if anything, to the answering of the questions stated above. Notwithstanding this difficulty, we think we can place our readers in a position to understand the historical and doctrinal conceptions of Christ entertained by the ablest of living Unitarians.

From both the negative and controversial statements of Dr Martineau's faith, gathered from his writings and given above, it is evident that the divinity of Christ is denied, and the singleness of his nature maintained. The Christ of this system, however exalted above the rest of mankind in the purity of his moral nature and the loftiness of his spirit, is human, only human. The Christ of history is not regarded as standing where, in night vision at Bethel, Jacob saw the Lord in relation to the ladder of communi-

cation between heaven and earth, God and man—"*above* it." Whatever may become of their Christianity, Dr Martineau and his fellow-Christians seem to feel bound to be true, in the first place, to their Unitarianism, and so reject duality in the unity of Christ's person as decidedly as Trinity in the unity of the divine nature. It might seem as if this representation were not in harmony with the teaching of the first sermon in the volume of *Endeavours after the Christian Life*. At the very outset of that discourse on "The law of the Spirit of life in Jesus Christ," Christ is affirmed to be the representative and revealer of both the divine and human mind—

"So far as Jesus Christ was 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever;' so far as one uniform mind and power possessed him, as one sacred purpose was impressed upon his life; so far is he the emblem of Deity." On the human side "in so far as he underwent vicissitudes of emotion; in so far as he spake, thought, acted differently in different periods of his career, and a changed hue of soul came over him, and threw across the world before him a brighter or a sadder shade; so far is he the ideal and picture of the mind of man. His self-variations are altogether human."

This way of writing might lead some in unsuspecting guilelessness to imagine that all needing to be contended for relative to the person of Christ is conceded by our author. But those who have any acquaintance with Unitarian writings know how erroneous such a conclusion would be, know that with this school the practice is a favourite one of using expressions which to the untrained ear may seem to grant a great deal, but which commit those who use them to nothing but what is ambiguous in meaning and harmless in its vagueness. "Altogether divine," "altogether human," are quite safe phrases to apply to Christ when in ourselves we find it stated that there is "the Man," and "the God;" that, while self-cure is of all things the most arduous, what is impossible to "the Man within us," may be altogether possible to "the God." In truth, by those who thus speak of the Divine and Human in Christ, the emblem of Deity, the representative and revealer of the Divine mind, much the same concession and approximation to Church doctrines are made as by those who grant the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and then proceed to deal with them in a way that shews that inspiration is with them nothing more than the breathing and burning of genius

to which all classic literature can lay claim. What the concession of the Divine in Christ is worth, when made by Dr Martineau, we proceed to shew.

The prayer-book, of which the full title is given at the head of the article, does not bear Dr Martineau's name. We learn, however, from a reliable quarter that the compilation is of his drawing up, as indeed any one familiar with the style and grace of his writings might easily gather from the contents of the book. It is a remarkable "book of common prayer." In the preface an historical retrospect is taken for the purpose of shewing that even in churches of freest ritual there has always been a tendency "to qualify individual fervour by regulated order;" and the special circumstances that gave rise to this attempt to supply English Unitarians with a book of prayers are set forth in the following sentences:

"The use of free prayer among the English Presbyterians is due to the necessity of external position rather than of internal conviction. It is quite in harmony with the history of the English Presbyterians, that a body of London ministers, inheriting their traditions and their name, their protest against creeds which divide Christians, their longing for a worship which unites, should have conceived the design of a new liturgical compilation, to be gathered, in a catholic spirit, from the devotional writings of every Christian age. To one of their members they accordingly gave the commission—with promises of help which have been more than fulfilled—to revise the services in use in the Church of England, and to make additions from other sources, after having carried out more fully a course of reading which has always been his delight."

For the right understanding of the terms here employed, it is necessary to bear in mind that after the Revolution a change began to take place in the theological tenets of English nonconformists, and that a descent was gradually made from orthodoxy to the highest Arianism, and from Arianism to the lowest Socinianism, so that by the close of the last century the property and name of English Presbyterians passed into the hands of Unitarians, who were apostates from the traditions and assailants of the faith of those whose successors and heirs they claimed to be.[1] Un-

[1] Lord Macaulay and the late Dr M'Crie agree in tracing the change largely to what Dr Martineau evidently regards with satisfaction—a growing aversion to any fixed standard of doctrine as a recognised test of ministerial soundness in the faith. See Macaulay's speech on *Dissenters' Chapels Bill*, and M'Crie's *Annals of English Presbytery*.

derstanding, then, that "English Presbyterians" means in this connection Unitarians, what are the prominent features of this book of Common Prayer adapted for use in the worship of Unitarian Christianity? The general order of the Church of England prayer-book in morning and evening services being preserved, eight are added suitable for morning or evening service; then follow "Collects for the Christian Year," a collection of "Prayers and Thanksgivings," a few "Collects that may be used before or after sermon," and finally, "Special Services" for communion, baptism, confirmation, matrimony, visitation of the sick, burial, and for use at sea. From the services there are struck out *the Absolution or Remission of sins, the Apostles' Creed, the Creed of Athanasius,* and *the Nicene Creed* of the English Communion Service. As often as in the Church of England order a place is given to the doxology—"Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end;" some other formula is substituted, such as—"Glory be to God Most High, the ever-blessed Father; who is, and was, and shall be, world without end," or this, "Now unto the God of grace, for the might of his Spirit and the love of Christ; be glory in the Church throughout all ages, world without end." It being contrary to Unitarian Christianity to pray to Christ, and all forms of invocation requiring to be addressed to the Father, a change was found to be necessary in the *Te Deum,* which is effected thus. Instead of the lines—"Thine honourable, true, and only Son; Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ; Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father," are the following, "The beloved, true, and glorified Son. Thou art the King of Glory, O God." The portions relating to the incarnation, the overcoming the sharpness of death, the eternal session and the coming in judgment give place to the following:—"Thou didst not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption; Thou gavest him the victory over sin and death; and openest the kingdom of heaven to all the faithful; and callest us thither by the Spirit of adoption."

Notwithstanding these omissions and alterations there is much in the manual which might lead to the conclusion that the worship is that of Trinitarians, and in harmony

with Church doctrine. Thus in the baptismal service the form occurs—"I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."[1] In the communion service a prayer is supplied for the minister after dispensing the elements, of which the following is the opening paragraph:—

"Father of our spirits; mindful of Christ's life and teaching, his death upon the cross, his resurrection and ascension, and his seat at thy right hand, we have partaken of this bread and wine in remembrance of him. We beseech thee to sanctify them to us: and may we who thus eat of one bread and drink of one cup be made one with each other in the fellowship of the same Holy Spirit, and one with thy dear Son."

At the close of several of the services one of the forms of benediction is the well-known one in 2d Corinthians, xiii. 14. Who that formed his judgment from these parts of the services would suppose they were intended to be used by those who maintain the "personal Unity of God" in opposition to the "Trinity in Unity" of church doctrine? Who would imagine that the Holy Spirit of these passages is not a person, but a thing of which Dr Martineau considers it no violation of good taste, to say nothing of Christian feeling, to write thus flippantly:—

"But the Holy Spirit goes into no one's keeping, and is no respecter of tongues. Free as the wind to blow where it listeth, it sweeps wherever souls are genial to its breath, and will yield to it their gifts of love, of lips, of life. It seemed to have had enough of Hebrew, ever since it had gone into the hands of the philologists and been made a sacred language, and begun to drone."

Then among the contents of this manual of devotion there are statements made regarding Christ which might seem to set forth the faith of the Church as opposed to that of Unitarians. Thus in the canticle which, in the fourth service, follows the first lesson, there occur the following lines:—

"Thou hast visited and redeemed thy people, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom we have access to thy throne of grace, as children to the presence of a father. In him did the fulness of thy Spirit dwell,

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[1] To meet variety of tastes, however, other three formulas are given—"I baptize thee in the name of Jesus Christ." If a simple form of dedication be preferred—"I dedicate thee to the kingdom of God through his Son, Jesus Christ;" *or* "In the name of Jesus Christ, I dedicate thee to God, our Father in heaven."

that he might impart thereof to all mankind. Though tempted as we are, he sinned not; neither was guile found in his mouth."

One of the prayers in the ninth service begins with these words :—

"O God, thou hast set us in the train of many martyrs and holy men, and given us, as author and finisher of our faith, one who offered himself up a living and dying sacrifice."

In the communion service an offering of praise is given which contains this paragraph :—

"We bless thee for sending thy beloved Son into the world to save sinners; for exalting him to thy right hand in heaven; for all the gifts and graces of thy Holy Spirit, and for the hope of eternal life."

We need not multiply quotations, those already given being sufficient for our purpose. Two things seem to be rendered plain by this examination of the Unitarian prayer-book—*First.* The anxiety of its compilers to use as often as they can the language of those whom they deem to be involved in serious doctrinal error. Their anxiety has led them in some cases to employ phraseology which they must know is open to a very different construction from that which commends itself to their judgment, and in so doing their procedure may appear to some to involve an overlooking of the boundary line that separates honourable from questionable conduct. *Second.* From the omission of the three creeds, and the alterations made upon the *Te Deum* and doxology of the ancient Church, it is evident that Unitarian Christians are not prepared to "honour the Son even as they honour the Father." They have many beautiful things to say regarding Him as God's dear Son, but they will not say glory be to the Son; they think He has done something for sinners, something to secure the pardon of sins, nay, if you will, "to save sinners;" but they do not think that in His person are to be found God and man, "one Christ, who suffered for our salvation." How can they? What has the dear Son of God done more than others who have gone before Him in "the glorious succession of the good;" in what respect does the High Priest of Christianity differ from the priests of Aaron's line? Dr Martineau undertakes to reply in one of the longest and most elaborate papers in the *Studies of Christianity*.[1] According to him all the reference

[1] "Inconsistency of the Scheme of Vicarious Redemption."

of sacrifices under the law was to *ceremonial* sins unconscious or inevitable, *ritual* transgressions and impurity arising from inadvertence or necessity. For these Jewish sacrifices were a mulct, acknowledgment, or commutation, and for these only; moral wrong-doing not being contemplated or covered by them. Now by the writer of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* endeavouring to soothe the uneasiness of believing Jews, the death of Jesus Christ is represented in the light of commutations for legal observances, a light in which it is to be supposed sacrifice would at once present itself to them. The author is represented as saying in substance :—

"You can look without uneasiness on your ritual omissions, when the blood of some victim has been presented instead, and the penetralia of your sanctuary have been sprinkled with the offering. Well, on no other terms would I soothe your anxiety; precisely such equivalent sacrifice does Christianity exhibit, only of so peculiar a nature that for *all* ceremonial neglects, intentional no less than inadvertent, you may rely upon indemnity."

Endeavouring to make good this position, Dr Martineau dwells upon the contrast between the Mosaic sacrifices and the offering of Christ. The former, frequently offered, were of limited, temporary efficacy; the latter, once presented, has a perpetuity of efficacy. According to this shewing, the contrast between the sons of Aaron and the Son of God is limited to that between repetition and oneness, between offering *daily*, and offering *once for all*. Christ did once the selfsame thing which Jewish priests did many times over. And what was that? In Hebrews (vii. 27), it is stated to have been an offering up sacrifices on the part of the officiating priest, "first for his own sins, and then for the people's." Did Christ also do that? Dr Martineau does not shrink from saying *he did*. In a foot-note on the passage quoted above, he ridicules the interpretation of the verse given by Trinitarian commentators, which would so limit the once offering up as to make it applicable only to the sins of the people. To him it is as plain as words can make it, that Christ, "once for all" offered up "a sacrifice, *first for his own sins*, and then for the people's." He submits that "it is positively affirmed that Christ *did* offer sacrifice for his own sins," those sins for which his death was a commutation being "not moral in their character, but cere-

monial"—of the same order in him as in the people. That the view thus presented of Levitical sacrifices is meagre in the extreme, that the scope of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* is on this shewing entirely missed, and that the conception of a Christ who is only "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners" "in his celestial dwelling," while in ceremonial transgressions he is one with sinners and one of them, being not "without sin," is a conception that offers violence alike to the record of Scripture and the findings of the Christian consciousness; these are the positions to be advanced in opposition to the foregoing travesty of biblical interpretation. But the substantiating of them is not needed for our present purpose. If we have been to any extent successful in making the creed of Unitarian Christianity act as a key to the worship, our readers will have no difficulty in accounting for the omissions, alterations, and adaptations, which were considered necessary before the services in use in the Church of England could be used by those who claim to be "Christians, and only Christians;" and perhaps they may share the revulsion of feeling to which we confess, as often as in this handbook for Christian worship we find the Lord Jesus Christ styled "thy dear Son," "thy beloved Son," "our Saviour." It was said to one who offered the lip homage of "Hail, Master," and a kiss, "Betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?" are not those in danger of having the same question put to them who call him Lord and Saviour, while all they mean is that he brings indemnity for ceremonial neglects, an indemnity he stood as much in need of as any who before him did priestly work?

The influence of the creed of Unitarian Christianity upon the praise element in worship can be estimated by an examination of the Unitarian hymn-book, which bears the title, *Hymns of Praise and Prayer*, collected and edited by James Martineau, LL.D., D.D. Numbering 797 hymns and pieces, the collection is in many respects an interesting and valuable one. The range of selection is wider than that of any denominational hymn-book known to us. The *Roman Breviary*, *Parisian Breviary*, and *Roman Missal* are drawn from equally with the *Bristol and Plymouth Collections* and the *Boston Chapel Hymn-book*; pieces from the pen of Ignatius Loyola, Robert Burns, James Hogg, Sir W. Scott,

F. P. Cobbe, and R. W. Emerson are placed side by side with the hymns of Toplady and Wesley, Cowper and Newton, Watts and Doddridge, Montgomery and Elliott. For the compositions of all these alike the claim is advanced that they are *vatum suspiria*, the *solatium ecclesiæ*. Notwithstanding the bulk of the collection and the wide range of its selection, there are many hymns dear to the heart of Christendom which are refused admittance. The "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty" of Heber, which in so many collections stands first, is of course not permitted to cross the threshold of this hymn-book. To Cowper's "There is a fountain filled with blood," to Toplady's "Rock of Ages," to Charlotte Elliott's "Just as I am," to Keble's "Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear," to Watt's "When I survey the wondrous cross," the stern prohibition has been addressed—Ye cannot enter here. Why those who in their prayer-book profess that they "sincerely love our Lord Jesus Christ," and desire "to be his true disciples," who "give most humble and hearty thanks to our Father in heaven for the word and work of his Son, Jesus Christ," whom he sent "into the world to save sinners," should not be at liberty so to express themselves in their praise-book we may not be able to explain, but so it is. They may recreate themselves with "Rocked in the cradle of the deep" (No. 752), but it is not deemed for their profiting that they should sing "Rock of ages, cleft for me;" they may join Anne Steel in saying "When I survey life's varied scene," but they must part company with good Isaac Watts so soon as he says "When I survey the wondrous cross."

This, it may be said, is a matter of taste, and Unitarian Christians must be allowed to select and exclude as they please without having the fear of an evangelical review before their eyes. They are at liberty to insert and omit so as to harmonise their worship with their creed, if not their language; but are they at liberty when inserting, to alter hymns, the sanction of authors being no longer obtainable, and so to alter as entirely to pervert the composition from its original intention? Should what is implied in this question seem to form a grave charge, let the following instances of Unitarian accommodation be cordially weighed. The first line in the closing stanza of Lyte's hymn for eventide is—

"Hold thou thy cross before my closing eyes."

for which Dr Martineau substitutes—

"Come thou in light before my closing eyes."

The five opening lines of one of Charles Wesley's happiest strains are—

"Jesus, lover of my soul,
Let me to thy bosom fly,
While the nearer waters roll,
While the tempest still is nigh,
Hide me, O my Saviour, hide."

It was with difficulty we recognised old friends in the following rendering of three of the above lines:—

"Father, refuge of my soul!
Let me to thy shelter fly:
Hide me, O my Father, hide."

Mainly through the publicity given to it in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, many Protestants have become acquainted with the evening hymn of F. W. Faber, which has this for opening verse:—

"Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go;
Thy word into our minds instil;
And make our lukewarm hearts to glow
With lowly love and fervent will.
Through life's long day and death's dark night,
O gentle Jesus, be our light."

In Dr Martineau's hands the first and last lines assume the following disguise:—

"O Father! bless us ere we go.
Father of spirits! be our light."

Perhaps the two hymns most widely known in England among young and old, churchmen and dissenters, are the morning and evening hymns of Bishop Ken, which wind up with the stanza of which the first and last lines are:—

"Praise God, from whom all blessing flow;
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

In that form they could not be admitted into this collection for Unitarian Christianity, as it asks nothing of the Son, so it brings no homage of praise to him, and therefore the morning and evening hymns of English devotion have here this most lame and feeble concluding line:—

"Praise him, my soul! for all his love."

We leave our readers to form their own judgment of this

treatment of literary property, which surely has its rights as much as any other kind of property. For our part, did the opportunity present itself, we would not hesitate to inform the editor that to mutilate hymns in that fashion, when it is out of the power of the authors to remonstrate against such perversion of their compositions, is a violation of all literary fairness, a procedure which we would fain hope is not justified by anything to be found in the ethics of Unitarian Christianity.

There are other features of Dr Martineau's hymn-book, elucidated by the outline of his creed contained in the earlier part of this paper, it might interest our readers were we to bring out. The very ordering of the contents of the collection is significant. Containing four books in all, the titles of Books I. and II. are, "God and his Descent on Man," "Man in his Ascent to God." For the person and work of Jesus Christ a place is found in Book I., under section 4, which contains hymns bearing upon God's descent "in the constitution and history of humanity;" and to "the person and life of Jesus Christ, the history and influence of his religion, and the future kingdom of God on earth," only sixty hymns are devoted, so that of the 797 which constitute the collection 737 have no direct bearing upon Christ in person and offices, work, history, and influence.[1]

It has been often remarked that the creed of Unitarianism, in which so much prominence is given to "Man in his ascent to God," is a cold and cheerless one; and the truth of the statement is confirmed by an examination of this manual for Unitarian worship. The pervading tone of the book is sad and sombre, and can hardly fail to give the impression that the Unitarian creed is not favourable to what is bright with exultation and confidence, sunny with joy and hope. There are hymns of cheerfulness and joy in the collection, but not more than three or four; whereas those that tell of sadness, of disappointment, of baffled endeavour, of vain quest and painful conflict, are of constant occurrence. The strain of the book may be said to be that of No. 201, "The Broken Shield."

[1] The most recently published hymnal of genuine Presbyterianism is that of the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland. Out of its 366 pieces seventy-two are occupied with the "Redeemer."

"O send me not away! for I would drink,
E'en I, the weakest, at the fount of life;
Chide not my steps, that venture near the brink,
Weary and fainting from the deadly strife.

Went I not forth undaunted and alone,
Strong in the majesty of human might?
Lo! I return, all wounded and forlorn,
My dream of glory lost in shades of night.

Was I not girded for the battle-field?
Bore I not helm of pride and glittering sword!
Behold the fragments of my broken shield,
And lend to me thy heavenly armour, Lord!"

This is as sad as it is beautiful; but there is another sadder still. Those who have read Isaac Taylor's essay on "The State of Unitarianism in England"[1] will remember the graphic sketch there given of a Sunday morning service in an English Unitarian place of worship. The minister is portrayed—"a spare, keen-eyed man, sedate in deportment and sarcastic in look, and yet manifestly sad at heart;" the chapel is described as of sombre exterior, with an interior in harmony, deep galleries protuding their bulk far upon the central space, and the lower area "penfolded by pews"; the congregation is compared to "columns erect amid the ruins of Palmyra," and the outline of a sermon, called "the querulous harangue of half-an-hour," is given, although the text had slipped from recollection, not having been once referred to in the body of the discourse. The only thing wanting is a hymn; and we venture to supplement the essayist's description to the extent of suggesting that the services be brought to a close by "the prompter of psalmody," who, aided by a voice or two from the furthest corner of the building, "performs the joyful anthem!" having it assigned him as his final service to "raise the tune" to No. 9 in Dr Martineau's collection—

"I cannot find thee! still on restless pinion
My spirit beats the void where thou dost dwell:
I wander lost through all thy vast dominion,
And shrink beneath thy light ineffable.

I cannot find thee! E'en when most adoring
Before thy shrine I bend in lowliest prayer,
Beyond these bounds of thought, my thought upsoaring
From furthest quest comes back: thou art not there!

[1] *Logic in Theology, and other Essays.*

Yet high above the limits of my seeing,
And folded far within the inmost heart,
And deep below the deeps of conscious being,
Thy splendour shineth: there, O God, thou art!

I cannot lose thee! Still in thee abiding,
The end is clear, how wide soe'er I roam!
The law that holds the worlds my steps is guiding,
And I must rest at last in thee, my home."

Could anything be sadder than this plaint of a seeking soul, seeking but not finding: could anything be more cheerless than the conviction that there is no guiding for human steps save in "the law that holds the worlds"? Surely a creed which finds expression in such a worship, while within hearing of the voice that says, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life: he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life," has a fitting description applied to it by Isaac Taylor when he calls it "a doctrine of desolation and decay."

C. G. M'Crie.

NEW THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.[1]

Old Testament Exegesis.

The Antiquities of Israel. By Heinrich Ewald, late Professor of the University of Göttingen. Translated from the German by Henry Shaen Jolly, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1876. Pp. 382.

Lange's Commentary on the Old Testament. Translated, enlarged, and edited by Philip Schaff, D.D. Vol. II. Exodus and Leviticus. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 174 and 206.

An Exposition of the First Twenty Chapters of Exodus, with an Introduction on the Nature and Style of the Mosaic and Scripture Symbolism. By S. R. Bosanquet, Esq. London: Hatchards. 1876. Pp. 254.

A specimen of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture.

Homiletical Commentary on the Book of Job. By Thomas Robinson, D.D. London: Richard D. Dickinson. 1876. Pp. 301.

Moralising and sermonising.

Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel. By Carl Friedrich Keil, D.D. Translated from the German by the Rev. James Martin, B.A. Edinburgh: T. &. T. Clark. 1876. 2 vols. Pp. 428 and 434.

An Initiatory Catechism of Hebrew Grammar, to which is added a brief Initiatory Catechism of Chaldee Grammar. By the Rev. P. Mercer, Professor of Sacred Languages and Exegetics to the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. Melbourne: Walker, May, & Co. 1876.

This is the first Hebrew Grammar composed and printed in Australia, so far as known to us; and we congratulate the Presbyterian Church upon this, as well as other signs of life and progress. The Grammar seems carefully prepared, and well fitted for its purpose. It is not possible to have much that is new in such a work; but the inflection of the verbs is ingeniously prescribed in a skeleton paradigm. We doubt, however, the wisdom of the form of the book, in so far as it is a series of questions and answers.

New Testament Exegesis.

A Commentary on the Original Text of the Acts of the Apostles. By Horatio B. Hackett, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. First Complete British Edition. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. Glasgow: Thomas D. Morrison. 1877. Pp. 351.

We welcome a new edition in this country of this excellent and scholarly commentary.

[1] Any important works in this list will be noticed in due time in the *Review*.

The Acts of the Apostles. With Notes, Comments, Maps, and Illustrations. By Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876. Pp. 262.

Intended for Christian workers, and giving the results without the processes of scholarship.

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament. By D. D. WHEDON, D.D., of the American Episcopal Methodist Church. Vol. IV. 1 Cor.–2 Tim. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876.

Also for practical use, and Arminian in the doctrinal views expressed.

Studies on the New Testament. By F. GODET, D.D., Professor of Theology, Neuchatel. Edited by the Hon. and Rev. W. H. LYTTELTON, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876.

MISSIONARY LITERATURE.

Forty Years' Work in Polynesia and New Guinea, from 1835 *to* 1875. By the Rev. A. W. MURRAY, of the London Missionary Society. Nisbet & Co. 1876.

A well-written and very interesting narrative of the progress of the Christianisation of the South Sea Islands, especially of the Samoan group, from the first introduction of the gospel to the present day, simply and modestly told, without any appearance of exaggeration or over-colouring.

The Trident, the Crescent, and the Cross: a View of the Religious History of India during the Hindu, Buddhist, Mahommedan, and Christian Periods. By the Rev. JAMES VAUGHAN, nineteen years a missionary of the C. M. S. in Calcutta. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1876.

Likely to be useful in giving information on the character and history of the principal religions of India, and the influence of English education and missionary efforts in that land. The narrative is lucid and interesting, and seems to be drawn from the best sources of information. The spirit is thoroughly Christian, while fair and judicious in regard to the other religions described.

Life in the Southern Isles; or, Scenes and Incidents in the South Pacific and New Guinea. By the Rev. WILLIAM WYATT GILL, B.A. London: Religious Tract Society. Pp. 356.

A very interesting account of the South Sea Islands and their people, and the introduction of Christianity among them.

The Romance of Missions: or, Inside Views of Life and Labour in the Land of Ararat. By MARIA A. WEST, Missionary of the American Board in Turkey. With an Introduction by Mrs CHARLES. London: James Nisbet & Co. Pp. 710.

Full of interest, not from any imaginary romance, but from the details of a personal narrative.

South African Missions. By C. H. MALAN, once a Major in the British Army. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1876. Pp. 298.

The Gospel in Santhalistan. By an old Indian. With Preface by HORATIUS BONAR, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1875. Pp. 98.

SERMONS.

Until the Day Break, and other Sermons. By the late Rev. WILLIAM WILSON, M.A., Musselburgh. With Memoir by the Rev. JAMES MOIR, M.A., Maybole. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliott. 1876. Pp. xxxii., 352.

Sermons by the Rev. Edmund Mortlock, B.D., Rector of Moulton, Suffolk. Edited by his nephew, W. F. JOHN KAYE, M.A., Archdeacon of Lincoln. London: Hatchards. 1876. Pp. 399.

Sermons to the Natural Man. By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1876. Pp. 422.

The Vision of God, and other Sermons, preached on special occasions. HENRY ALLON, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876. Pp. 420.

Hours of Thought on Sacred Things. A volume of sermons. By JAMES MARTINEAU, LL.D., D.D, London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer. 1876. Pp. 344.

Sermons by the late Rev. Alexander MacEwen, M.A., D.D., Minister of Claremont Church, Glasgow. Edited by his Son, with a Memoir. Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1877.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Synoptical Lectures on the Books of Holy Scripture. Third Series. By the Rev. DONALD FRASER, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1876. Pp. 306.

The Fear of God in Relation to Religion, Theology, and Reason. By the Rev. ROBERT BROWN, Markinch. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliott. 1876. Pp. 409.

Memorials of a Quiet Ministry. Being the Life and Letters of Rev. Andrew Milroy, Free Tron Church, Edinburgh. By his Son, ANDREW WALLACE MILROY, M.A., Reader at the Rolls Chapel. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1876. Pp. 177.

The Judgment of Jerusalem, predicted in Scripture, fulfilled in History. By the Rev. Dr PATTON, of New York. London: Religious Tract Society.

The Exodus and the Wanderings in the Wilderness. By the Rev. Dr EDERSHEIM. London: Religious Tract Society. Pp. 200.

Modern Infidelity Disarmed, in a Reply to M. Renan's Life of Jesus, &c. By E. Stephens. London: Bemrose & Sons. 1876. Pp. 460.

A Course of Addresses on the Word and Works of God, delivered to an Evangelical Association of Young Men. By Maurice Lothian. Edinburgh: Johnstone, Hunter, & Co. 1876. Pp. 282.

The Prophets of Christendom. Sketches of Eminent Preachers. By the Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876. Pp. 275.

Rowland Hill: His Life, Anecdotes, and Pulpit Sayings. By Vernon J. Charlesworth. With an Introduction by C. H. Spurgeon. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876. Pp. 292.

The Struggle for Eternal Life; or, The Immortality of the Just, and the Gradual Extinction of the Wicked. By E. Petavel, D.D. With Introduction by Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A. London: Kellaway & Co. Pp. 154.

System der Praktischen Theologie. Von Dr Carl Adolf Gerhard Von Zezschwitz, Erlangen. Zweite Abtheilung. Leipzig. 1876. Pp. 472.

The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall. By the Rev. P. Landreth. Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Co. 1876. Pp. 340.

The Life of Faith, as Illustrated by the example of the Apostle Paul. By John Thomson, D.D., Paisley. Edinburgh: Johnstone, Hunter, & Co. 1876. Pp. 216.

Glimpses of the Inner Life of our Lord. By W. G. Blaikie, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876. Pp. 288.

The Verity and Value of the Miracles of Christ, an Appeal to the Common Sense of the People. By Thomas Cooper. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876. Pp. 170.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*Rambert's Life of Vinet.*

Alexandre Vinet. Histoire de sa Vie et de ses Ouvrages. Par E. Rambert, Seconde édition. Lausanne, 1875.

NOT very far from thirty years after his death, we have at length a full though not an exhaustive memoir of Vinet. That such a work should have continued to be desired for a whole generation after he passed away, and when produced, should be bought and read with great eagerness by his countrymen, is a profound testimony to the greatness of the man, and of the influence which he exercised. Some public men excite a wonderful interest in their personality, and Vinet was one of these. Many authors, on the other hand, are mere manufacturers, and their works can be separated from themselves as thoroughly as a web of cloth or a sheet of paper can be cut off from the machine that produced it. But in the case of thoughtful, original writers, and especially those whose writings are flavoured with their imagination, a subtle emanation from themselves mingles with what they write, and gives birth to a great desire on the part of their readers to become acquainted with their personal history. For those who know little or nothing of Vinet as a writer, this biography may not have much interest. But those who have read his books with that increasing relish and appreciation which familiarity with them produces, will welcome

the view now given of his manner of life, and the development of his soul.

It is true that the outline of his life has been long familiar to the public. There was no lack of notices of him, and articles of various kinds, about the time of his death. The most elaborate of these was Edmund Scherer's[1] *Alexandre Vinet: Notice sur la vie et les Ecrits;* but, however able to appreciate his genius and qualities as a writer, Scherer, on one great and vital question, was incapable of sympathy with him. And of course neither Scherer nor any mere reviewer was able to present us with the personal and domestic details, and especially the details on the origin and progress of his spiritual life, which are requisite to harmonize a career that presents not a few diverse aspects. In this country, at all events, people needed something to shew them how the three or four characters in which he appeared could all belong to one and the same man. They knew that he was a great preacher, for oratorical fame travels fast and far, and his published sermons attested the rumour. They knew that he was a philosopher of the school of Pascal, for he had commented on him in some admirable papers, and his sermons too shewed his affinity to the great Christian philosopher of Port-Royal. They knew that he stood in the highest rank as a litterateur, especially versed in all French literature, and accustomed to handle it critically, in a style that commanded the admiration of the foremost Frenchmen of the day. Further, they knew that he was strong and ardent on one ecclesiastical question—the relation of Church and State; that from his earliest youth, and while yet in his first dazzlement with the glories of French literature, that subject had fascinated his mind; and that all through his life he had stuck to it, as a question to him of surpassing importance, and having a vital influence on the most momentous interests, sacred and civil. A memoir was needed to shew how all these sides of character arose, and instead of a bundle of contradictions, were the developments of one self-consistent man. We cannot say that Professor Rambert has given all we might have wished; but what he has given is of great value.

[1] The family of Scherer was closely connected with that of Madame Vinet; hence the special interest of Scherer in him.

Alexandre-Rodolphe Vinet was born at Ouchy, the beautiful lake-suburb of Lausanne, on the 17th June 1797. His father, whose family was originally French, had been in succession a schoolmaster (with a salary of twenty louis a year) and watchmaker at Geneva, an under-collector of taxes, a translator and copyist, ending with the not very brilliant office of secretary to the Minister of the Interior at Lausanne. Vinet came into the world during one of the lowest ebbs of his father's fortunes, foreshadowing the life of physical trial and suffering he was himself to lead. The father, soured perhaps by ill-success, was of a somewhat hard and forbidding manner, that at first terrified his son; but withal, he was affectionate, thoughtful, and intelligent; and when Alexandre's mind opened, there came to be a cordial and very interesting intercourse between them. They became friends; and when the son settled at Basle their correspondence was regular, and contained a frank expression of their views on the great questions, literary, political, and religious, that engaged their attention. It is curious to find the old man lecturing his son on certain niceties of composition which he was prone to neglect. It is more as we might expect to find a lecture on handwriting, for fathers who write with care are always annoyed at careless handwriting on the part of their sons. It appears that old Vinet's lecture on this subject was more successful than that of Zachary Macaulay's to *his* first-born; for ultimately Vinet wrote a most beautiful hand, only it was extremely minute, a circumstance that he sometimes regretted, for he had the rare virtue of thinking of his printers, and being anxious to save compositors the worry of illegible copy!

Young Vinet was not only clever, but precocious; he had a singularly fine nervous organization, and a nature full of "trésors de délicatesse." Music overpowered him, and it was not long before he fell under the influence of another passion. He fell in love with his cousin, Sophie De la Rottaz, a circumstance the more remarkable that the parents of both had been long desirous of a marriage between them, to crown an ancient friendship which had subsisted between their families. Vinet was only eighteen when they became engaged. At twenty he married, and the marriage was one of remarkable affection and esteem. The warmth and

purity of this affection was by far the highest feature in the domestic life of Vinet, which afterwards became clouded with much suffering and other afflictions.

Before this, influenced by his father's wishes, Vinet had entered on the usual course of study for the ministry; in a serious mood indeed, with a strong wish to do good, but destitute of that spirit of life which he afterwards came to enjoy. In the course of his studies the professorship of French literature in the Lausanne Academy fell vacant. The most likely candidate was M. Charles Monnard. It was the rule that the candidate should bring forward before an academical assembly a dissertation and theses, on which a free public discussion ensued. At this discussion young Vinet came forward as the opponent of Monnard. His father, who happened to be present, was so shocked that he rushed from the meeting when he saw him rise. But Vinet acquitted himself so well that soon after, when the Council of Education of the Canton of Basle asked Monnard to recommend a suitable person as professor of the French language and literature in the Gymnasium of that town, he generously named the youth who had controverted him. Vinet had just completed his twentieth year when he entered on this honourable and laborious charge. He returned to Lausanne, first to undergo his final examination as a preacher, and afterwards to wed his betrothed. Devoted to his favourite study, and united to one whom he loved so warmly, his career opened under a sky of unusual brightness. At Basle he spent the next twenty years of his life, adding latterly to the labours of the Gymnasium those of a chair in the University.

Vinet's correspondence with his father was now more intimate and confidential than ever. The old man became more tender when he had his son's two infants on his knees. The sternest fathers, says the biographer, have a way of becoming the most indulgent grandpapas. Vinet, now twenty-five, was feeling his father's affection and protection more indispensable to him than ever, when one day he heard that he had been seized with severe illness, and was dead. The shock was very great. The direction in which it turned the thoughts of himself and his wife appears from a letter written by her a few days after. "I often think

that we were regarding his approval as too much the end of our lives, and that God has removed him in order to draw our eyes and hearts to Himself." The year following, Vinet met with a serious accident, which impaired his health during the whole course of his life. An internal tumour was formed, and other derangements followed, against which neither operations, nor courses of medicine, nor baths of any description could prevail. Vinet became subject to attacks, sometimes more, sometimes less severe, but turning his life into a kind of martyrdom, often into an agony. But in the furnace he enjoyed a gracious presence. "The first indications," says M. Rambert, "of a religious life really independent and with marked features of individuality followed the distress of his heart on the death of his father, and in the following spring the excruciating attacks of his malady." We find in this memoir no detail of the steps by which Vinet came to Christ. But very soon his sympathies appear wholly on the side of evangelical religion. It is interesting to read that when he set up his family altar, it was with some fear and trembling that he advanced, and by the same steps as many another timid man. First he read a chapter and a prayer. Then he composed and read short prayers of his own. Finally he prayed as his heart moved him, and though he did not fall on his knees, says M. Rambert, it was only because his illness prevented the head of the family from taking this attitude![1]

We cannot follow in detail the course of Vinet's life at Basle. As the years passed on, he became distinguished alike as a literary man and a preacher. He received numberless invitations to other places as pastor and as professor, and on one occasion he all but accepted an appointment as editor of a Paris journal. But for twenty years he declined every offer, and remained content with his modest post. At length he yielded to an invitation to occupy the chair of Homiletics in the theological faculty of the Lausanne Academy. His heart had never cooled in its

[1] The meagreness of the details which M. Rambert has given of the origin and progress of the spiritual life of Vinet is undoubtedly a serious drawback. We have only glimpses, where we should have longed for a near and full view.

affection for his native city, with its glorious lake and amphitheatre of mountains. But his relations with the authorities had not always been of the happiest kind. We cannot enter into all the circumstances that had made the Government of Vaud intensely intolerant and persecuting, and that had so roused Vinet against them, that for his free speaking and writing he was subjected in 1829 to a fine, and suspended for two years from his functions as one of the Vaudois clergy. As he was living at Basle, this last was not difficult to bear. In 1837, however, Vinet accepted the call to the professorship. But, after a time, the old difference with the authorities broke out. First, he resigned his position as a minister, though not as a member of the National Church. Then he resigned his chair of theology in the Academy, receiving an inferior appointment to a chair of literature. Then came in 1845 the separation of the evangelical clergy from the National Church, and the formation of the Free Church of Vaud. Vinet was indefatigable in his efforts to promote this movement, and to advance the welfare of the Free Church. But the ailment with which he had carried on so long and so brave a struggle at last overpowered him. At Clarens, to which he had gone for change of air, on 4th May 1847, after much suffering, he fell asleep at the age of fifty. He was very affectionate and very humble, asking even his servants to forgive him for any impatient word or act; and feeling that he stood in great need of a Saviour's grace. "Je mets ma confiance en Celui qui ne rejette pas les cœurs froissés; mes vœux les plus intimes sont pour ceux qui ont bien voulu m' aimer. Ils s' etendent à tous leurs interêts, et embrassent toute l'éternité." Among his last words were, "En Lui, la vie."

Vinet has sometimes been called the Chalmers of Switzerland. In the structure of their minds they differed *toto cœlo*; the one broad and brawny, the other delicate to a degree; the one a comparative stranger to literature, the other delighting in it with all the devotion of an enthusiast. Yet there were some striking resemblances between them, both outward and inward. Each enters the ministry, or at least its preparatory stage, without having received the spirit of life. Domestic bereavement and personal sickness are in the case of

both the occasion of the change. Each has a strong natural proclivity to a branch of secular knowledge; but in the case of Chalmers, it is science that is the attraction, while in that of Vinet, it is literature. The whole Christian service of each is coloured by this natural proclivity, giving it certain rare features of its own. Both are preachers of remarkable eloquence, but in the case of Chalmers, the hearer's heart is borne down by an impetuous torrent; in the case of Vinet, it is pierced by a spear of the finest edge and temper. Of both, much of the preaching has an apologetic character; but while Chalmers deals with objections coming mostly from the side of science, Vinet engages with those which are represented to the present age by Matthew Arnold's title, "Literature and Dogma." Both were men of simple nature and strong affections. Perhaps in their very infirmities there was a resemblance; for Vinet on his deathbed alluded, it may be with an excess of humility, to his impatience and intolerance, and anything disorderly in the heart of Chalmers was in that direction. Each was deeply interested in the efficiency of his national church, and fought hard against the Government on behalf of its independence and freedom. Of both the last great achievement was to lead an exodus, and found a Free Church in their native country. Both died in the same month, Vinet on the 4th, and Chalmers on the 31st of May, 1847. In their inner life, other coincidences might be traced. The manner of their death was a contrast, Vinet expiring after pain had crushed all his vital energies; Chalmers passing without a pang into that gracious Presence where both would receive the reward of their labour, and wear the crown of glory that fadeth not away.

We shall now attempt a more minute analysis of Vinet's character and influence. To estimate him aright, it must be borne in mind that the fundamental feature of his mind was the literary instinct. The bias in the direction of literature was as decided as the bias of a Raffael to painting, or of a Newton to mathematics, or of a Mendelssohn to music. In fact it was a bias of that strength which leaves no doubt, when it appears, of its being a man's duty to give it scope, if only he can find the opportunity. God does not create gifts of so decided and powerful calibre without intending that the

exercise of them shall be the chief occupation of the lives of their possessors. In his irresistible bias to literature, Vinet belonged to the same order of mind as Lord Jeffrey or Lord Macaulay. Perhaps he was more akin to the former, because more of a critic than a producer. He had that keen insight which discovers literary merit at a glance, and in the case of literary giants, finds out Samson's secret—wherein their great strength lies. Of this occupation he never wearied. To survey the products of literary genius, place them in his crucible, separate the wood, hay, and stubble from the more enduring elements, and dwell with enthusiasm on all that was most successful in their work, was the great delight of his mind. And though not so much a producer as a critic, he was most skilful in expressing his thoughts about other writers, as well as in giving form to the more original conceptions of his own mind. His studies in literature were pursued with great ardour. Anything that made his devotion to literature more clearly his duty was a source of great joy to him, enabling him to march with more resolute step "in this vast, rich, and noble career of high literature." And the discipline of study sharpened his faculty. "He not only gained an increase of knowledge, but also an entirely new store of ideas, and especially a nicety of tact and a penetration of judgment that became every day more remarkable."

Vinet's chief organ of literary communication with the world was the Protestant weekly journal of Paris, *Le Semeur*. To this he was a very frequent contributor, and it was mainly the articles he wrote in it that gave it fame. At one time he was pressed very hard to become its editor, and he yielded so far to the pressure as to agree to make a six months' trial of the post; but on further reflection, he withdrew even this measure of consent. Many of his papers on contemporary authors of the highest fame drew from them acknowledgments of the handsomest kind, not unfrequently written in ignorance of the critic's name. Among the first to discover the remarkable talent of these articles was Sainte-Beuve, whose work, "Volupté," had been reviewed by Vinet; and the acquaintance which sprung up after the following note ripened into a very cordial and intimate friendship, espe-

cially during the twelve months which Sainte-Beuve spent at Lausanne.

"I have to express my warmest thanks," wrote Sainte-Beuve, "to the author of the articles on 'Volupté,' both for the most flattering and kindly criticism he has given, and for his Christian counsels, and the ethical point of view which regulates his judgment. If my vanity as an author has been more than gratified in reading these articles, I have found in them materials for profitable reflection and self-examination on points of highest moment. I have felt how much it is incumbent on me to render myself for the future not unworthy of such opinions, which while they do me honour, are still more to be regarded because they touch me in secret, and stir me up to serious thought."

The same writer, referring to Vinet's sermons, said that in their philosophical tone, they reminded him of what Jouffroy or Damiron might be expected to say if they were evangelical pastors speaking quietly to Christian assemblies. Guizot, at an early period, became profoundly impressed with Vinet's remarkable abilities. Victor Hugo expressed a desire to know who the critic was who threw such delicacy and courtesy into his occasionally severe criticism. M. Cousin did *le Semeur* the honour of referring to it, and of combating its opinion in the preface to his *Fragmentes Philosophiques*. In reply to it, M. de Saisset wrote long explanations of his views. When Madame de Stael and M. de Broglie, with Madame Necker-de-Saussure, were living in Vinet's neighbourhood, they eagerly sought his society, and Vinet enjoyed greatly his visits to their house.[1] So abundant were the *eloges* that poured on him from distinguished men, partly for his articles and partly for his discourses, that a worthy brother was moved to write him a letter of caution, which Vinet carefully preserved, while consigning many flattering epistles to the flames:—

"I have bought and read your Discourses. They are excellent. I know that you are receiving eulogies from every side. God grant that they may not puff you up. Your sister, whom I have had the pleasure of meeting at Lausanne, tells me that God is protecting you. He is abundantly able to do so. But as she does not see the bottom of your heart, I believe it is quite probable that from time to time, and perhaps often, a sentiment of pride may be moving there. It is the duty of a friend and brother to say, Take care; what hast thou that thou hast not received"?

[1] "In that family," he said, "there is even more of sweetness than of brilliancy, and still more of goodness than of intellect. It is even more as a Christian than as a man that I have found myself little in that house."

Vinet's admiration for some of the French classics was unbounded. He told his pupils that they ought to study Bossuet and Racine as they would study Horace and Cicero. Of Racine he wrote to his friend Forel :—

"You have no doubt observed this morning that a common friend has placed us in contact, or at least brought me nearer to you. This common friend is Jean Racine, to whom, at the height of my trouble, I betook myself for consolation, and who made me forget all my woes and anxieties as soon as I read his *Bajazet*. I cannot conceal my delight. . . . What a poet ! What a writer ! What a novelist ! And all by one stroke, and a single impulse. The further I go, the dearer does Racine become to me, and the more I value him ; and if ever I should be professor of homiletics, I should find in him for my students (and well, too, if for myself) the rules and the secret of a good sermon."

Besides this great critical insight, Vinet had all the lesser features of a literary man. He was a great connoisseur in books, and fond of best editions. He was singularly careful in style, writing at all times very slowly, and correcting and re-correcting till he had found the best words and arranged them in the best places. His articles for *le Semeur* cost him each the labour of a week, and it was often the third copy that he sent to the press.

We have thought it right to go into these details in order to bring out, clearly and fully, the literary basis of Vinet's character. To form a true judgment of his life, it is important to remember that it was into a mind thus constituted that the spirit of life came when he was in his twenty-fifth year, turning him into a simple, earnest believer in the gospel of the grace of God. That Vinet became a spiritual Christian, resting with his wholé heart on the work of Christ crucified, believing His gospel to be the power of God unto salvation, and regarding the regeneration of the Holy Ghost indispensable, no one, we think, who reads his discourses, can doubt. But the gospel, entering with great power into such a mind as his, would not produce in all respects the same result as in the case of an ordinary man. It could not remove some of the points of antipathy, for instance, between him and certain prominent men in the revival that was going on around him. But it made a great difference. And very interesting it is, in this point of view, to mark how Vinet was affected towards these men—Haldane, Malan, Erskine, and others—before and after his conversion.

Before his conversion he could not bear them. Writing to his friend Leresche, in 1870, he said (perhaps without special reference to any of the men now named) :—

"We have been having a visit from a set of itinerant fools, known by the name of Methodists, and all of them citizens of our beloved Switzerland, which, thanks to English influence, is becoming a nest of sectarians. These people openly insist that regeneration is a purely divine work, which we can neither accelerate nor impede by any efforts of our own; the consequence being, that it is quite useless to give ourselves the trouble of trying to become better; that all who were born before Jesus Christ are shut out from salvation, because they did not lead their lives of virtue under the influence of a revelation which had not been given them; . . . that, in order to be a Christian, it is necessary entirely to abjure reason, intellect, and good sense; that human science and art must be wholly renounced," &c.

Vinet ends this rhapsody with a prayer that God would preserve them from such mysticism. Even missions were regarded as the product of fanaticism.

"The Missionary Society is English, and I see some are convinced that its origin is political; in other respects, the connection of our pietists with the institution does not augur well for its teaching; they are the people who are always furious against reason, always preaching a blind faith, a servile submission. I see nothing of all this in my religion; the law of Christ is a law of light, and the apostles were no pietists."

After his conversion he had a very different view of the great aim and the real spirit of the revivalists. He saw in their work the rekindling of the true spirit of Christian life, but he never approved wholly either of their method or their tone. They were not men of the same calibre with the Reformers.

"The revival was a reaction against the timid reserve (of the eighteenth century); it was a return to the faith of the Reformers; but its first manifestations shewed clearly that the movement was not directed, as the Reformation had been, by the master-spirits of the age, by men well versed in all sound science. The Reformation of the sixteenth century made its appeal to science; the revival of the nineteenth held it in suspicion. There was a true critical spirit in the reverence of the Reformers for the holy Scriptures; they were theologians who traced the stream to its source. The revival made short work of this by its doctrine of verbal inspiration. The Reformers made no separation of doctrine and morality; Calvin, the most dogmatic of all, was the man who most effectively and constantly preached morality. The revival, on the contrary, affected at first a sort of disdain for morality, and was absorbed with the consideration of grace. The Reformers, like Jesus, were true preachers to the people; the first apostles of the revival rather

sought for select audiences, and it might be supposed that what they aimed at, in their way of using the doctrine of election, was to lead pious ministers to find out the elect, group them together, and separate them from the crowd."

The change in Vinet's soul is well brought out in his thoughts after reading Erskine's *Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion.* He was so charmed with the writer's simplicity and warmth, that, but for the first chapter of Corinthians, he would have said, "I am of Erskine."

"He does not envelope the gospel in darkness; he makes us feel strongly that if only, in the mysteries of religion, we can learn the *how*, the *why* becomes perfectly accessible to our reason; we see that it ought to be, and that there is not true faith without that. The work of our redemption is well developed according to this principle; the operation of the Holy Spirit is presented with equal success, not always in a way that will please all the world, but that is not a fault. In a word, this book appears to me singularly fitted to open the eyes of those unhappy men who misrepresent or reject the gospel because they do not know the whole. God grant that this work may have all the good results which its author desires!"

There is no reason to say that Vinet undervalued the doctrine of justification by faith, or failed to see in Christ's righteousness the only foundation of acceptance for sinners. Yet his was not what may be called a forensic mind. The view of Christ's work as a satisfaction was not prominent in his thoughts. The soul's inward redemption was his favourite contemplation. Learning to live in harmony with God, in holy, loving fellowship with God and with man, was his idea of the Christian life. Mr Erskine had not yet adopted those views which ultimately severed him so much from former friends, yet his tendencies were manifest, and Vinet shared them. We do not conceal our admiration of the fine spirit of Vinet, and the noble aims of his Christian life, so well fitted to rebuke many men of louder profession. Yet, if we knew more of the history of his soul, we might probably find that his tone would have been firmer, and his peace and joy, both in living and dying, would have been greater, if the doctrine of a surety-righteousness had had a more prominent place in his theology.

On the subject of missions, Vinet's views were now very thoroughly changed. After his conversion, the Basle Mission House, which had been founded a few years before,

charmed him thoroughly. The missionary spirit was most noble:—

"They believe with a warmth of soul of which it is difficult to give the world a conception. They love religion; holy emotion is their element; all matters of faith have an intense reality for them; all the incidents of their life indicate the finger of Providence; they are constantly engaged with the things of eternity."

But while in the main at one with the revival and its authors, Vinet would sometimes break out in writing to his intimate friends against their little views and big words, the thunder of their anathemas and the platitude of their threats, reminding him, he said, of children playing at religion! It may be well to notice more particularly, but only in passing, what it was, in the leaders of the revival, that went against the grain.

For one thing, he did not like their narrowness of view. The kingdom of God was a much wider kingdom to him than to them. He felt a lively interest in many things in which they felt none. Literature and art were realities to him, nay, in a sense, divine realities; to them they were only among the vanities of the world. He saw God's image and superscription on many an object on which they saw nothing of the kind. Again: he shrunk from a method sometimes practised, of in a manner of forcing truths upon men, will they, nill they. No doubt, all God's truth must be received on God's authority, and on that alone. On that authority men must receive many a thing which they cannot comprehend, what even seems a paradox and contradiction. But if prejudices could be removed, if divine truth could be presented in harmony with reason, if it could be placed in a light in which reason accepted it, he thought it a duty to do this, and a means of helping the progress of the truth. So also he was more disposed to tolerance than the revivalists. He did not draw so hard and fast lines. He did not limit the Holy Spirit to precisely the same mode of operation, and was more disposed to charity in the case of Roman Catholics and others very far astray, and in the case even of heathens destitute of a formal faith, but marked by the inward dispositions of the faithful. Yet Vinet's heart went with the revival, although he did not feel that he could take any efficient part in revival meetings. He recognised

the great and good elements of the work, and as for its defects, he considered that he could do more to remedy them by a friendly bearing towards it than by altogether drawing off.

It was indeed a very difficult course; to keep up communion with revivalists on the one hand, and the highest literary circles of Paris on the other. Vinet did not escape altogether the censure of his friends in the tone which he adopted. All his literary papers were written from the Christian standpoint, and in the spirit of Christianity.

"But the manner in which he brought out his Christianity in his critical articles," says M. Rambert, "often appeared to his friends to conceal it too much under a veil of refinement and elegance. On this subject he received among others more than one Christian remonstrance from Adolphe Monod, who would have desired for Victor Hugo the benefit of lessons more direct and severe. He was not, however, the less understood by those to whom he addressed himself, and if, notwithstanding the numberless testimonies of esteem which he received in France, Vinet was never adopted out and out as a French writer, it is in his Christianity, and nowhere else, that we are to find the primary and great reason for his exclusion."

There is a great deal in this hint of Rambert's, or rather in the broad statement he makes elsewhere, that Vinet's religion was a greater barrier than the Jura between him and the greater part of the literary society of Paris. There is something pathetic in his loneliness as a Christian litterateur. Other writers might own his superiority, but instead of reigning as a sovereign in the literary world, he is hardly allowed the position of a brother. He is a stranger and a pilgrim among them, and all his gentleness cannot efface the barrier.

But Vinet did not conceal his colours. We have seen that Sainte-Beuve was his most intimate friend among French men of fame. Sainte-Beuve often heard him lecture, and always with delight. His impressions of Vinet were summarily given in a note on the Academy of Lausanne in the last edition of *Port-Royal*:—

"The great, the incomparable spiritual benefit which I derived from my neighbourhood to M. Vinet, and my sojourn in the beautiful Pays de Vaud, was to understand better, through living or recent examples, what is meant by the inner Christian life; to be able more clearly to define to myself what, in every denomination, constitutes a true Christian a faithful disciple of the Master, independently of the forms which

separate us. *To be of the school of Jesus Christ:* from this time I understood better and better the meanings and the glorious results of these words."

Besides the direct results to which Vinet's literary genius gave birth, we find it imparting a decided colour to his discourses, and to his theological works generally. Vinet never had a pulpit of his own. He never had a cure of souls. Essentially he was a lay preacher. Not but that he had many calls; there was no French Protestant pulpit, indeed, to which he would not have been most welcome. But he did not conceive that his style of preaching was adapted for the conversion of souls, or for the ordinary work of the ministry. As a preacher, he had a subordinate niche to fill. His part was to bring faith and reason together. It was to shew that Christian truth was not antagonistic to reason, that reason had no violence done to it by the gospel, but that belief in the gospel was reasonable in the highest sense. Hence the tone of his discourses is chiefly apologetical.

"I find myself," said he, "turned involuntarily, and without deliberation, towards that numerous class of cultivated men who, though brought up in the bosom of Christianity, and imbued, if I may say so, with Christian prejudices, struggle hard either against their own heart, which takes fright at the seriousness of Christianity, or against that very common prepossession that Christianity, necessary, good, consoling though it be, cannot be reconciled with the claims of reason."

Vinet's preaching had a character of its own. His biographer says:—

"It was neither the preaching of the old Protestant school, which often consisted of a simple Biblical exposition of Christianity, nor that of the first preachers of the revival, aggressive and highly doctrinal. Everything with Vinet is calm, but all is vivid; doctrine and duty, philosophy and religion are at the bottom of his preaching; it is an apologetic, but a subtle apologetic, essentially psychological. It was certainly from the revival that Vinet received his religious emotion; he retained the principle, but he enlarged and humanised it. The revival, in the effervescence of its first flight, fell foul of reason; Vinet brought it back to reason. He had not the shadow of a pretence to the roll of a reformer; if he was one, it was without wishing it, and without suspecting it. He thought that his preaching might be useful; but when he inquired for the reason, he did not discover it in any superiority of talent or of Christian life; he found it in his very feebleness, which brought him into con-

tact with those who were feeble, and enabled him to understand their doubts, their difficulties, their conflicts, and gave him access to their hearts."

Writing himself to Merle D'Aubigné, Vinet refers to a judgment that Cæsar Malan had expressed regarding him, that he perceived that he had not got the spirit of adoption. "In my discourses," he says, "you will find a man climbing with the crowd the steps of the temple, turning to invite loiterers to follow him, and knowing as yet nothing of the sanctuary save a little of the light or the perfume which escape from its open doors."

The view of Christianity which Vinet delighted to bring out was its adaptation to the whole nature of man, its wonderful power of bringing God and man into living and blessed contact, and giving birth to a morality, a civilisation, and a progress which could not be created by any other power. As an apologist, Vinet did not lay much stress on the outward evidences. If men talked of miracles, the history of the cross of Christ was the greatest miracle ever known. All your natural religion will never bring man to God. You may concentrate all the light of nature on the proof of his existence, but you will only reveal an unknown God. Men will neither love him nor follow him. But the moment that, in the spirit of the gospel, you proclaim certain truths about a crucified Jew, a new light shines. God stands revealed, and the whole soul of man is in tremor before him. The highest morality springs to the front, civilisation moves on, the wilderness changes to a garden. Vinet tells the story of the Moravian missionaries in Greenland, who sought to conduct the people methodically from natural to revealed religion. "As long as they rested in these first elements, their preaching did not affect, did not gain a single soul; but the moment that, casting away their human method, they decided to follow that of Christ and of God, the barriers fell before them, and once more the folly of the cross was found to be wiser than the wisdom of men." Vinet delights to dwell on the power of the great simple saving truths. He sees them everywhere victorious, —in every age, in every people, and in every clime. That, to him, is *the* evidence of Christianity. That is the miracle of miracles. The living gospel is everywhere its own wit-

ness. It cannot but come from God when it so directly leads men to him.

Vinet had little faith in logic; it was the intuitional processes of the mind that interested him. The gospel was to be comprehended by the heart. You might teach men all about God, but they would not learn; but if only they had love, God and his grace would be apprehended at once. Love gave them eyes to see God, and to discover the beauty and glory of his character. The gospel displayed a God of love, it took hold of the affections, and the affections took hold of God. Vinet was as far as possible from allowing to reason an exclusive place in receiving the truth. Some of his statements are so strong as to seem paradoxical:—

"The first advice that reason ought to give us, should be to refuse reason in everything that does not belong to its jurisdiction. But reason is proud, reason is dogmatic; it will not submit. What then does our Heavenly Father do when he desires to save a soul? He leaves it for a time to struggle with its speculations, and to vex itself with their impotence. When it is weary and despairing, when it has acknowledged that it is equally incapable of satisfying or of stifling its cravings for light, he takes advantage of its humiliation; he lays his hand upon that soul, exhausted by its efforts, wounded by its folly, and compels it to sue for quarter. Then it humbles itself, submits, groans; it cries for succour, it renounces the claim to know, and desires only to believe; it pretends not to comprehend, it only aspires to live. Then the heart commences its functions; it takes the place of reason; in anguish and craving, the heart is such as God would have it. It sues for grace, and lo! there is grace; it asks for aid, and aid comes; it craves for salvation, and salvation is given! On that heart, confused and miserable, is then bestowed, nay, lavished, all that was refused to reason, proud and haughty."

One sees in these thoughts the influence of a master at whose feet Vinet often rejoiced to sit—Blaise Pascal. Vinet was drawn to him by the most powerful attractions. He held strongly his theory of contrarieties. The anomalies of human life, its greatness and its littleness, its felicity and its misery, were to be accounted for by the presence in man of contrary elements. Man was made in God's image, hence his greatness; man was a sinner, hence his misery. As this lies at the foundation of so much of Pascal, so it occupies the same position in Vinet. It was from Pascal, too, that he got his view of the heart as the real recipient of grace and truth. His *Studies on Pascal*

shew how much he delighted in his master; and it is deeply interesting, after the long and melancholy reign of unbelief that stretched between them, to find the views of the one reproduced in the same French tongue by the other, and with a purity and felicity of diction hardly inferior to that which gave to Pascal so distinguished a place among the classical writers of the language.

We do not intend in this article to enter into the substance of Vinet's views on the relation of Church and State. The idea of their separation took hold of him very early, and influenced him very profoundly. M. Rambert finds an analogy in this respect between him and another Swiss, of very different views, J. J. Rousseau. Sitting under a tree, Rousseau had once, in a moment of ecstacy, a sudden illumination, in which there flashed into his mind the great ideas which came to furnish the materials of his principal writings. Vinet had a moment quite similar on the 8th of February 1824. The theory on the relations of the civil and religious societies, which he defended so strenuously, struck him all of a sudden like a ray of light. But there was a great dissimilarity in the reception which the two men gave respectively to their inspirations. Rousseau abandoned himself to the ideas of that moment, never struggling against them. Vinet, on the other hand, was at first repelled by his vision, and battled with himself against it; he struggled to free himself from the folds of his thought; when he gave in, it was with trembling; he became convinced only when he was vanquished. All his feelings and interests were against the view that took possession of him; and he evinced his sincerity by his sacrifices. When he came to Lausanne as professor of homiletics, he did not at first see anything in his position requiring him to leave the National Church. In many respects he loved it dearly, as we have already said, and he was most reluctant to abandon it. By and by he came to see that he could not consistently remain one of its clergy; and after a while he came to the same conclusion in regard to his professorship. Both positions he resigned. Very soon after, in 1845, occurred the disruption of the Vaudois National Church. Vinet felt himself called to realise in practice the theory he had held so

long, and was, indeed, the mainspring of the Free Church movement. The causes that led to this step are well known, and do not need to be rehearsed here. We must pass over, too, Vinet's battles with the Government of Vaud, though they took up not a little of his time and attention. As to his view on Church and State, it is enough to say, in the way of explanation, that it sprung from the intense conviction he had of the sacredness of all true religious feelings and acts, and the danger which he apprehended from the application of other influences to that freedom and spontaneity which he deemed the life of religion. Even those who are most opposed to Vinet on this subject, must admit the high homage to principle which his conduct in regard to it evinced. Disestablishment in his day was not the familiar word it is now; nor had men by any means the same ideas as to the power of churches to live without the aid of the public purse. The constancy and the consistency with which Vinet stuck to views so far in advance of the age, and deemed so wild and impracticable, is a great testimony both to the strength and the purity of his character.

Vinet all his days was a public teacher, and as a professor he appears to have been highly successful. His lectures on homiletics and pastoral theology were given from brief notes, and have come to us in a somewhat fragmentary form. Besides lecturing, he heard the six discourses and three catechetical lectures which each student was required to deliver. And sometimes he would give lectures on particular books of the New Testament, directed specially to homiletical objects. Occasionally his lectures were very brilliant. Sainte-Beuve, in his *Derniers Portraits*, gives an account of one which he heard at Lausanne in 1839, in the bare little class-room, with its white-washed walls and hard wooden benches, delivered to a mere handful of students. Sainte-Beuve had come direct from Rome, where he had just witnessed one of the most magnificent *spectacles* of the Papacy. The contrast outwardly was complete. It was not less so inwardly.

"He spoke of Bourdaloue," says he, "and of La Bruyère. Erskine, the Scotchman (he who translated the *Duchesse de Broglie*), was present with me. The lecture which I heard was penetrating and elevated, full of the eloquence of intellect and of conscience. In language refined and

terse, uttered with gravity from his innermost being, the spiritual heart poured out its treasures. What a profound searching impression, wholly Christian, of a Christianity wholly real and spiritual! What a contrast to the exhibition of the pomps of the Vatican less than eight days before! I never felt so much of the sober and pure joy of the spirit, nor experinced more of the moral emotions kindled by thought."

Between his public labours as a teacher and an author and the privacy of domestic life, there was a middle sphere in which Vinet was highly useful. In *consultations religieuses* he was often much engaged. The stream of his visitors was incessant, and increased from day to day. There is hardly a day in his later years when his "agenda" or private journal does not allude to visits or letters devoted to religious consultations. On one occasion a Russian prince settled beside him, with whom he read several books of the New Testament. Once he was so embarrassed by visitors that he fixed a card to his gate intimating that he was to be seen only at certain hours. After a few weeks the card disappeared; it was torn off by his own hand; he could not get rid of the thought that it was a piece of pretentiousness, and shewed a want of kindness. He was extremely considerate and kind to persons in humble life. When working men came to him, he treated them with the greatest consideration and kindness. We have adverted to the pains he took to make his writing legible, and so save the eyes and the time of compositors. And the compositors returned the feeling, and held him in high esteem. Once a peasant woman near Lausanne paid him a visit under remarkable circumstances. She was cultivated, thoughtful, and godly, but had religious difficulties and trials that defied all ordinary remedies. Somehow she got acquainted with Vinet's writings, and finding in him a most sympathetic guide, she read them all. Then she was seized with the desire to see him. After much hesitation she found herself in Lausanne, and between ten and eleven in the morning knocked at Vinet's gate with a palpitating heart. He was overwhelmed with engagements, and his family were trying to keep away visitors, but the countrywoman persevered. Vinet was greatly pleased, and gave up the whole day to her. On her returning home, her pastor asked if she had seen him. "Yes, and at last I have found some one to humble me." "Humble you;

how? M. Vinet is not a man to humble any one!" "Well, but I have been humbled, and that profoundly! It was his humility, himself, his goodness, that did it!" She went on to tell her pastor that when she spoke to ordinary advisers, they lectured her as if from the heights; but Vinet came alongside of her, and spoke in such a way as shewed that he knew her every feeling. In a word, he had treated her like a brother, and she was at rest.

Vinet's constant attacks of illness were a great drawback to his enjoyment of domestic life. Of his two children, his daughter was very delicate, and died at the age of eighteen, full of peace; while his son was afflicted with deafness, and seems to have had an intractable temper. For his wife, his esteem and affection were unbounded; what he owed to God for giving her to him, and preserving her life, no one, he said, but God could ever calculate. Usually serious, he knew how to brighten into a natural and playful gaiety.

In his last illness, and in the view of the dread visitor who so irresistibly sifts men's hopes, he was without any rapturous Christian experience, and not altogether beyond the reach of clouds and darkness, but his faith rested firmly on the Saviour, to whose service his life had been given. His friends chose as the motto for his tombstone, "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever." His widow, knowing the shock that such an application of the text would have given Vinet, got them to add another—"My life is hid with Christ in God."

W. G. Blaikie.

ART. II.—*The Procession of the Spirit, in its Relation to the Division of the Eastern and Western Churches.*

Swete, History of the Doctrine of the Procession to the Death of Charlemagne.
Pusey, on the clause "And the Son:" a Letter to Canon Liddon.
Ffoulkes, Christendom's Divisions.
Walch, Hist. Contro. Græcorum et Latinorum de Processione Sp. S.
Neale, Eastern Church.
Pfaff, Hist. Succincta Contro. de Processione.

WE purpose in the following paper to take a historical survey of the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit as discussed between the Eastern and Western

Churches. It is an old controversy,[1] dating back from its commencement more than a thousand years. But it has again and again during this long interval gathered fresh interest around it, and been invested with more than ordinary importance. Especially was this the case at the Council of Florence in 1439, when a basis of apparent agreement was laid between the churches, and it was announced—somewhat prematurely, as events have since shewed—that the "divisions of so many centuries were at length closed for ever." The Old Catholic movement has once more revived the question. In the Union Conferences at Bonn the "Filioque" has anew been debated with all the theological ardour and metaphysical acuteness of old. The consideration of the subject past and present will not therefore be regarded as uninteresting in itself or unreasonable in the circumstances. It may not be possible to present any suitable or satisfactory method that shall effect the reconciliation of opposing views. But at least the recalling of the attempts and failures of former days is worthy of attention, and any candid estimate of the merits and theological importance of the doctrine cannot be inopportune.

It is well at the outset to bear in mind that, though differences of a dogmatic kind had their part in causing and continuing the schism between the Latin and Greek Churches, these were not the only, perhaps not even the chief, elements of division. Other causes than those strictly spiritual were at work. The political condition of the empire, and the ecclesiastical condition of the Catholic Church itself served to separate and disintegrate the unity. Church and State were so intimately connected that any change in the one reacted on the other. And so the imperial disputes and difficulties, as they weakened the influence of the church as a whole, strengthened its powers and position on the banks of the Tiber. The independence, and at length the supremacy, of the Bishop of Rome was claimed. Not that his brother in Constantinople was a whit less ambitious, but he was kept in check by the presence of the emperor in his capital, while the other was

[1] "An excellent specimen of the race of extinct controversies."—Stanley's *Eastern Church.*

exposed to no such immediate interference. The discussions in the East, and the frequent appeals to the West, which were ever gladly listened to or taken up, served to break up the outer harmony. Pope and patriarch continued to dispute each other's superiority. The breach was made and widening every day, becoming in the long run a great gulf of separation between the churches. The schism was not brought about in a day, or occasioned by divergency of opinion on one disputed point of doctrine. A combination of causes existed; each not sufficient of itself to lead to the sad result, but all acting together, and by their added powers and increasing momentum rending the fabric asunder. Temporary suspensions of communion were not infrequent. During the Arian controversy an estrangement occurred in consequence of the Latin bishops allowing Athanasius, who had been deposed by the Council of Antioch, to sit and vote at the Council of Sardica. Later on in the same century a disputed succession to the patriarchate of Antioch caused a new division which lasted for sixty-eight years, and was only healed by the earnest efforts of Chrysostom. The attempt of the Emperor Zeno to make peace in the Monophysite contention by means of his *Henoticon* in 482 occasioned another rupture. Felix II. of Rome renounced all church-communion with Acacius of Constantinople; and, as the latter was supported by the three other patriarchs, the churches remained in open hostility for thirty-five years. But fiercer than all former disputations was the long and bitter feud waged by Leo the Isaurian and the Iconoclasts in the eighth century. It was not in its beginning a contest between the churches. The Easterns were no less addicted to image-worship than the Westerns at the time. In its result, however, the dispute did much to excite enmity and call forth recrimination on both sides. The popes excommunicated the emperors for their opposition to images; and though the weaker but more violent party in the empire favoured the Roman view, the others only became more exasperated. Doctrines and claims of supremacy were alike denied, and even the image-worshippers themselves were too jealous of the assumptions made by the pontiff to whom they appealed to acknowledge him more than was necessary in a time of need.

It was during the Iconoclastic controversy that the great doctrinal difference between the Latin and Greek Churches began first to be agitated. At the Synod of Gentilly, convoked by Pepin the Short in 767, on the occasion of an embassy from Constantine Copronymus, not only was image-worship discussed, but the further question of the addition of the "Filioque" to the creed.[1] On this point the Greeks accused the Latins of heresy as well as falsehood, by the introduction of a new doctrine, and by tampering with the accepted Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Symbol. The second Œcumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 381, had condemned the Macedonian and Photinian heresies regarding the Holy Spirit, and laid down what was regarded as the scriptural doctrine of his divinity and personality: "And (we believe) in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Life-giving, who proceeds from the Father, who is to be worshipped and glorified with the Father and the Son, and who spake through the prophets." It was the first great attempt to formulate this doctrine essential to the vitality of the Christian Church. Hitherto there had been no call for precise theological statement. Till heresy questioned the truth, the simple fact was accepted as sufficient, "I believe in the Holy Spirit." This enlargement of the Nicene Creed gave distinct expression to the prevalent view of the Trinity, but it did not explicitly lay down the consubstantiality of the Spirit by the use of the technical term Ὁμοούσιον, as had been already done with regard to the Son, nor did it expressly affirm the relation in which the Spirit stands to the other persons in the Godhead. There were therefore within it elements of discord that ultimately awakened dissatisfaction and dispute.[2] The possibility of subordinatian error lurked in the phrase εἷς θεός at the beginning as it might be applied to the Father alone, while the lack of definiteness as regards the "procession" left room for opposing opinions on this important point. The assertion that the Spirit proceeds from the Father might be construed as implying the negation of his procession from the Son, and thus conduct to the conclusion that the Son was in essence subordinate to the Father. Whereas, on the other side, the belief that

[1] *Ado Vien. Chron.*

[2] Shedd's *History of Christian Doctrine*, vol. i. p. 360.

the omission did not deny the doctrine of procession from the Son as well, might seem to endanger the consubstantiality of the Spirit by representing him as proceeding from two persons instead of one, thus making him apparently more dependent still. The theologians of the Eastern Church, with the exception of Epiphanius and Marcellus, kept to language akin to the wording of the Creed—τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον—though they did not thereby oppose or deny the idea of procession from the Son. But the Western bishops affirmed unhesitatingly, and at last contended most keenly for, the doctrine of procession alike and at once from both. The prevalent conception and mode of expression in the East was to represent the Father as the efficient cause of all, effecting all through the Son and in the Spirit. Thus we find Athanasius saying, "The Father creates and renews all through his Logos in the Holy Spirit." Similarly Basil and Gregory of Nyssa express their views: "There are not three efficient causes (ἀρχαί), but one working through the Son and completing (τελειοῦσα) in the Spirit." Such a mode of representation had nothing in common with the language of the Arians at Antioch when, altering the *Gloria Patri*, they ascribed glory to the Father *by* the Son in the Spirit, instead of glory to the Father, and the Son, and the Spirit. (*Conf. Neander's Ch. Hist. in loco.*)

The formula thus settled at Constantinople, in so far as it was settled, obtained its place and power through, and in virtue of, its opposition to another doctrine then afloat. An outcome of the Arian heresy was the opinion of the creation of the Spirit by the Son, as distinct from and subordinate to the essence of God. But this was entirely removed by the express affirmation in the creed, "The Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Life-giving." In the Western Church, Augustine completed the Trinitarian doctrine by removing any uncertainty that still hung around it, and teaching that the Spirit proceeds both from the Father and the Son. His theory is thus described by Neander:—

"God the Father is the divine being, the Son is knowledge as a self-manifestation of this being, hence the Son is begotten of the Father; will, love as that wherein being and knowing embrace each other is the fellowship of both, the exhibition of the divine unity; hence the Holy Spirit, as the fellowship, is the love in which both embrace each other, and which proceeds from both. And since the Holy Spirit denotes the

fellowship of both, he is also that whereby we may be made partakers of the fellowship with Father and Son."

As a consequence of the Augustinian doctrine of the unity of essence in the Trinity, thus logically and speculatively argued out, consistency required that, as the Son was regarded as in all essential respects co-equal with the Father, and the Father had communicated all to the Son, so too the Spirit must be regarded as proceeding as well from the Son as the Father. He is the Spirit of both, and comes forth from both, in Scripture called sometimes the Spirit of the Father, at other times the Spirit of the Son.

The controversy regarding the procession, though ultimately carried on between the East and West, had its germs originally in the parties composing the Eastern Church itself. Thus we find Cyril of Alexandria anathematising all who held that the Spirit was not a property of Christ, (ἴδιον τοῦ Χξ.) while in reply Theodoret remarks, "If this mean that he has his existence from the Son (ἐξ υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν), let it be rejected as blasphemous." To the same effect contends Theodore of Mopsuestia, against those who hold the doctrine that the Spirit did not derive his essence immediately from the Father, but had received his existence through the Son (διὰ υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν εἰλῆφὸς). It was evidently not so much from antagonism to the theory of procession from both Father and Son that the two Antiochians thus spoke out so boldly, but rather from a fear lest the ascription of this to or through the Son should lead to the idea of the creation of the Spirit so firmly maintained by the Arians. But the Eastern theologians were too much engaged with the settlement of the doctrine of the person of Christ to be greatly concerned at the time about any other. It was only afterwards they forced their point, when other matters, and chiefly the claim of primacy at Rome, called them forth in self-defence. Augustine had given an explanation of the procession which, if rightly appreciated and employed, might have in some measure satisfied and united all parties. "The Son has everything from the Father, yet shares in everything that the Father possesses, so one might say that the Spirit proceeds principally (*principaliter*) from the Father." But any attempt at reconciliation was not then specially

required; and when the dispute some centuries later waxed hot, it is doubtful whether any eirenicon whatever would have been of the slightest use. Fulgentius of Ruspe, one of the ablest defenders of the Augustinian theology, in his work *De Fide*, clearly and fully advocated the double procession, and gradually the doctrine took root and spread in the West. In the reign of Riccared, the West Gothic Church of Spain renounced its Arianism, and in accepting the Nicene doctrine testified also to a belief of the procession of the Spirit from the Son. The Filioque was formally sanctioned at the third Synod of Toledo in 589, and sentence of condemnation was passed upon all who refused to accept the creed as then recited, which embraced the statement that the Holy Spirit "procedit a Patre Filioque."

The question arises, Did these sixty-eight bishops, gathered in this local assembly, consciously and wilfully meddle with the original confession as framed by an Œcumenical Council? Or was this addition or interpolation already in the creed as received by them? Certainly it would have been a rash and uncalled for act to make any such alteration; and however true and scriptural the doctrine, it was a matter of too much moment to be thus furtively introduced in a corner of the Western Church. There is much to be said on the other side; and Dr Pusey, after careful investigation, says: "It seems to me probable that the Spanish Church had not the creed at all until the date when they are said to have interpolated it." This he argues from the condition of the church itself, and from the action of the bishops. They anathematise any one who does not receive the Catholic faith as contained in the decrees of the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and then repeat the creed, evidently as they have learned it, and with no suspicion of change, "We believe also in the Holy Ghost the Lord and Giver of life, proceeding from the Father and the Son." The statement thus publicly made has in it also a recognition of the fact that all addition has been forbidden, for it embodies the anathema of the Council of Chalcedon against any one "who shall dare either to expound, or produce, or deliver any other creed." "The only solution," concludes Dr Pusey, "seems to be that the Spanish bishops knew of no other expression of doctrine, and that accord-

ingly it had in some way found its way into their Latin translation of the creed." (P. 49; *Conf. Swete in loco.*)

There can be no doubt that the doctrine was already familiar in the West. One and another of the Latin fathers after Augustine repeat it with more or less plainness, often in the same identical language, as if referring to, or even quoting from, a common source. The *Symbolum Quicunque* or pseudo-Athanasian Creed is distinguished for the absence of the Ὁμοούσιον and the presence of the Filioque; and thus, whether it was formed for the purpose of mediation or not, must have had an influence throughout the whole Western Church, and may have been known directly or indirectly in Spain. And the Spanish Church had already, before the third Council of Toledo, given utterance to the double procession of the Holy Ghost in a "rule of faith against all heresies, and especially against the Priscillianists," in these words, "We believe that the Spirit also is the Paraclete, who is neither the Father nor the Son, but proceeding from the Father and the Son." From whatsoever source received, the Filioque was accepted and confirmed as part and parcel of the faith of the Catholic Church. There is scarcely ground enough to charge the council with deliberate and intentional interpolation; yet it is not necessary, on the other hand, to take implicitly the finding of Dr Pusey, "It seems to me morally certain that whoever inserted it supposed that the Filioque had dropped by mistake out of the Latin translation of the Nicene Creed" (p. 64), or with him make the confession that it "came in under a wrong impression that it was part of the creed settled at the Council of Constantinople" (p. 75). Whatever the intention of the bishops was, the effect of their action was undoubtedly to add a new tenet to the confessed faith of the Catholic Church.

The symbol was subscribed by Riccared, and being chanted in the churches as the utterance of the true doctrine, spread on wings of devotion throughout Spain. In this way it became so well known that no other could supplant it, and thus at length, although never enforced by the authority of any Œcumenical Council, found an entrance into all the territorial divisions of the Western Church. At the Council of Hatfield, in England, held in September 680, and presided over by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, the doctrine was

stated in very much the same manner as at Toledo, without any reference to diversity of opinion. After a recital of the councils there is given the declaration, "And we glorify our Lord Jesus Christ as they glorified him, adding nothing, taking away nothing . . . and the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son, ineffably; as those holy apostles and prophets and doctors, whom we above commemorated, have preached." But however widely the creed thus enlarged spread in the West, it was unable to obtain any footing in the East. And yet the doctrine in itself, and the phrase used to embody it, were not unknown to several of the earlier Greek fathers.[1] We find Epiphanius employing such language as this: "The Spirit ever is with the Father and the Son: not alien from Father and Son, but from the same essence, from the same Godhead, from the Father and the Son, ever-subsisting Holy Spirit, Divine Spirit, Spirit of glory, Spirit of Christ, Spirit of the Father." To a similar intent, though with a difference of phraseology, is the reasoning of Athanasius: "But if the Son, since he is out of God, is the very own of his substance, it is of necessity that the Spirit, which is said to be out of God, is the very own (Spirit) of the Son, according to his essence." More full and frequent are the statements of Cyril of Alexandria on the same point. His *Thesaurus* has a passage entitled, "That the Holy Ghost is out of the essence of the Father and the Son," and contains the following: "Since therefore the Holy Ghost, coming to be in us, makes us conformed to God, and he goeth forth out of the Father and the Son, it is manifest that he is of the divine essence, being essentially in it, and going forth out of it." Agreeing with these utterances is a homily of the Syrian Severian, which has the doxology, "To the unbegotten God the Father, and the Son begotten from him, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from their essence." More important in its testimony is the Council of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, held in 410, under the presidency of Isaac and Maruthas, and embracing forty bishops. The confession there framed thus concludes: "And we confess the living Holy Spirit, the living Paraclete who is from the Father and the Son, in one Trinity, in one essence, in one will, in harmony with the faith of the 318

[1] For a summary of statements, see Swete's *Hist.*, and Pusey, pp. 108–136.

bishops, which was in the city of Nice. And it is our confession and our faith which we have received from our holy fathers." It appears also from some of the liturgies of the Nestorians that, though the double procession was not in their creed, it was in their worship. And the Armenian Council of 1342 acknowledges, "Although we have exceeding little on this subject, yet in some places in our books is found the procession of the Spirit from the Son as from the Father as in the prayer of Pentecost," &c. Notwithstanding this earlier use, the phrase as well as the fact it set forth dropped out of sight in the East in proportion as it gained prominence in the West. The *Concilium Quinisextum* in 692 seems to have given the first great impulse to the schism of the churches. The causes however were not in the first instance doctrinal, but had regard to the employment of ceremonial observances, and the growing authority of the Roman See. But the question of the procession had been ere this raised. The Monothelites, after being condemned by the first Lateran Council in 649, opposed the assertion that the Spirit proceeds also from the Son. The doctrine was discussed, or at least the addition of the Filioque to the creed, as has been already noticed, at the French Synod of Gentilly in 767. The Greeks present strenuously objected to the statement, but with what result does not appear, as the decision has not been recorded. Alcuin wrote a special defence of it, and Paulinus of Aquileja, at the Synod of Friaul in 791, vindicated the interpolation thus: "Just as the 150 bishops at the Council of Constantinople supplemented the Nicene Creed by the words, 'Lord and Giver of life,' so afterwards on account of heretics was this also added. They sought only to fill up the meaning of the 318, not to add or diminish." Charlemagne warmly supported the Latin view. The clause was used in his chapel, and defended in the *Libri Carolini*. In consequence of communications on the subject with Hadrian I. and Leo III.,[1] he convened a council at Aix-la-Chapelle in 809, which gave a solemn sanction to the use of the word. But though Leo acknowledged the doctrine, and did not directly hinder its promulgation, he disapproved of its addition as an article

[1] A monkish dispute at Olivet had brought matters to a head. Conf. Swete's *Hist.*

of faith, on the ground "that every doctrine which is true should not for that reason be inserted in a creed." He further suggested "that the singing of the creed in the palace should gradually be intermitted, since it is not sung in our holy church, in the hope that it might gradually be disused by all." Evidently he wished no greater latitude abroad than at home, and in order to confirm what he had said, possibly also to oppose the undue interference of the emperor in such a case, caused two silver tablets to be erected in St Peter's on which the original creed, without this addition, was engraven in Greek and Latin. But in the end Rome itself bore testimony to the tenet. Whether it was directly authenticated by any of the popes seems doubtful, although Nicholas I. has generally got the credit or the blame for the act. There seems no sufficient and satisfactory evidence to demonstrate the fact of its proper declaration as an article of faith either by him or another, yet somehow its acceptance elsewhere led to its unquestioned reception by the pontiff and churches of the imperial city. And thus the seal was at last set upon that which had been done three centuries before by the little Synod of Toledo. It mattered not to the Greeks that the Roman Pontiff had given his adherence, they clung tenaciously to the original articles of Constantinople. And all the more were they strengthened in their opposition when the Latins, instead of arguing the point, took their stand upon a falsified copy of the canons. The fraud was exposed, and as it shewed the unscrupulousness of the West, so it intensified the bitterness of the East.

But now came in a fresh element in the controversy, awakening deeper enmity and hastening on the inevitable separation. Ignatius, the patriarch, having censured the wickedness of the court, was deposed by Michael III. in 858, and Photius, a layman of great learning and ability, prefect of the Imperial Guard, was elected his successor. Although the act was confirmed by a large synod, and acquiesced in by the papal legates, Pope Nicholas, after more thorough investigation of the matter, reversed the decision, and in a council held at Rome in 862, excommunicated Photius and all his supporters. The ill feeling thus excited in Constantinople was intensified by a dispute regarding the Bulgarian Church, and Photius through an encyclical letter

convened a council, accusing the Roman Church at the same time of certain grave heresies.[1] These had regard to fasting on the seventh day, permission of milk, &c., during the first week of Lent, the celibacy of the clergy, validity of the chrism administered by presbyters, and the interpolation of the Filioque. It was asserted that the doctrine of procession from Father and Son implied the existence of two supreme principles, and thus led to the belief in a dualism. The council was held in 867, and deposed and excommunicated the pope; but two years after, in a synod held at Constantinople, at the request of the new Emperor, Basil the Macedonian, and with the concurrence of Pope Hadrian II., who had succeeded Nicholas, Photius himself was condemned and Ignatius again restored to his see. After the death of Ignatius in 877, Photius was anew elevated to the patriarchate, and a council held at Constantinople in 879 anathematised that convened ten years before, removed the ban then pronounced against Photius, and laid it upon those who should dare to make any addition to the creed. The pope had been deceived when he acceded to the proposed council, and now, seeing what had come of it, in revenge condemned council, patriarch, and empire alike. Amid the clash of other interests the doctrinal question almost slipped out of thought. It still, however, lay ready to be called up when needed. Had matters been harmonious otherwise there might have been a reconciliation effected, as John VIII., in a communication with Photius,[2] "condemned those who in their madness made the addition." But in the West the new tenet and its technical term spread on every side, and Benedict VIII., in the beginning of the eleventh century, was prevailed upon by the Emperor Henry to introduce the creed with the Filioque into the Mass. Thereafter it was publicly sung in Rome, as it had long been in the rest of the West (*Conf. Ffoulkes, Chr. Div*).

In spite of mutual recriminations and anathemas between popes and patriarchs there had still existed a measure of peace in the churches themselves. There was at least an apparent unity, notwithstanding the frequent cessations of communion.

[1] Waddington's *Church History;* Walch, vol. ii.; and Pfaff, p. 3.

[2] Its genuineness is disputed by Lequien, Pusey, &c.; defended by Walch, vol. ii. p. 10.

But now even that outward show of oneness was to be dissipated, and the threatened schism, helped and hindered for four centuries, to become a real and lasting separation. Photius had charged the Roman Church with being guilty of false doctrine and unlawful customs. The accusations were repeated by Michael Cerularius, and others added—chief of all, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. An angry correspondence ensued, and the patriarch was excommunicated by Leo IX. The emperor sought to heal the breach, but in the conference held at Constantinople with the papal legates Cerularius resented their ambitious claims. At length the crisis was reached, when the three envoys solemnly and publicly laid on the grand altar of St Sophia an act of anathema against the patriarch and his abettors. The disruption was completed by the retaliation in the same spirit of Michael and his coadjutors in 1054, and, in spite of all efforts at reconciliation, still remains. Yet even now intercourse between the churches did not cease. Although the popes ever after treated the Greeks as guilty of schism and heresy, and the patriarchs were not backward to make the same accusation against the Latins, we find that these views were not universally adopted or acted on. Peter of Clugny, and William of Tyre, regarded the Eastern as still part and parcel of the Catholic Church, while Basil of Thessalonica, writing to Hadrian IV. in 1155, denied that his own church was schismatic, granting at the same time the orthodoxy of the West as an integral part of the great Christian community. But the gradually declining intercourse became less frequent and friendly, and the estrangement increased in bitterness when the crusades led to the establishment of a Latin empire in Jerusalem, and the setting up of a Latin hierarchy. Negotiations for re-union were many times begun, but the claim of Roman supremacy and the demand of Greek obedience ever presented a barrier that could not be removed. All efforts, however earnest and well directed, proved ultimately unavailing. Nominally the main point of disagreement was the doctrinal one of the procession of the Spirit, really the hindrance to unanimity was the ecclesiastical tenet of the primacy of the pope. Restoration of communion on the basis of equality was possible enough. "We do not find in any creed," says Nicetas of Nicomedia in 1137, "that we are

bound to confess the Roman Church in particular, but one holy catholic and apostolic church." (*Palmer's Eccl. Hist.*)

Anselm of Canterbury was an ardent advocate and defender of the Filioque. In a synod held at Bari in 1098, at which a number of Greek bishops were present, he discussed the doctrine so ably and fully as to convince them of the truth of it. And in the East itself the Latin view was argued before the Emperor by Chrysolanus of Milan, and made the subject of a public disputation between Anselm of Havelberg and Nicetas of Nicomedia. Nicetas seems to have accepted the doctrine, but acknowledged a difficulty as regards its public proclamation. The change of teaching would cause a scandal, at least to the ignorant. Much to the same purpose was the ground taken by Theophylact in 1077, "in all besides I will allow you to use the word: in the symbol alone I will not grant thee." Nearly a century later Basil Achridenus, in the letter already referred to, frankly avows that both churches teach and preach the same, and that it is only slight stumblingblocks that separate them.

A friendly act performed by the patriarch Germanus to five Franciscan missionaries who had been seized by the Turks, led the way to a renewal of negotiations between the churches in 1232. Deploring the alienation, and desirous of closer fellowship, Germanus addressed a communication on the subject to Rome. But he spoke plainly of what he regarded as the true ground of separation. "Our division has arisen from the tyrannical oppression which you exercise, and the exactions of the Roman church."[1] Gregory IX., however, looked favourably upon the overture, and despatched four legates to confer with the Greeks. The discussion was commenced before emperor and patriarch at Nice in the beginning of 1234, and continued, amid breaks and interruptions, for six months. Two matters engaged attention—the doctrine of the procession, and the bread in use at the Eucharist. Again and again throughout the conferences was the same position taken and disputed: the Latins adducing Scripture, and occasionally appealing to the Fathers, while the Greeks risked their cause on the creed and practices of the early church. At length the emperor, wearied and annoyed, suggested that the two parties should compromise the matter by each accepting

[1] Walch, vol. v. p. 2.

one of the articles in dispute. "When princes differ," he said, "respecting a city or a province, each party relaxes somewhat of its pretensions for the attainment of peace. Our differences are two, and if you sincerely wish for concord, concede one of them. We will approve and revere your holy Sacrament; abandon to us your creed."[1] The middle course was proposed in vain. The Roman envoys insisted on the acceptance of both dogmas. "You must firmly believe and preach that the body of Christ can be constituted (*confici*) as well with unleavened as leavened bread, . . . and you must believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds as well from the Son as from the Father (*a Filio sicut a Patre*), and this must be taught to the people, but our lord the pope will not compel you to chant it in the creed against your will." All books written against the Latin view were also condemned, and required to be burned. The ultimatum only excited a storm of indignation among the Greeks, and the last conference was broken up amid charges of heresy and mutual anathemas.[2] Fifteen years after, Innocent IV. renewed negotiations in a more temperate and conciliatory spirit, but though his legate, John of Parma, commended himself by his personal character and learning, he was unable in any degree to advance his cause. After having in 1261 expelled the Latins from the East, Michael Palæologus sought, as a matter of policy, to strengthen his weak and unsettled sovereignty by bringing about a reconciliation of the churches. Urban IV. despatched some Franciscans to arrange matters, but his successor, Clement IV., refused to confirm the result arrived at, and insisted upon a scheme of his own being accepted. It was explicit with regard to the procession of the Spirit, and had in addition a detailed statement of the doctrines of purgatory, transubstantiation, and papal supremacy. Clement followed up the formulary by a letter to the emperor, in which he hinted that clergy and people alike might be forced to submission, and it appears that his suggestion was acted upon, for some of the bishops were compelled by the imperial power to acknowledge the primacy of Rome, and cease resistance against the proposed scheme of union.

[1] Waddington's *Church History*, Schism of E. and W.

[2] "In Conc. Nymphææ processio Sp. S. a solo Patre denuo fuit stabilita." Pfaff, p. 4.

The patriarch Joseph was deposed, and the librarian, John Beccus, whose opposition had changed into advocacy through imprisonment, was elevated to the patriarchate. A General Council was convened at Lyons in 1274, and while it yet sat, representatives from the East came upon the mission of re-union to take part in its deliberations. Care had been taken by the emperor that everything should go smoothly. The men he sent were after his own mind in the matter. They conveyed a letter of his to the Council acknowledging the primacy of the pope, purgatory, transubstantiation, and the seven sacraments, and shewed their unity of sentiment with their imperial master by chanting the creed in the Roman form. Without debate or controversy the re-union was effected, the Greeks subscribing Clement's confesion of faith; but as an offset to this, the Eastern Church was permitted the use of its own rites and ceremonies, as well as of the original Constantinopolitan symbol. In token of thankfulness for the great event, the pope crowned the sitting with the *Te Deum*. It was, however, but an outward and temporary reconciliation, for it was not a covenant of the churches, but rather an agreement for political purposes between Palæologus on the one side, and Clement on the other. In spite of the defence of Beccus, his clergy refused to acknowledge it, and six years later the pope again fulminated an anathema against the East for disobedience to his commands. Upon the accession of Andronicus, the whole policy of his predecessor was reversed. Beccus was deposed, and Joseph again resumed the patriarchate. The reconciliation was practically dissolved, though some continued to declare adherence to the doctrinal and ecclesiastical usages of the West. (*Conf. Waddington, Ch. on Schism.*)

Again and again, in the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, were attempts made to heal the division, but the eagerness of the emperors could not break down the strenuous opposition of the people. A more powerful and sustained effort was put forth in 1339, when Barlaam, who had been won to the imperial side, was sent by Andronicus III. with an overture of peace to Benedict XII. at Avignon. The negotiations failed, though serious endeavours were put forth to shew that Greeks and Latins had always held the same views. Unconditional submission to the Roman See was insisted on, and without this any

recalling of old controversies, or entering upon new inquiries, was refused by the pope. The only effect of the embassy seems to have been in confirming Barlaam's own opinions; for shortly afterwards, being worsted in the Hesychastic controversy regarding the uncreated divine light, he returned, and was admitted into the Roman Church. Johannes V. followed the example of Barlaam in joining the church in 1369, but his influence weighed not with his people.

At last, however, in 1439, there seemed a greater likelihood of re-union than had yet appeared during all the seven centuries of controversy. Johannes VII. Palæologus presented himself in person at the Council of Ferrara in 1438,[1] having in his train Metrophanes the patriarch, Bessarion of Nice, Mark of Ephesus, and a considerable number of other bishops. The Council of Basle had continued to sit, notwithstanding the opposition of Pope Eugenius, and, afraid of its influence, he appeared in a conciliatory mood toward the Greeks. A compromise was entered into with regard to the position of the temporal and spiritual authorities during the sittings, and a committee of the two churches were appointed to discuss the differences, and report to an adjourned meeting of the council. Representing the Latin Church were Cardinal Julian Cesarini, Andreas of Rhodes, John, a dominican friar, and others; while chief on the other side were Bessarion and Mark of Ephesus. There was unanimity to begin with as regards the causes of the schism, which were embraced under four heads: the procession of the Spirit, the bread of the Eucharist, purgatory, and the papal primacy. The doctrine of purgatory was first discussed. Not only was there a difference on this point between the two parties, a divergency of opinion also arose among the Greeks themselves. And so no settlement was reached, either on this or the other matters. Upon the re-assembling of the council it was found no progress had been made in private conference. Other differences were acknowledged, but the council determined that the great barrier in the way of the union of the churches lay in the doctrine of the procession. To debate this question in its sublime and mysterious character was now the work that lay before these gathered theologians and ecclesiastics, and with per-

[1] **Conf. Transactions** of the Council of Florence; Popoff's *History of the Council;* **Neale's** *Eastern Church;* and Sylv. Sguropulus, *Vera Historia.*

sistent zeal, session after session, they disputed as to how and why the Filioque had found its way into the church creed. Mark of Ephesus stated his conviction at the very beginning in these words: "The council will meet with success when it agrees with the canons of former Œcumenical councils." He demanded, therefore, that the canons should be read before anything else, knowing full well that some of these were directly in his own favour, and against any addition to the creed as set forth at Constantinople in 381. But during the discussion a parchment was presented containing that very creed, in all respects like their own copy, save that it read, the "Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son." To this the Latins clung, asserting it to be a plain proof that the double procession was confessed at the very first; and Julian backed up the statement by a quotation from an old historian, that these words were in the creed as sanctioned by the second Œcumenical council. Gemistes replied, denying the genuineness of the professed belief, from the very fact that Aquinas and others had sought to prove the validity of the addition made, and did not refer, as they might have done if this was true, simply to the original creed. Mark demanded proof other than the mere parchment, and even some of the Latins themselves acknowledged that the Greeks were in the right. The fraud was too patent to be long supported, and so the western theologians grounded their case on other arguments, Andreas of Rhodes claiming that the Filioque was not an addition, but only an explanation. And, he argued, the Roman Church had a right thus to interpret the doctrine, a right allowed by the Fathers, as evidenced by statements of Cyril, Basil, and others. A refutation of this theory of explanation, written by Scholarius, was placed before the council. He held that the phrase could only be regarded as an addition, and as such, was forbidden by the Council of Ephesus. Where explanations were required, they were not incorporated in the creed, but given in definitions published by themselves. John de Turrecremata contended that the procession *a Patre* had *Filioque* undeveloped within it, just as the Old Testament contains the new; while Julian attempted to shew reasons why the council prohibited additions to the creed, and yet might be supposed to allow such an explanation. There was nothing to be gained by this

process of argumentation carried on for fifteen sessions, and at last Julian said, Let us examine the dogma itself. Meanwhile the pestilence had broken out at Ferrara, and other circumstances rendering it inconvenient as a meeting place, the council was transferred to Florence, and began its sittings there on the 26th of February 1439. Suggestions were made, both by the emperor and Julian, that something more definite might be done to bring about a common understanding, and lead to practical results; but all such proposals ended in nothing. The Greeks insisted that the addition to the creed should be withdrawn before any inquiry was instituted into the doctrine itself. Only thus could it be discussed fairly and on equal terms, for "if once allowed," they said, "an argument will be founded upon it, and leaning on the pope's authority, the Latins will say what they please."[1] The emperor pleaded with his bishops to enter upon an investigation of the doctrine, and try to come to some agreement, urging the wants of the people and the welfare of the country as a reason. And so the dogma itself was discussed on its own merits. John de Turrecremata, the dominican friar, rose to defend the Western theory, and professed to base his arguments upon the authority of Scripture and the Fathers. It was carrying the controversy into the very midst of the Greek camp to refer, as he did, to old manuscripts of Basil, Epiphanius, and other Greek Fathers, as asserting, or at least sanctioning, procession from the Son. But it was found that some of his quotations were foreign to the purpose, and others were as spurious as the Constantinopolitan creed presented at the beginning of the conferences. Mark of Ephesus for a while maintained the struggle, Bessarion taking little share in the discussions. Ultimately, however, even Mark withdrew, and the Latins seemed left to gain a useless because uncontested triumph. But the emperor meanwhile had been searching out some ground of reconciliation, and announced that he had found in a letter of St Maximus an explanation of the doctrine upon which both might agree. "The Latins," he writes, "when they declare that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, do not pretend that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit, since they know very well that the Father is the only cause both of the Son and of the Holy Spirit—of the

[1] Popoff's *Hist.*, transl. by Neale.

Son by generation, of the Holy Spirit by procession—they only mean that the Holy Spirit proceeds *through* the Son, because he is of the same essence."[1] Gradually the Greeks had been forming into two distinct parties, and the attempts to discover some compromise to satisfy the Latins had only caused greater estrangement among themselves. The emperor was willing for re-union at any cost of principle, and Bessarion, whether from conviction, or bribed by pope and emperor, became a zealous advocate of the Filioque. Mark, however, was to be won neither by argument nor allurement, and stood fast to the Greek dogma, rejecting the Latin as heretical. In private conference attempts were made to reconcile the original creed with the later addition. Scholarius composed a formula of union, but it was accepted by neither party, and soon afterwards, in company with Demetrius, the emperor's brother, and Gemistus, he set off for Venice. At last, however, the protracted disputation, backed by influence of another kind, led to the adoption of a confession in the following terms:—

"We declare that the Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son, and has his essence and existence alike from the Father and the Son, and proceeds eternally from both as from one beginning and by a single spiration (ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς καὶ μοναδικῆς προβολῆς); and we declare that what the holy doctors and fathers say, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, may be understood as signifying that the Son as well as the Father is the principle (ἀρχή) of the Holy Spirit. . . . We declare besides that the explanation of these words Filioque (καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ) has been lawfully and reasonably added to the Creed for the sake of declaring the truth, and under necessity then imminent." *(Definit. Conc. Flor.)*

Mark alone refused to accept the statement, and the way being now fair for union, other questions were speedily settled. The doctrine of purgatory was indefinitely agreed to, and the primacy of the pope recognised as a fact, though some of its applications were objected to by the emperor. The eucharistic controversy was also set at rest by the permission of both kinds of bread, and the acceptance of transubstantiation. Differences in ritual were to be regarded as matters of mutual forbearance, and in doctrine as founded on misunderstandings, and so both churches were pronounced orthodox. The decree of union was signed and sealed, and on the 6th of June 1439 the proclamation was

[1] Waddington's *Ch. Hist.*

made that the schism was now for ever healed. It was in word, but not in deed. The acclamations and congratulations were changed to groans and insults when the Greeks reached Constantinople. Mark was hailed as the defender of the truth, the others denounced as traitors. The apparent union was the cause of the bitterest discussion in the East, and the three patriarchs, in the Synod of Jerusalem in 1443, anathematised all who accepted the new confession. Even those who had taken part in the council at Florence, and given in their agreement to its decisions, in a little while resiled from their position. A strain had, they affirmed, been put upon their consciences. They had been deluded by Latin craft, and compelled by fear, to give in adherence, and now denying the concessions made, they returned more devoted than ever to the bosom of the Greek Church.

The Reformation, as it broke up the Roman Church, awakened in both sides the desire of united action with the Easterns, so that a stronger opposition might thus be organised. In 1559 a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession, and a letter explanatory of the reformed principles in general, were transmitted to the patriarch, and again in 1574 communications passed between Crusius and Andrëa of Tubingen and Jeremiah II. relative to the tenets of the Lutherans. Objections and vindications were given and repeated, the patriarch defending good works, confession and penance, strenuously advocating the doctrine of the single procession, and condemning the Augsburg opposition to fasts, ceremonies, and monastic institutions. It was in vain the theologians replied; the answer they received at last was a request "not to write any further about dogmas, but only to exchange letters of courtesy." More persistent were the efforts of the Jesuits to renew the oft-repeated negotiations, and bring about a reconciliation between the Greek and the Romish Churches. In 1581 Gregory XIII. attempted, by means of a legate, to prevail upon the Czar of Russia to dismiss the Lutherans and unite with the Pope, but without effect. Other schemes, however, were not so useless, for the Jesuit College of Wilna managed by consummate subtility to effect a union with the Polish adherents of the Greek Church.[1] Their letter of instructions to Rahoza,

[1] *Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 19.

a Lithuanian noble, is couched in the following terms:— "Put down and deprive of their benefices, under some pretence or other, all those who will oppose or disobey you; and give their benefices and revenues to those upon whom you may rely. . . . The word *union* must be entirely banished; it will not be difficult to substitute another word more supportable to the ears of the people. Those who attend elephants avoid to wear red coats." At the Synod of Brest-Litofsky in 1594, numbers of the Greeks in Hungary, Poland, and Little Russia, headed by the Metropolitan of Kieff, were admitted into the communion of the Romish Church. The basis of agreement was the Confession of Florence, the only exceptions being as regards the Filioque, and the use of their old ecclesiastical ceremonies and language. Negotiations were entered into by the Lutherans with those who refused reconciliation with the Papacy, but without effect. Indirectly, however, they influenced Cyril Lucar; and his acquaintance with Protestant doctrines, gathered during years of travel and study in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, made him earnestly desirous of promoting intercourse with the Reformed Churches. He was in frequent correspondence with the Hague, with Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and others. In a letter to Marc de Dominis,[1] on hearing a report of his secession to the Anglican Church, he says, "We believed that, except in some matters of little moment in which the Greek Church differs from the Latin, the dogmas of the Roman communion were true. . . . At length through the grace of God, because I discovered that the cause of the Reformers was the more just and the more in accordance with the doctrine of Christ, I embraced it." But his celebrated *Confession*, ultimately published in Latin at Geneva in 1630, brings out more fully than anything else his matured opinions. The Articles of Faith are given clearly and fully, and confirmed by Scripture proofs, and shew a thorough break at once from his own and the Romish Church. He asserts the Holy Scripture to be infallible, the Church to be "instructed by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ sendeth from the Father," and faith, not works, to be the means of justification. The character of his confession soon excited opposition, and all his efforts to advance union with the Protestant Churches were thwarted by the other

[1] *Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 171.

Greek bishops and the intrigues of the Jesuits. Martyrdom ended his life. Of his interest in the English Church and nation there remain two striking proofs—the *Codex Alexandrinus* presented to Charles I., and an Arabic Pentateuch given, as the inscription states, "to the most blessed and most wise William Laud, as a sign of brotherly love." A further manifestation of the like goodwill was given afterwards by Paisius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1653, when he sent by Dr Basire his patriarchal seal to express his desire of communion with the Church of England. But meanwhile, in opposition to these efforts for union, whether Catholic or Protestant, Peter Mogilas, bishop of Kieff, had drawn up a new Confession of Faith, which was sanctioned at the Synod of Constantinople in 1643. This has not, however, hindered the repetition of attempts in the West to bring about the much-desired reconciliation. Again and again by bribes and promises have the popes sought to gain the "orthodox party," as well as the "heretical sects," to the Romish communion. Individuals have been allured, but all overtures have been refused, at times scornfully rejected, even though backed up as regards the Nestorians of Oroomiah, by the proposal to remove the anathemas from Nestorius, and canonise him as a saint. Pio Nono, soon after his accession to the pontificate, sent a letter to the Greek Church, exhorting "the Easterns who indeed serve Christ, but are aliens from the holy throne of the apostle Peter," to be submissive to his sway, and heal the broken unity of the Church.[1] The answer returned was not of a kind to encourage much hope of re-union. It was in the shape of a public manifesto, or, as they termed it, "an encyclical epistle of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to the faithful everywhere." Not only did the patriarchs and others who subscribed the document protest as strongly as ever against the doctrine of procession from the Son, and other of the ecclesiastical usages and ceremonies of the papacy, but denounced the whole system as heretical, and doomed to destruction. "Although now flourishing, it shall not endure to the end, but shall pass and be cast down, and that mighty voice shall be heard from heaven, 'It is fallen!'" From 1716 to 1729 a series of communications passed between a party of high Anglicans, some Scotch

[1] *Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 22.

bishops being among them, and the patriarchs of the East. The former scrupled only about saint- and picture-worship, but were willing to accept the ritual of the Greeks. Before reaching any practical resolutions, the negotiations were abruptly closed, yet not without the idea of being renewed at another time. A hundred and twenty-five years later, in 1850, some of the Ritualists, feeling aggrieved by the issue of the Gorham controversy, proposed seeking admission into the Russian Church on the ground of common principles, the only provisos being liberty to use their ordinary manner of worship, and remain as they were. Evidently they regarded any existing differences to be of no essential importance as respects either doctrine or practice, and though no further action has been specially taken, there is enough to shew that reconciliation, in this case at least, is not impossible.

The Old Catholic party, in their recoil from Ultramontanism, have sought to go back more than a thousand years in the history of the papacy, and stand upon the foundation of the original Catholic Church. To this position they have invited Easterns and Westerns alike, so that all in common may unite in the quest and confession of primitive truth. The union conferences at Bonn, embracing representatives of the English and Greek churches, but open as well to non-Episcopal Protestants, are the means employed by them for the furtherance of this great end. Whether ultimate success shall be reached or not, the endeavour to gain some basis of agreement cannot fail to clear away mutual misunderstandings, and react favourably in widening the sympathies of those thus brought into contact. Now at least the Oriental can meet on a free and equal platform with their Western brethren, and discuss their differences, without the fear of undue influences being put forth either by craft or power. And advantage has been taken of the facilities thus afforded of intercourse and exchange of thought. Many of the Greek clergy and laity have availed themselves of the conferences that have been held to gain a better acquaintance with modern Western theology, and search out, if possible, some means of healing the great doctrinal disagreement.

The procession of the Spirit has been one of the chief subjects debated at the conferences already held, just as it was at the council of Florence, and has always been in such union

negotiations. It appears from the evidence of an eye-witness, the Rev. J. B. Paton of Nottingham,[1] that a spirit of concession was visible on both sides at the last conference in August 1875. This was shewn by the attitude of Dr Döllinger in speaking of Augustine's views, and by the language of Dr Ossinin, of St Petersburg, when explaining the doctrinal statements of the Greek Fathers. Augustine, said the one, failed to understand the doctrine of the Greek Fathers as regards the procession, from his ignorance of Greek, and so, instead of repeating the ancient doctrine by tradition, gave his own speculations. His philosophy, and not revelation, has thus become the *fundamentum fidei*. The Greek Fathers, said the other, were not altogether free from the same speculative turn of mind in explaining the truths of Scripture. The Western theologians were put upon the defensive to prove the doctrine of the double procession, and to justify the insertion of the Filioque in the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan creed. In answer to the affirmation that the doctrine had been previously derived from the Greek Fathers, Dr Ossinin set aside some of the passages quoted as irrelevant, and regarded others as not authoritative statements, but only personal opinions or unwarranted speculations. Sentences of such a kind were not to be accepted without regard to the time and place of their utterance. A similar line of argument was adduced in reply to the assertion that the doctrine was in the works of the *Magistri Fidei*, whose definitions the Greek Church received as correct. The truth of the doctrine was upheld in the main, on the ordinary grounds of Scripture evidence, in opposition to the one grand direct proof continually brought forward by the Greeks in all such discussions, viz., John xv. 26, "The Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father." A doctrine is not to be judged by one text, but by the general tenor and teaching of the Word: not that there will be in reality any antagonism when the matter is rightly understood, but explanation and confirmation of the whole truth. Although the procession of the Spirit from the Son as well as the Father was thus vindicated by its Western defenders, they did not seek so strenuously to justify the insertion or retention of the Filioque in the creed.[2] Dr Döllinger frankly

[1] *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, July 1876.

[2] Dr Döllinger, *Bonn Conf.*

acknowledged that it "was in the West arbitrarily and unlawfully added," while Bishop Reinkens affirmed that "in the Western Church, by the command of an emperor, the addition of the Filioque was illegally made." Such an admission was caught at by Dr Damalas of Athens, who presented anew what was practically the old demand of Mark of Ephesus. "The necessary preliminaries for further examination and discussion are wanting if you do not remove the Filioque from the Symbolum in accordance with your admission." (*Conf. Pusey, "And the Son,"* p. 34.)

The attitude of the conference in regard to discussion, and apart from extraneous circumstances, seems to have been substantially that of the Council of Florence. There could be no new element in the controversy in so far as the doctrine of the procession itself was concerned, and so the process of argumentation could scarcely be other than a revival, in its great features, of the matter and manner of former discussions. The old ground was traversed in search of a central point around which both parties could rally, and ultimately the following propositions were adopted as an eirenicon in hopes of proving a basis of future agreement :—

I. "We agree together in receiving the Œcumenical Symbola, and the doctrinal decisions of the ancient undivided Church.

II. We agree together in acknowledging that the addition of the Filioque to the creed did not take place in an ecclesiastically regular manner..

III. We acknowledge on all sides the representation of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as it is set forth by the Fathers of the undivided Church.

IV. We reject every proposition and every mode of expression in which in any way the acknowledgment of two principles or ἀρχαὶ or αἰτίαι in the Trinity may be contained.

V. We accept the teaching of St John of Damascus respecting the Holy Ghost, as the same is expressed in the following paragraphs, in the sense of the teaching of the ancient undivided church :—

1. The Holy Ghost goeth forth out of (ἐκ) the Father, as the beginning (ἀρχή), the cause (αἰτία), the source (πηγή), of the Godhead.
2. The Holy Ghost goeth not forth out of (ἐκ) the Son, because there is in the Godhead but one beginning (ἀρχή), one cause (αἰτία), through which all that is in the Godhead is produced.
3. The Holy Ghost goeth forth out of the Father through the Son.
4. The Holy Ghost is the image of the Son, who is the image of the Father going forth out of the Father, and existing in the Son as the force beaming forth from him.
5. The Holy Ghost is the personal production out of the Father

belonging to the Son, but not out of the Son, because he is the Spirit of the mouth of the Godhead, which speaks forth the Word.

6. The Holy Ghost forms the mediation between the Father and the Son, and is bound together to the Father through the Son."

Whether these articles may be explained so as to admit of general acceptance, is hard to say, but as they are, they can scarcely be regarded as sufficient and satisfactory. That the addition of the Filioque to the Creed "did not take place in an ecclesiastically regular manner" will be freely allowed, though the question may well be asked, Does this "ecclesiastically irregular manner" of admission merely signify by a mistake of ignorance or misapprehension? or, Does it impute fault or blameworthiness to those who thus introduced the Filioque? Is it to be regarded as the statement of a fact, and no more? or, Does it pronounce judgment, however cautiously, on the action of the Council of Toledo in sanctioning the addition, and on the conduct of the whole Western Church, which has so long retained it? Perhaps some more definite acknowledgment, or at least explanation, would not be amiss. And, besides, the important matter is not how the doctrine got into the Creed as accepted by the West, but whether it is to be continued in it or dismissed from it. No doubt the attempted enforcement of the Filioque upon the Greek Church was unwarranted, as it never possessed the authority of a general council. But equally unwarranted is the demand so often made in such negotiations that it should be erased from the Confession used by the West. On this point, of the retention or rejection of the formula, the proposition gives no opinion, except what may be vaguely gathered from the statement that the addition "did not take place in an ecclesiastically regular manner." Is the understanding to be that the interpolation, though allowed and employed in other ways, shall be put out of the Creed altogether, or that each church shall preserve its own form unchanged? Regarding the doctrine itself, and the terms in which it is stated in the articles of agreement, it will not be out of place to make a few remarks. The choice of John of Damascus as an adequate and authoritative exponent of the doctrine of the Spirit can scarcely be regarded in all respects as satisfactory. No doubt he has been held in the highest esteem by the Eastern Church, and his work, Ἔκθεσις πίστεως, looked upon as a text-book in systematic

theology. But however complimentary to the Greeks to accept his teaching as sufficient, and however agreeable to the Old Catholics and others to find his views reconcilable with their own, there is room left to question the prudence of the act. Perhaps a wider range of research than that found in the writings of one of the later Greek Fathers would have made the propositions at once simpler and surer. "I cannot but fear," says Dr Pusey, "that Dr Döllinger has embarassed himself by trying to extract an adequate confession of our faith out of St John of Damascus, a writer who was, I conclude, unacquainted with the earlier Greek Fathers, whose language he rejects, and who certainly knew nothing of our Latin Fathers, and so nothing of the uniform agreement of Western expression of doctrine." It is unquestionably a hard and hazardous matter to formulate truth relating to so mysterious a subject as the constitution of the Godhead. Just as human reason cannot comprehend the manner of co-existence, so human language cannot define the inner relationships of personality. The nearer we can approach to Scripture statement the safer our course; undue discrimination and detail perplex the mind, and are apt to lead into rash speculations and presumptuous affirmations. Whether this tendency is shewn in the Bonn doctrinal propositions may be variously estimated, according to the attitude and bias of different minds, but at least it will be admitted that the unqualified denials require some explanation. Thus it is said, without hesitation or qualification, "The Holy Ghost goeth not forth out of (*ἐκ*) the Son" (2), and, again, "belonging to the Son, but not out of the Son" (5). True, indeed, a reason is adduced for this pointed negation, "because there is in the Godhead but one beginning." But this acknowledged fact does not, and cannot, clash with the alleged procession of the Spirit also from the Son, for that, as believed, equally rejects two principles or beginnings. And although the affirmation that "the Holy Ghost goeth forth out of the Father *through* the Son" may be regarded as in some sense embodying the truth in so far as known, or at any rate as explicable consistently with it, a more clear and satisfactory statement of the relation might well be desiderated. After all, the Confession of Union, adopted in 1439, seems best to circumscribe the meeting-place of East and West; and the proposition of Augustine affords the

briefest yet fullest article of agreement: "Patrem et Filium principium esse Sancti Spiritus non ut duo principia sed ut unum principium" (*De Trin.* v. 14).

The general merits of the great question of the "Filioque" appear of greater or less moment according to the standpoint from which they are regarded. Not only is there a historical interest in tracing out the varied fortunes of a doctrine which has been more or less canvassed since the Synod of Toledo, but special regard must be held to the fact that it has always been, and remains still, the chief dogmatic difference between the Eastern and Western Churches. That it is not a sufficient cause of separation is almost universally admitted, but yet both parties hold tenaciously their own views, without any very serious indication of surrender. Seeing that the more vital and essential doctrines of the Deity and Personality of the Holy Spirit are in common recognised and strenuously defended, disagreement on this minor and more mysterious question of Procession does not warrant the one to charge the other with the guilt of heresy, or palliate the general scandal of the schism. It is not necessary that all truth be formulated and defined with technical accuracy or theological precision, nor is it possible, even if it were advisable, to insert every dogmatic statement, reached by careful study and logical deduction in the church's creed. It was thus Leo III. argued, that though he believed the doctrine of a double procession, he did not feel warranted in setting it down as an article of faith merely because it was true. And yet, whatever is a real advance in systematic teaching, is not to be treated with indifference, or lightly fallen from, as though it were of no importance. The ultimate boundary of truth has not been set down infallibly by any council, nor can we accept the ancient as the only exposition of doctrine. Tradition, when it is harmonious, may well be venerated, and the decisions of the early theologians, carefully and prayerfully come to, may rightly be received with reverence and thankfulness. But we accord a place and importance greater than there is any warrant for, to the thoughts and verdicts of antiquity, when we take them as the full and sufficient guides and standards of truth. Was it given to the patristic church alone to

traverse the whole territory of theology, and stake off its dogmas, or was it but the pioneer taking a first survey, and leaving its data as materials and helps to a more complete and scientific scrutiny? It is granting an undue influence to the Fathers to allow them the power of controlling, instead merely of advising, the minds of those who come after them. If theology is a scientific study, it is capable of progress according to the advancement of knowledge generally, and the perfecting of its own special means and instruments. And so we cannot fall back from later gains in truth, or be contented to dispense with the precision and definiteness of theological technicalities wrested from inaccuracy and ignorance by keen and protracted controversy. The victory must be credited as a fact, even though it may not be necessary to name and authenticate it in a formula, or embody its watchword in the creed. The "Filioque" is a theological attainment, and cannot be discarded. Whatever opinion may be held as to the manner of its introduction at first into the creed, and the means whereby it was afterwards spread through the church, one cannot rashly set it aside as a doctrinal truth. Gaining ultimate acceptance in the whole Roman Church, it has passed without question, though never formally imposed as a dogma, in all the churches of the Reformation. And this fact, joined with its Scripturalness—for the stress of Greek opposition has for the most part been directed against it from its omission in the early symbols and statements of the Fathers—is reason enough for cherishing the dogma. "Licet non debeant Græci," says Turretine,[1] "hæreseos insimulari propter sententiam suam, nec ea debuerit esse occasio schismatis vel orti, vel continuati, Latinorum tamen sententia ut Scripturæ verbis convenientior et verior recte retinetur." The Biblical demonstration upon which the Greek Church rests its own case, and from which it denounces the double procession as held by the Latins, is the saying of Christ himself, that the spirit of truth proceedeth from the Father, παρὰ τοῦ πατρός (John xv. 26). It has never been denied that this text asserts procession from the Father without any reference whatever to any other or further truth. And it

[1] Turretine, *De Sp. S. Processione*, v.

may be granted that there is nowhere in Scripture so plain and explicit an announcement of procession from the Son. But indirect proofs often amount to as strong and conclusive an argument as direct statements. The affirmation made by Christ does not necessarily disprove or condemn the idea of procession from the Son as well. It is virtually implied in many equivalent or parallel expressions, for the same predicates are employed in describing the relation of the Spirit to Christ that are used to designate his relation to the Father. If the name he bears, and the attributes he possesses, and the work he does, are to be regarded as evidences of procession from the Father, then may one justly conclude on the other hand that the name, Spirit of Christ (Phil. i. 19; 1 Pet. i. 11), and the donation of him by Christ (John xvi. 7; xx. 22), and the revelation he makes of Christ (John xvi. 13, 14, 15; Conf. xiv. 9, 10), are equally pertinent testimonies of procession from the Son. The power and office of manifesting the invisible God is a proof that cannot be challenged that Christ is of, and comes from, the Father; and so, too, the power and office of teaching, guiding, and moulding believers into the image of the Saviour implies that the Spirit proceeds from the Son. "It is only as the Spirit of Christ," says Martensen, "that the Holy Ghost can enter upon an abiding union with mankind. . . . In virtue of the mediatorial office of Christ, the Holy Ghost dwells for ever in the kingdom of Christ."[1] But this indwelling and inworking presupposes a forthcoming, not only now, but always. The coming of the Comforter after the ascension of Christ cannot be regarded as the only relation existent between the Son and the Spirit. He was sent by Christ to continue his life and work in the Church, and this fact bears within it a prior truth of essential relationship. "Processio temporalis supponit æternam."[2] And so the double mission into the world, from Father and Son alike and in common, necessarily leads back to a double procession in eternity. This is the position reached by the Western churches, Romish and Reformed, but still denied by the Orientals.

From our brief and imperfect sketch of the controversy, it will be evident that the question of reconciliation is one of acknowledged difficulty, however full of interest and fraught

[1] Martensen's *Christ. Dogm.* p. 332. [2] Turretine, *De Sp. S. Proc.* v.

with whatsoever desirable benefits. All seem agreed that the schism was unjustifiable in its origin, and equally satisfied that no sufficient reason can be given for its continuance. But here the unanimity practically ends. Leaving these negative statements, can we discover any positive grounds of agreement as regards a basis of reunion? One cannot be sanguine in expecting such after having made acquaintance with the many schemes and plans tried for more than a thousand years without the slightest success. But doubtless the different circumstances in which both Easterns and Westerns are now placed, compared with the last grand attempt at the Council of Florence, may afford better opportunities for a fuller and fairer discussion of the whole matter. In order to allow even the chance for the restoration of unity, it is asserted that the doctrine and its symbolic term must be set aside. This was the opinion of Mark of Ephesus in 1439, and it seems to remain very much the verdict of the Greek Church in the present day. Nor have similar thoughts been awanting in the West. "Thus did the Orientals," says Pearson, "accuse the Occidentals for adding (these words Filioque) to the Creed contrary to the General Council, which had prohibited all additions, and that without the least pretence of another council; and so the schism between the Greek and Latin Churches was begun and continued, never to be ended until those words Filioque are taken out of the Creed." Now, if the rejection of what has become an integral part of the Western theology is the *conditio sine qua non* of the restoration of church fellowship, we may dismiss the problem as practically impossible of settlement. It is in vain to expect excision of the dogmatic statement. Whatever justification of its insertion existed at first, is vastly intensified in many ways as a reason for its retention. As a truth that has become a doctrine, it cannot be concealed, but must be displayed before the Eastern Church, whether they can accept of it or not. There seem to be only two possible, or at least likely solutions of this grave theological difficulty—the reception of the doctrine, and union on a basis somewhat akin to the Confession of Florence, or the regarding of it as an open question in so far as symbolical expression is concerned.

With regard to the former, it is very improbable that the reasonings which failed to carry conviction in the oft-repeated conferences of the past will be more effectual in the present. Biblical testimonies, supported by philosophic speculations on the one side and patristic traditions on the other, weigh nothing when in the opposing scale are found unshaken confidence, if not immovable prejudice. It is not a sufficient statement of the facts of the case to speak of procession from the Father through the Son (διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ), unless that can be held to imply also out of (ἐκ) the Son, in the sense that "Pater et filius spirant spiritum sanctum non ut duo principia diversa . . . sed ut duo supposita, quæ eadem virtute concurrunt ad istam processionem" (Turretine, *de Sp.* vi.). But if there is no hope of reunion in the acceptance of some such confession by the Greeks, may the other alternative of leaving this point unsettled between the two parties not furnish a ground of mutual forbearance or agreement? Open questions are recognised not only in the relations of different sects of the Christian church, but also within the distinctive principles of each sect itself. And this is true not merely of matters that have not been symbolically settled, but in regard to the interpretation of phrases in the accepted creed. Now, is this doctrine of the procession of such a character as to forbid any allowance in the reception of it, or to shut up its meaning only in one form of technical phraseology? Are we warranted in insisting upon the Western mode of expression as alone the correct statement, and are all under pain of being considered schismatics, if not heretics, bound so to regard it? May one not go too far in distinguishing and defining the sublime mystery of the Trinity, or at least in formulating for confessional purposes those high truths which lie beyond the domain of human reasoning? There is sound sense as well as profound reverence in what Platon says on this doctrine of the procession: "We do not wish to pry into this, for it is an unsearchable mystery, and we ought not to engage much in disputation upon it." However important in its theological aspect the discussion of the question may be, it does not effect the doctrine of the unity in the Godhead or the essential deity and personality of the Holy Spirit. Will it not suffice, then, to accept in common that upon which

East and West are alike agreed, and for the rest let each be persuaded in their own mind? Or must the controversy continue because the one will not allow, and the other will not expunge, the addition of the Filioque to their original Creed?

ROBERT SANDERS.

ART. III.—*Age of the Pentateuch, with special reference to Revelation and Inspiration.*[1]

WHEN engaging to write on this subject, I feared that my statement might require to be very long. Now, when taking pen in hand, I foresee that it may be made quite reasonably short. Of those who know how many things can be said to good purpose on the subject, many are not aware how very much can to better purpose be left unsaid. What I propose to give is, not an exhaustive statement of all that can be said to good purpose, but only a statement of what may suffice for my present purpose, to lay the question open for discussion.

In saying, "with special reference to revelation and inspiration," I do not mean the revelation recorded in the Pentateuch and the inspiration of that record, but revelation and inspiration generally, as involved in the Bible all through. The leading question is, Did Moses write the Pentateuch? But I propose to call special attention to the bearing of this leading question on the general question of revelation and inspiration.

Up to this time the question of the age of the Pentateuch has, by people of sense, been very much left to experts in relative Linguistic and Antiquities. No church in the world has ever really dogmatised to the effect that Moses was the writer of our existing Pentateuch. Probably no church in the world is at this hour qualified, or thinks herself qualified, to dogmatise on the subject. The relative dogma of the

[1] The following paper was delivered to a club of Edinburgh Free Church ministers before the publication of the Free Church College Committee's College Report on Professor Smith's article, "Bible," in the *Encyclopædia Brittanica*. The statement as now given to the public has not been in any way modified in view of that Report. It will be observed that the paper makes no allusion to any *peculiarity* of Professor Smith.

churches has only implied that the Pentateuch, as part of Holy Scripture, is a divine record of a divine revelation. The traditional impression or opinion that Moses wrote the Pentateuch has never yet assumed the place of a dogma of any church, or found place among those articles of faith which are the result of serious and deliberate examination of the question concerned on the part of the church.

But during the last three or four generations the question of the age of the Pentateuch has pressed itself upon the attention of the churches in such a way as to making itself keenly interesting to ministers, and other leading representative Christians. They therefore look with eager interest towards the relative ascertainments of the experts I have referred to. And looking at the matter thus they may, in surprising fulness of measure, like Cowper when looking for the snake in his garden, "find only there is nothing to be found." For the "doctors differ" here as elsewhere.

This may appear from comparison of the relative utterances of two experts. To us who are not experts it is not in all respects an unpleasing fact that in this relation there are two parties among professed experts, and that members of the one party may be found regarding the opinion of the other party with sheer contempt. One man, contending for the post-Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, shall be found of this mind, that the supposition of a veritable Mosaic authorship is an antiquated superstition, such as cannot be seriously entertained by competent inquirers in our wonderful nineteenth century. This way of thinking and speaking is not very imposing to those who remember that young people, and old people who have not outgrown juvenility, are in every generation found of the mind that something or other is out of date in *their* wonderful century (a century wonderful because it is theirs). On the other hand, an advocate of the Mosaic authorship shall be found of this mind, that those who disagree with him are disagreeable people, certainly heterodox, probably infidel, ruined by their pride of intellect, while it plainly appears from him—perhaps in "the sentence after the last"—that they have little or no intellect to be ruinously proud of. This way of thinking and speaking is also familiar to, and duly disregarded by, men seriously seeking for truth in the matter.

The circumstance that the "doctors differ" thus in relation to the present question is not peculiar nor discouraging. It is not peculiar. In relation to any large question to which experts or specialists are made witnesses, they are often, if not ordinarily, found to differ in their testimony, so that in any important civil or criminal case calling for such testimony it is ordinarily not found difficult to produce two first-class experts or specialists who shall flatly contradict one another upon oath. Nor is the circumstance discouraging. It does not shew that the main truth in question is unascertainable. It only shews that in relation to scientific questions regarding it there is, around an enlarging circle of light, a correspondingly widening circumference of darkness, in which experts will fight when they meet, or when they do not meet.

At the same time, the circumstance warns us that in relation to such questions as the present we must not take the experts as judges or jurymen. The specialist, in relation to such questions as the present, is not a better judge or juryman than other men. Rather he is, as specialist, to some extent disqualified for the office of juryman or judge, because he is fatally disposed to make every large question related to his specialty a battle-ground between his theory and the theory opposed to his. Hence the practical wisdom of mankind, in cases in which experts are called in as witnesses relatively to their specialty, has committed the office of judge and jury, not to them, but to men of probity and sense who are not biassed by the prejudices of specialists, the "idols of the theatre."

These general considerations are strictly relevant to the question now before us. In the first place, the specialists here, experts in Old Testament Linguistic and Antiquities, are as such masters of only one part of the evidence on which the question depends for determination, and can as witnesses give us the benefit of the results of their studies, so far as these results agree; while so far as the results do not agree they are effectively useless for the present purpose. In the second place, the main part of the evidence, that on which a true conclusion must mainly depend, is within reach of ordinary Bible readers, as really as it is within reach of the experts. What the Bible is as a whole, what is the sum and substance of its teaching, what are the characteristics of religious thought and life in the successive ages of its revelation, and what, if any-

thing, the Bible itself plainly says or shews in relation to the authorship of this or that one of its books—these are matters which may be ascertained in very great fulness of measure by an ordinary reader of the Bible, and which may be far more fully known and felt by a devout believer, who seriously studies his English Bible, than they can be by an undevout expert, who has no heart for sympathetic intelligence, and whose whole mind may be absorbed by Hebrew roots and other circumstantials of the Word, as distinguished from that *meaning*—that feeling, thought, life—which is the soul and substance of the Word.

Of these things we now have the more need to be mindful, because for us now the age of the experts is past. The church, in her ordinary ministry and membership is now providentially called to step forth and form an opinion for herself, or determine for herself the real worth of her traditional opinion regarding the age of the Pentateuch.

As one of her ordinary ministers I will give you my opinion, because my opinion will colour the whole of the following representation. My present opinion is, that in the only sense felt important by intelligent advocates of the view that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, the writer of the Pentateuch was Moses; and that this will come to be the settled conviction of the people of God when they have gone through the process of real ascertainment; but that for the present the question is one which ought to be regarded by the church as fairly open for serious inquiry among her ministers and other members.

Having given my own opinion, and thus taken the place for the present of belonging to one party, I shall now describe another party, because my view of the rights (and duties) of that other party will also colour all the following representation. It is not very long since denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch meant overt or covert rationalism or infidelity; so that the relative literature of the church was part of her Apologetic, of her defence of Christian religion against its assailants. In the following statements I will pay no regard to merely rationalistic or infidel assaults on the old opinion about the human authorship of the Pentateuch. But now there are professing Christians of unquestionable intelligence and sincerity who, while fully admitting the divine authority and inspiration of Scripture as a whole, and of the Pentateuch

as part of Scripture, yet maintain that Moses was not the human author of our existing Pentateuch. How are we to regard them and their view?

We might regard them either as cruel wolves in sheep's-clothing, or as silly sheep in wolf's-clothing, or as undisguised caitiff man-slaying tigers of Bengal, putting in place of the Christian system a theory of the universe which is really one of the abominations of heathenism. It would be easy so to regard them. That is, it would be easy to do wrong in this case, as it is easy to do wrong in most cases. But to do wrong is not to be in the way of serving the cause of right. If we will be in that good way, then we shall proceed upon the fact, that there is such a party as I have described among professing Christians of unquestionable sincerity and intelligence at this hour; so that the church is now providentially called to reconsider, or to consider for the first time from a new point of view, her traditional opinion or impression regarding the question in hand.

In many cases the church is not entitled to regard with respect, but is bound to disregard or to resist, what is called "the spirit of the age." The spirit of the age is often a mere spirit of lies—"the spirit which now worketh in the children of disobedience." But in the present case the church has no right so to regard the phenomenon to be dealt with. The phenomenon on the face of it, and therefore presumably the *noumenon* at the heart of it, is not mere stupidity or malignity. We are bound to regard as constituting a providential call to reconsideration the circumstance, that not only this or that eccentric individual, but a respectable though perhaps small proportion of otherwise trusted members or ministers of the church are found saying or thinking, "I hold that, while the Pentateuch is a divine record of a divine revelation, yet Moses was not the author of the record, and was not the human originator of all the institutions described in the Pentateuch." In relation to such men I desire to speak on a footing of brotherly equality, as of Christian men who have an equal right to hold their respective opinions, and are under equal obligation to respect each other's right. And from this point of departure and view I shall now give a selection of reasons *pro* and *con.*, avowedly as an advocate on one side.

There is a somewhat vague relation of revelation to the

question of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch which has not, I think, been sufficiently emphasised in such amicable controversy as I now suggest. I will put it thus:—On the supposition that the Bible is in some real sense equivalent to divine revelation, then there is a presumption in favour of that opinion which claims to have *Bible Testimonies* in its favour. Now, the opinion that Moses wrote the Pentateuch claims to have Bible testimonies, express Scripture statements which either affirm it or imply it. On the other hand, the opinion that the Pentateuch, in whole or in part, was written long after Moses, or was at all post-Mosaic in its authorship, cannot fairly claim to have any appearance of such Bible testimonies in its favour. There are plainly not a few Bible statements which may be construed as affirming or implying that Moses wrote the five books. There is not one statement between the two boards of the Bible that can be fairly regarded as affirming or implying that Moses did not write those books, or that they originated, wholly or partly, in an age subsequent to the Mosaic. What I thus have stated is in substance a plain fact, unquestionable and, I suppose, unquestioned. I do not at the present stage press this fact to any dogmatic conclusion. But I feel warranted in claiming that it should be regarded as constituting a presumption in favour of the opinion I am contending for; and I suppose that the claim will be conceded by opponents who respect the Bible as equivalent to a divine revelation.

Again, it is a fact well worth considering that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was believed in by the whole church—that is, by the whole body of devout students of the Bible—during more than 2000 years, from the Babylonish captivity down to almost our own generation. It is now hardly two hundred years since the Mosaic authorship began to be denied in Christendom by a noteworthy party, in the interest of infidelity or of rationalism. It is not one hundred years, I might say it is not fifty years, since the denial began to be concurred in by any noteworthy class of men professing to be seriously Christian, and to own the divine authority of the books and institutions called Mosaic. In a sense not intended by Tertullian, these brethren are bound to accept his saying, "We are of yesterday." Beyond all question the opinion they are rejecting was held by the Church of God,

unanimously held by her, through all the many centuries between this "yesterday" and the Babylonish captivity. This, again, I do not seek to carry to any dogmatic conclusion. I admit that the church of those past ages had no evidence proper which we do not possess. Even Ecclesiasticus, Josephus, and Philo Judæus had no evidence proper which we do not possess. They knew that there was in their time, and had been before their time, a uniform stream of traditionary belief that Moses wrote the five books. But we know that as well as they knew it. I therefore do not choose to appeal—on the ground of Tertullian's famous *præscriptio*—to the received church opinion of many ages, although I hold that tradition may in many cases be evidence profoundly reasonable. Yet I do maintain, and I suppose brethren on the other side of the question will not deny, that the long-continued and universally-prevalent opinion of devout readers of the Bible corroborates the presumption, in favour of their side of the question, constituted by the ostensible testimonies of Scripture in its favour.

Now even against this presumption I do not find any conclusive force in the reasons alleged against the Mosaic, or for the post-Mosaic, authorship of the Pentateuch. And it is a significant circumstance that, since the question was first fairly raised within the church, those reasons have proved to be "vanishing quantities":—one after another of them, after producing an impression, has become discredited, or ceased to have felt force.

Thus, within our own memory, the "document hypothesis" was regarded as cutting much deeper than the question now before us. Now it is seen and felt to be, if not irrelevant, yet quite inconclusive to this question. Supposing that two or more previously-existing documents, such as the Elohistic and the Jehovistic, were wrought up into our existing Pentateuch. That will not shew that Moses was not the author of the existing Pentateuch. All that it necessarily shews is, that Moses proceeded like a builder who, besides going straight to the quarry for some stones, also pulls down two or three old houses to serve as material of that house which is his own work. From other considerations it may be endeavoured to establish a presumption in favour of a post-Mosaic employer of the documents. But the "document hypothesis," simply *as such*, can easily be disposed of as I suggest.

At a somewhat later period, when Moses Stuart wrote his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, the objection founded on the allegation that *Moses could not write* was felt, even by Stuart, a very complete biblical scholar, to be extremely formidable. So Stuart laboriously strove, for instance, from the references in the older Greek tragedy to the heroic age, to shew that the art of writing was known to mankind in ages far earlier than was admitted by the objectors. Dr Schliemann thinks that his discoveries in Mycenae warrant him in holding that alphabetic writing was not known in the capital and palace of the hero Agamemnon, "king of men"; so that Stuart's argument thus far, besides being inconclusive in its nature, was founded on a mistake in point of fact. But Stuart's lame argument is now no longer needed. To say that the art of writing was not known in Moses' time, is now and henceforward to be a manifested *ignoramus*. There is reason to believe that the *Phœnician* alphabet was not introduced into Hellas until after the siege of Troy. In the oldest Greek inscription extant, supposed to belong to the beginning of the seventh century B.C., the form of the letters is almost identical with the form of letters on the Moabite Stone, known to have been carved in the beginning of the ninth century B.C.; from which it may be concluded that the adoption of the Phœnician alphabet by the Hellenes took place somewhere between the two dates I have given. I find that my reasoning here has been anticipated by a recent writer on Greek inscriptions in the *Contemporary Review*. But Schliemann states, in a letter to the *Times*, quoted in this day's (15th January) *Daily Review*, as ascertained by him from the ruins of Troy, that alphabetic writing was known and practised in Troy 1000 years before Agamemnon. And the following facts, which I borrow from the *Speaker's Commentary*, are demonstrative to the eye as well as to the reason. In the first place, there have been found in Egypt writings not only hieroglyphic, but cursive-hieratic, on stone and parchment and papyrus, which were prepared before the birth of Moses, who was trained up in all the learning of the Egyptians. One of these, a papyrus manuscript, the oldest known manuscript extant, containing a somewhat elaborate semi-philosophical treatise, was written some centuries before the time of Moses. In the second place, Ewald, far from pre-disposed to dogmatism on our side, has

shewn, from the common Semitic use of the words for *book*, *write*, *ink*, that the art of writing in a book with ink must have been known by the Shemites before they were broken up into tribes; and concludes from this, as incontrovertible, that the art of writing must have been known and practised by the Israelites in Egypt.

Some may think that the *Hebrew style* of the Pentateuch betrays recency of authorship. It certainly is a fact that the style of the Pentateuch is not archaic, as compared with confessedly post-Mosaic Scriptures, to nearly the extent that might have been expected by us *a priori*. After reading Deuteronomy, for instance, I, not an expert, find the Hebrew of Jeremiah to be very much what I have been reading in the Pentateuch; as might happen if one had been reading the writings of two brothers, one perhaps old-fashioned and the other perhaps new-fashioned in his manner of speaking. From this coincidence of style it has been concluded that perhaps Jeremiah was the writer of Deuteronomy. But the reasoning here proceeds on an untenable view of the history of language —the view, to wit, that language is always changing to such an extent that the language of a writer in one age cannot be the language of a writer of the same nation in a much later age. This view, as a conjectural hypothesis, may be serviceable to philologists in their precursory investigations. But as a universal conclusion it is simply the mistake of learned men, an "idol of the cave."

One who knows Gaelic, travelling north-west from Perthshire towards the Outer Hebrides, will find in contemporaneous use all the "ages" of Gaelic, from the most recent post-tertiary back to the Palæozoic: in the Long Island the people, gentle and simple, speak the Gaelic precisely according to the best grammars when describing the physiological structure of the language. There are "Yankeeisms," at first sight denoting recent American origin, which passed over the Atlantic from Old England in the *Mayflower* or her contemporaries. There are "vulgarisms" of present English which were good Saxon in the time of Alfred the Great. The language of the Koran is now spoken in Mecca, 1200 years after the Koran was written. Among Egyptian papyri (I here again borrow from the *Speaker's Commentary*), there are documents whose dates of origin are 1000 years apart, but whose language and grammar are not perceptibly distinct.

Coming back to our own country, I know cases in which only a water-shed divides two parishes whose languages belong to two distinct waves of migration of mankind, so that a philological expert might conclude that the people must belong to two widely separate epochs of world history, although their sons and daughters intermarry without troubling themselves about philological experts. Logically, the "stone period," the "bronze period," the "iron period," &c., of human history are widely separate; but chronologically they may be contemporaneous—in fact, they all exist simultaneously on earth at this hour. So of language. The causes which tend to change may for a long time be suspended or neutralised, so that the inference from absence of change may be very precarious. This is to be specially expected when the race in question is by nature immobile, when its situation is isolated, and when its thought and expression are largely dominated, so as to be effectively stereotyped, by some great solitary book, such as, on our supposition, the Pentateuch must for many ages have been to Israel in Palestine. The extent to which our own language is fixed by such great books as Shakespeare and the English Bible only indicates in a feeble way the force of this argument in relation to the Hebrews in Palestine.

The "anachronisms" of the Pentateuch are, in my estimation, most imposing at first sight, and least imposing on close inspection. The reference to kings in Israel in a historical statement, ostensibly dating from an age long before that of David or Saul, may mean only that the "editor" of the Mosaic books has taken a due liberty. So of the names of "Hebron" and "Dan;" although here we have the alternative supposition that "Hebron" and "Dan" were really ancient names resuscitated by providential coincidence. Mosaic legislation for kings, followed by a declaration that in seeking a king Israel was departing from God, involves no real contradiction. In seeking a king the people may have been spiritually departing from God, although God should have provided for kingship in Israel. They may in spirit have been seeking themselves instead of obeying him. The real difficulty here, in relation to kingship, is rationalistic. The legislation for a future king in the Pentateuch, if the Pentateuch was not of later date than Moses, involves real prediction, preternatural foresight. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*—hence the (rationalistic)

objection to the possibility of a Mosaic legislation about kings. Dismiss the rationalistic presupposition of the impossibility of real prediction, admit the possibility of real prediction, and then the proleptic legislation about king's office becomes feasible. Why should not God legislate through Moses for a foreseen and foreordained state of things, although he should foresee that, in order to origination of that state of things, his professed people shall sin? A less difficult case, although it has been set forth as the crucial case, is that of Samuel, and —let us say—other servants of God, freely offering sacrifice on this and that high place away from the sanctuary, after the supposed Mosaic legislation has made the place of the sanctuary to be the true place of sacrifice. Consistently with the supposition that the sanctuary is the true, *the normal*, place of sacrifice, it is conceivable that in, say abnormal circumstances, sacrifice offered in any place would be acceptable, if only offered in a right spirit. But suppose that the sacrificial action of Samuel and others is to us—believers in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch—simply inexplicable. This supposition will not necessarily imply more than that in this relation, as in other relations, we do not know everything about what we feel warranted in believing and bound to believe.

Some one may say, "Although you can give the go-by to this and that detail of objections to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, yet the objections as a whole may be conclusive. It is *unlikely* that the things you are explaining away should have existed if Moses had really written the five books." To this we answer, first, of course the things are unlikely, otherwise we should have had no call to explain them away; and, second, they really have little weight conclusive in themselves as a whole, and have no weight as compared with the great weight of evidence in favour of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuchal books and institutions. The question is not whether, if these had been the only things to be accounted for, they might not have sufficed to warrant an impression of post-Mosaic authorship. The question is, are they in combination so impressive as to neutralise, rebut, overwhelm that body of evidence for Mosaic authorship which until "yesterday" commanded the assent of the whole mass of devout students of the Bible?

The Mosaic institutions, as distinguished from the Mosaic

Scriptures, stand midway between the evidences *pro* and *con*. On the one hand, if the institutions be shewn to be in any considerable measure of post-Mosaic origin, then a veritable Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is shewn to be simply impossible. On the other hand, if the institutions be proved to have originated completely in the time of Moses, they will fall to be regarded as very nearly a monumental evidence of the Mosaic authorship of the Scriptures, in the only sense in which reasonable men contend for Mosaic authorship.

Against the Mosaic origin of the institutions there has been alleged the apparent contradiction already referred to, between offering sacrifice only at one prescribed place and offering it at various places. There has been alleged also, an apparent change of view in the legislation of Deuteronomy, as compared with that recorded in the earlier books of our Pentateuch. It has also been pre-supposed, though not always asserted, that the supposition of a complete Mosaic origination of the institutes, as set forth in the Pentateuch, would imply an *abruptness* of revelation that cannot be reasonably believed in. I emphasise the word "abruptness," analogous to the "catastrophe" of geologic historians, because it represents a thing of much importance in the present relation.

As to an apparent change of view in the legislation, we must remember the very great changes of circumstances during the legislator's public life-time. While recognising the possibility of long periods of changelessness in language and institutions, we must, on the other hand, recognise the possibility of changes extremely abrupt and great. Look, for instance, at modes of travelling. Consider the enormous change in our own country within the last two or three generations. Our grandparents' mode of travelling at the beginning of this century did not resemble ours so much as they resembled that of Telemachus when, more than 3000 years ago, he went to Mycenae and elsewhere in search of his father, the tough, tender-hearted, indomitable laird of Ithaca. Such changes can have taken place among immobile Orientals. Witness the Bible itself. In Jeremiah, who might have spoken, so far as style is concerned, to Israel in the wilderness, there strangely breaks in upon us one sentence of Chaldee. Then in Daniel and Ezra we have whole sections of Chaldee. After the captivity that whole immobile people had manifestly lost their Hebrew tongue, so that the

Septuagint translators manifestly do not understand the Hebrew Bible they are translating nearly as well as it is understood by half-learned Martin Luther.

As to Deuteronomy, compared with the earlier books, it must be remembered that on our supposition the period was precisely one of abrupt transition, in which a horde of bondsmen was being made into a free people of the Lord. What in the wilderness were the processes of that wondrous education we may be unable to divine. We know that one of them was the obliteration from the world's face of all but the bones of that generation which followed Moses from Egypt when he was eighty years old. The Moses on Pisgah, whose swan-song is represented by the 90th psalm, must have been in important respects a different man from the Moses who stretched forth his rod when bidding his people go forward across the Red Sea in God's name. Between the two points of time thus represented, the circumstances of the people, as well as the inward mood of the legislator, may well have altered in such a measure as naturally to bring about, not only a different style of utterance on his part, but ostensibly a different style of legislation through him on the part of God.

It may with truth be said that on our supposition the two periods represent almost two epochs; while we have very little of real information regarding the details of the great "catastrophe" intervening between the 80th and the 120th year of Moses. Legislation which, though having a view to Canaan, was addressed to the people when undergoing that great "catastrophe," may well have differed, in respects to us unaccountable, from a *resumé* of the same legislation, addressed to the same people, with due excisions and amplifications, after the great "catastrophe" has been undergone by them, and Canaan is fairly in sight of them and of their dying legislator. Some of the ostensible discrepancies have been accounted for. Some of them may never be fairly accounted for by men in time. But the apparent discrepancies, in view of the circumstances as supposed by us, do not appear to me as approaching to a demonstrated necessity of concluding that the book of Deuteronomy is not, as our fathers have supposed it to be, the written political testimony of Moses, the noblest dying testimony ever left by a patriot to his people.

Now, as to the positive reasons for the Mosaic authorship of

the Pentateuch. Moses marks definitively the time from which men of God have been distinctively "men of the book." There perhaps was before his time in the possession of God's people more or less of literature, perhaps given by inspiration of God. Some, for instance, have thought that the singularly fresh and noble account of creation in Gen. i. must have come down through mankind from Eden, though not necessarily in writing. It has been emphatically declared that the table of nations in Gen. x. must be a pre-Mosaic table. But up to the time of Moses the elect of God do not appear to have been "men of the book": though under law to positive revelation, they were not, so far as we can see, under law to a written record of the revelation equivalent to the revelation recorded. From the time of Moses it was otherwise. From that time onward God's chosen men have been placed by him under law to a written record of revelation. This general observation will serve as an introduction to the following heads of detailed evidence:—

1. *The five books themselves*, with exceptions that can be easily accounted for, or that can without serious difficulty be left unaccounted for, are just such books as might have been expected from the hand of Moses. For instance, they have in their style a sufficiency of archaism in view of considerations already referred to. I am not thinking of such things as "the song of the well"; the archaism in that might have been conscious and deliberate, as in the choruses of the Greek tragedies, or as when a man, ordinarily speaking English, chooses to write a song in broad Scotch. I refer to the whole structure of the composition of the Pentateuch. In that the experts find enough of archaisms to cover whole pages of their books. Again, in the structure of their very thought and feeling, the books appear to be archaic. On the one hand, they look back to Egypt as of "yesterday," and look round on the Sinaitic peninsula as of "to-day"; and, to the last, look forward to Canaan as of "to-morrow." None but a close biblical scholar and archæologist can see how very full the books are of Egypt as of "yesterday," and of Sinai as of "to-day." To any such scholar I will venture to suggest as an insoluble problem, *who*, after the time of Moses, *can* have written a book so full of Egypt and Sinai, and so completely in keeping with the circumstances of the supposed position? A Rabbi of the time of the captivity!

On the other hand, to the last the books *look forward to* Canaan. Even when we meet expressions which at first sight appear to suggest residence in Canaan, the sort of shock occasioned by these expressions only shakes us awake to the fact, that the books appear to look at Canaan from the eastern side of Jordan. And then, if we will seek negative evidence, we shall find ourselves confronted with the question, Is it conceivable that any Israelite should have written at any time, say after David and Solomon, a theological work so elaborate as Deuteronomy, giving no trace of a knowledge, on the author's part, of events so great to him as the building of the Temple and the separation of the kingdoms?

2. The *literature and history of Israel after Moses* appear to be at least consistent with, if not to demand, the supposition that the Pentateuchal scriptures and institutions are Mosaic in their origin. From the book of Joshua down to the close of the Canon there is a series of references to a "law," a "law of Moses," a "book of the law," which are most naturally accounted for by the supposed existence of our Pentateuch at the close of Moses' life and labour. The comparative infrequency, during the period of Israel's occupancy of Canaan, of formal appeals to the supposed existing scripture, is not surprising on our supposition. For even on our supposition the following facts must be duly considered:—

In the first place, we have no good reason to suppose that the post-Mosaic history of Israel was intended to set forth the ordinary details of life in Israel. For instance, one can read that history through hundreds of years without finding one recorded case of circumcision, although all the time circumcision was a thing so essential to Israelitish life that "uncircumcised" was another name for heathen outsider in Palestine. In the second place, even on our supposition that the Pentateuch was the then *written* Bible of God's people, it is by no means obvious that the Bible *read* by God's people must have been the Pentateuch, as the written Scripture is the Bible read by God's people now. In an important sense Israel's Bible was Palestine, with its institutions. In a measure that can hardly be imagined by us, Palestine, with its institutions, was a visible bible, a picture gospel, fraught with the history and doctrine of redemption, so that he could run who read.

For a very different purpose from ours, a famous Romanising

writer has said, that even now the Bible is intended for the proof of doctrines, not for the delivery of them. One might perhaps venture to say that to a large extent the written Scripture was to Israel only for the proof of doctrines, while Palestine with its institutions served for the delivery of them. The written Scripture was there, in the hands of priest, or prophet, or king, in case of need for appeal. The book of Psalms appears to imply, in the ordinary life of God's people, an amount of meditation on Scripture greater than this representation would suggest. Still, with due qualifications, it may be said that Israel's Scripture study was done vicariously, through representative leaders, prophetic or priestly or kingly. And having regard to this circumstance, one can see that the Mosaic institutions and the Mosaic Scriptures have left such traces on Hebrew history and literature down to the close of the Canon as might have been reasonably expected on the supposition of the Mosaic authorship of both.

3. In relation to this question, I am very much impressed by *the words of Christ.* It is perhaps impossible to convey to any one who has not made a special study of His words in this relation any adequate conception of the completeness with which the Christ of gospel history appears to be committed to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. There is hardly a noteworthy incident recorded in the five books down to the death of Moses that is not referred to by our Lord in such a way as to attest its reality. He repeatedly refers to "Scripture," "the word of God," where the reference can be only to the Pentateuch. Not only to that mode of dividing Old Testament Scriptures which makes Pentateuch equivalent to Moses (and *vice versa*), he refers as to unquestionable fact. He refers to the *writings* of Moses, and says that Moses *wrote* of him. These references of mine will not even suggest to one who has not specially studied the matter the greatness of the amount of Christ's ostensible testimony, not only to the divine authority of the Pentateuch, but also to its Mosaic authorship.

An able honest man, fully believing all that Christ has said, may yet fail to see that His sayings really bear on the question before us. To the apprehension of such a man it may appear that, as the Mosaic authorship was not a matter then in question, the Lord, speaking to that hour, may have felt no call to dogmatise upon the question, and may have simply

employed current modes of speech, as when an astronomer says that the sun rises. But, on the other hand, Christ, speaking to that hour, spoke for all ages. He and his apostles represented the truth concerning *the Scriptures* as one vitally affecting the highest interests of mankind. And in fact, whether to our apprehension He had or had not occasion to dogmatise in this relation, He to all appearance has dogmatised: He in fact has so spoken as to make the mass of his disciples believe that to His apprehension Moses wrote the Pentateuch.

I will go no further with Bible evidence on our side of the question. I have brought forward only samples of the alleged evidence on both sides. And now I return to what, though it be but a small matter comparatively in itself, is really the main proposition of my essay—the proposition, viz., that the Christian Church ought now to put herself into the position of not only permitting, but encouraging, scholarly inquiry into the matter on the part of her trusted men, who will inquire with a due regard to the feelings of Christians, and in the spirit of men who tremble at God's word.

A refusal on the church's part to put herself into this position may result in enormous damage to the Christian cause in the rising generation. The question is exercising the minds of our young people, and must exercise it more and more until the question is definitively settled in the way of real ascertainment. If you now insist upon the alternative, either the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch or infidelity, then you run the risk of driving into this latter dread alternative men who would perhaps have been delivered from one temptation to unbelief by your frankly saying, "Well, the church as a whole has always believed in the Mosaic authorship, though not formulating it into an article of faith. But some of her otherwise trusted men, who have no doubt regarding the divine origin of both the Pentateuch and its institutions, do not see that Moses was the human author of either or both as we have them. In relation to the question of human authorship, seek *the truth* for God's sake and man's." To allow and encourage discussion on this footing would, in my estimation, be to be in the way of doing good service to the Christian cause. Personally, I have a deep feeling that to bring crude ecclesiastical *force* in on my side of the question

would be a deadly injury to that side. On the other hand, a really generous discussion with brethren of another way of thinking would in various ways tell in favour of that side.

For instance, in such a discussion the bearing of revelation and inspiration, as confessed facts, on this question would obtain a place of due prominence and influence which has hitherto been a manifest *desideratum*. In a discussion of this sort among brethren holding those great facts in common, one could hopefully say much that would be out of place in a debate with infidels or with rationalists. Thus, the fact that Christ's word is divine as well as human is to such men weighty in relation to the apparently remote question now before us; for to many of them it will appear in the last degree unlikely that God in Christ should have so spoken as *in effect* to mislead men about the human authorship of the Pentateuch. Again, to such men the confessed fact that God is the primary author of the Pentateuch is important in relation to the question of secondary (human) authorship; for many of them will regard as incredible the suggestion that God should have moved any one but Moses to write a book so ostensibly Mosaic as Deuteronomy. The supposition that the Pentateuchal institutions are in large measure post-Mosaic will in like manner appear quite incredible.

It may do good to Christian people to learn, as they must learn from such discussion as I have suggested, that the question about the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuchal institutions is fundamentally a question, not of abstruse scholarship, but of morality. It has been said that personation of Moses, such as must be supposed if Moses was not the author of Deuteronomy, would not deceive the people of God in an age much later than the Mosaic; because the people would know that the *quasi*-Moses was not the real Moses. It certainly would not deceive them. But it does not follow from this that they would accept a scripture or institution from a personator of Moses, their great prophet. What is most likely is, that they would stone the personator as profane; so that Israel's acceptance of the book and the institutions as Mosaic falls to be regarded as a demonstration of the Mosaic authorship of both. But beyond that, there is the far more impressive consideration, that it is inconceivable that *God* should have inspired or authorised any man to put on *the false face* of

the supposed impersonation, if not for the purpose, to the effect, of leading many following generations to believe what is not true —that Moses said and did what he really did not say nor do.

In a discussion among brethren holding by revelation and inspiration, such considerations would be alleged with confessed revelancy, though there should be some demur about their conclusiveness. I think that the concession of their relevancy to the question in hand, a concession that could not be refused by the brethren who accept our Christian doctrine of revelation and inspiration, would be a very great advantage to our side of the present question. And the advantage would largely consist in this, that brethren who differ from us, being generously regarded and treated as brethren, would be led to give kind consideration to such arguments from revelation and inspiration as I have suggested.

Another such advantage I now will set forth in conclusion. I have spoken of a "sentence after the last." I now shall speak of a "sentence before the first." I have an impression that brethren who, agreeing with us about revelation and inspiration, yet differ from us about the present question, may be unconsciously determined by a theory of "evolutionism" which natively is anti-supranaturalistic and infidel. Some things which really owe their birth only to that theory may, because current at present among biblical scholars, assume to our brethren the aspect of being simply the results of biblical scholarship. And the brethren will certainly be led to take second thought about those things if, by the Christian wisdom of the church, there be permitted and encouraged a brotherly comparison of notes about the present question.

The "evolutionism" now in my view was referred to by Principal Rainy in his singularly fresh and powerful inaugural address as principal. It really has nothing to do with what is sometimes said by brethren in this relation, "We are only setting forth the literary history of Scripture *on the human side.*" The brethren who speak thus can by kindly conference be led to see that they are not speaking to the question, the real question, in the heart's estimation of Christians, and of other men seeking after *truth* in this relation. Supposing, for argument's sake, that so far as appears on the human side the Pentateuchal scriptures and institutions might have been post-Mosaic in origin; supposing even that, apart from divinity of

revelation and inspiration, the evidence should appear to lean, perhaps heavily, towards post-Mosaic origination; yet, among men seriously accepting the great facts of divine revelation and inspiration, these facts might be accepted as decisively turning the scale to our side of the question. It would be an advantage to the cause of truth arising from the sort of discussion I am pleading for, that the argument I now have suggested would be kindly considered by the brethren. But, I repeat, this has really nothing to do with the "evolutionism" I have referred to.

That "evolutionism" dislikes prediction proper, and leans towards reducing supernatural revelation to a *minimum*, the nearer to *nothing* the better. It founds upon the alleged fact that supernatural communication to man, except in a measure infinitesimally small, would involve a violence to the nature of man's mind as rational. The *minimum* when analysed will often be found to be little more than a sort of protoplastic matter of divine communication, not at first existing in any definite shape, but gradually taking shape more and more precise as it passes down through the series of prepared prophetic minds.

This theory curiously resembles the evolutionist theory of the origination of what are called species in the physical world. As a theory it is lame and impotent, were it only because, like that analogous theory, it does not enable us to *see* the thing which a "theory" is bound to shew us. The alleged difficulty, occasioned by the impossibility of making a divine communication to man without violence to his nature as rational, is not solved by reducing the communication to a primeval *minimum*, but is left unsolved in that primeval *minimum* of supernatural revelation.

In the interest of that *minimum* the theorisers naturally revolt from the supposition, that all at once there should have been given to Moses so large an amount of new revelation as must have been given to him if the Pentateuchal books and institutions be Mosaic in authorship. Here they resemble the physicist evolutionist in objecting to "catastrophe," and contending for uniformitarianism, or progression invariably by insensible degrees, one shading into another. And in that interest which has led them to contend for their *minimum*, they are really bound to contend that even the protoplastic

matter of revelation corresponds to the Hegelian pregnant principle of "being equal to nothing." For if in that protoplastic matter of revelation there be *any real thing*, anything supernaturally communicated to man's mind by God, then it is manifest stupidity to object to any conceivable amount of such communication on the ground that, as supernatural communication, it does violence to the rational nature of man.

I believe that the principle to which some of our brethren are unconsciously yielding obedience is one which thus can result in only an empty idealism. I therefore wish that the church should permit and encourage such friendly discussion as may lead those brethren to feel the pulse of ordinary members of the church. That will lead them to recognise theoretically what they know in their own heart's experience, that the Bible does not record a series of illusive representations of ideas; that what it records is a historical proceeding of the living God towards the redemption of mankind. No doubt the Bible represents an evolution of ideas. But it represents an incarnation of them in real history. Our brethren in their studies may have in some measure lost sight of this fact. They will regain the lost sight of it if they be invited and encouraged to compare notes, and consequently to compare hearts, with the evangelical community.

JAMES MACGREGOR.

ART. IV.—*Lord Stair's Vindication of the Divine Perfections.*

PRESIDENT STAIR is the greatest of Scotch lawyers. He has no equal; scarcely a second. Some have called him the only Scotch lawyer; and if it is meant that he is the only man of that nation who has applied a commanding mind to the principles of law, as distinguished from its rules and details, something may be said for the assertion. At all events he remains to this day, what he became in his own, the great authority in the law of Scotland. Now Scotland is a country which has shewn a persistent bias towards law; perhaps the only instinct which has proved stronger in its history being

that towards religion and theology. But is it not so that the two tendencies have been parallel rather than united, and have often threatened divergence and hostility? They have certainly done so in the hands of some second-rate men. It was not so in the case of the greatest. Yet how many are there who know that the author of the "Institutions of the Law of Scotland" has written also "A Vindication of the Divine Perfections, illustrating the glory of God in them, by Reason and Revelation"?[1]

The fact is interesting; but unless I am mistaken, the book itself is more so. Let us, in the first place, recall the external history of the man and of this publication. It was published in London in 1695, the year in which Lord Viscount Stair, now seventy-seven years old, ended a life full of years and honour. Given to the world anonymously, as by "a Person of Honour," it was introduced by a preface signed by two English divines, famous in their day, and one of them still celebrated. The ingenious caution with which, in the concluding sentence of the preface, these theologians avoid becoming responsible for all the positions contained in the book they praise, is worth noting:—

"Having had some taste of this work, we make so much haste to recommend it, as not to allow ourselves the pleasure of engrossing it, or of perusing it alone, till we have imparted it and made it possible to others to partake with us therein. "W. Bates.
"J. Howe."

But the praise is as sincere as the caution, and no doubt followed upon some "perusal." Of the "clearness and vigour of spirit" of the "noble author of the following discourses," they speak in a striking and appreciative way:—

"We have here an imitable[2] and instructive example to great men, the dignity of whose stations in the world too commonly seems to plead an exemption from a more sedulous intention and application of mind to the affairs of religion, that have final reference to another world. This performance of the noble author shews it to be a thing not impracticable,

[1] "A Vindication of the Divine Perfections, illustrating the Glory of God in them, by Reason and Revelation: Methodically digested into several Meditations. By a Person of Honour. London: Printed by J. D., for Brabazon Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons in Cornhill. 1795."

[2] So in the original edition. Professor Mackay, in his *Life of Stair* (p. 273), prints it, probably inadvertently, as "inimitable." But there is little doubt which is the better epithet to qualify the word "*example* to great men." So in the next sentence, "not impracticable."

as it is most praiseworthy, amidst the greatest secular employments, to find vacancy and a disposition of spirit to look with a very inquisitive eye into the deep things of God; which (if it were the author's pleasure to be known) would let it be seen the statesman and the divine are not inconsistencies to a great and comprehensive mind."

Stair had passed through many "secular employments" before his last book was thus published. The descendant of Ayrshire lairds, who had been first Lollards and then Reformers, James Dalrymple of Stair spent his youth partly as a regent at the University of Glasgow, and partly in the profession of arms; occasionally mingling the two, as when he appeared "in buff and scarlet" at the competitive examination by which regents in those days were selected. In the University he may even have taught theology, as he certainly did logic. But on coming to Edinburgh he rapidly rose at the Scottish bar among the men who made that the great age of Scotch law. Cromwell made him a judge, Charles II., on the restoration, confirmed it, and in 1671 he took the chief seat as president of the Court of Session. In 1681, being superseded in consequence of the Duke of York's influence, he published his great work, the *Institutions*, and next year fled to Holland from Claverhouse and other too watchful neighbours. He remained in Holland, conversant with the lawyers, and no doubt the divines, of Leyden and Utrecht, till 1689; and coming over with William of Orange, was, in his seventieth year, again appointed president of the Court. His long life (recently recorded and annotated with judicial impartiality by Professor Mackay of the University of Edinburgh) shews, in addition to comprehensive abilities and great industry, a certain characteristic mildness and moderation, which carried him through that troubled century without encountering serious shocks or downfalls, while at the same time he is not chargeable with base compliances. His book on the Divine perfections was, as we have seen, published in the last year of his life. It had the benefit, therefore, in the fullest degree, of that varied experience which his admirers trace in his purely legal works.[1] But there is no reason to think that it was wholly, or even chiefly, written in his old age. It is much more likely to have

[1] "His opportunities had been unrivalled, and he used them all. Hence his *Institutions* will probably never be surpassed, for it is in the highest degree improbable that to equal talent, there will ever again be granted equal experience."—Professor Mackay's *Memoir*, p. 171.

been part of the fruit of the enforced leisure of his exile for six years in Holland, where we know that he published a *Physiologia Nova Experimentalis.* And just before he fled to Holland, there is a remarkable piece of evidence that his theological inquiries dated from an earlier period than his residence there. In the contract with the printer in 1681 for printing his *Institutions*, that artist is taken bound to print also "a treatise, containing four inquiries concerning Humane Knowledge, Natural Theology, Moralitie, and Phisiologie." Of these four there can be little doubt that the inquiry into "Natural Theology" was substantially, if not in form, the same speculation as we have afterwards in the *Meditations* published in 1695. It is satisfactory, at least, to have proof that while the theological treatise of our great lawyer in his last years fell into a more popular and devotional form, his original "inquiries" into the subject date from the full maturity of his powers—from the very year, indeed, in which these powers produced their noblest monument.

But what has Scotch law to do with the divine perfections? Or was it a mere accident that led the chief writer on the one subject to take up the other? No one who has studied Stair, even on the legal side, can entertain such an idea. His *Institutions*, indeed, is not a theological or even a philosophical treatise. It never wholly "loses itself in generalities;" on the contrary, as one of his editors remarks, "by its apparent minuteness of statement, it repels the youthful jurist, while it is the unceasing subject of study to the mature and practical lawyer." It is in no respect by its mere form that it connects itself with principle and theory. It is because it flows from the pen of a great mind, itself dwelling in the region of theory, and so imbued with principle as to be able to apply it incessantly to the moving mass of human concerns. But so great is his power in the region of principle, that these very *Institutions* have often been regarded rather as a treatise on general jurisprudence, illustrated by references to the law of Scotland, than as a mere treatise on that law itself. They have been compared to a "universal grammar," where the writer keeps in view one particular language, and from it illustrates his general principles. But let us read Stair's own account of his project. In the first sentences of his *Institutions* he narrates how, having purposed to write on the law of

Scotland, not for judges and lawyers only, but for all persons of honour and discretion—

"I did resolve to raise my thoughts and theirs to a distinct consideration of the fountains and principles of the peculiar law of all nations, which common reason makes intelligible to the judicious, when plainly and orderly proposed, and therefore have always, in the first place, set forth that common rule of material justice by which mankind ought to govern themselves, though they had no positive statutes or customs; then, shewing how these are thence introduced." And he adds: "No man can be a knowing lawyer in any nation who hath not well pondered and digested in his mind the common law of the world, from whence the interpretation, extensions, and limitations of all statutes and customs must be brought."

This "common law of the world"[1] leads up to the doctrine of God, or theology in the strict sense, in at least three ways noticed by Stair. It is, in the first place, subjectively a law written in the hearts and consciences of all men originally, and therefore, of course, traceable to their Creator as its implanter. But, in the next place, it is not a blind feeling that is so implanted. "It is called the *law of nature*, because it ariseth from the congruency or conveniency of nature, and thence is known by the light of nature." And holding this view of conscience as arising from a perception by men of the nature of things, and especially of their own nature, Stair is of course led by another road objectively to the author of that nature. But this is not all. Law in his view is not a merely human thing divinely implanted. It fills all things, and fills them necessarily, and is therefore divine as well as human, and divine before it is human. His definition is, "Law is the dictate of reason, determining every rational being to that which is congruous and convenient for the nature and condition thereof." And so, even God Almighty, though absolutely free, "doth unchangeably determine himself by his goodness, righteousness, and truth, which therefore make the absolute sovereign divine law. And *the same is also the law of all rational creatures*, by which they ought to determine and rule their free actions; but the congruity and conveniency of their nature affords them other dictates of their reason, which quadrate not with the divine nature, such as adoration,

[1] "Hæc non scripta, sed nata, lex: quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus; verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus: ad quam non docti, sed facti; non instituti, sed imbuti sumus."—*Cicero pro Milone.*

obedience, common to angels and men." We shall see in the present paper that there underlies these words of the *Institutions* a remarkable theory of congruity, not merely to, but *in*, the divine nature, which was only unfolded in a treatise published in the year of his death. But let us in the meantime observe that he makes "the common law of the world" to be essentially the same with that which rules in the divine being and actings; which has, indeed, there its proper and original seat, and the perception of which when transferred to men is the source of all positive laws, statutes, and customs. His theory would seem not only to be that, as Burke says, "all human laws are, properly speaking, only declaratory,"[1] but that the universal human law, which particular legislatures attempt to declare, is one in essential form with that divine law which reigns in the nature as well as the works of God. We have as yet not transcribed a word from the treatise on the divine perfections, but we have said enough to excite a legitimate curiosity about what a man so eminent, in a region held by himself to be cognate to theology, has to say upon the latter. The following words from the preface of his great work (from which alone we have quoted), while they bring out that all human laws are mere "just and fit" applications of a higher, have a nobility and stateliness sufficient of themselves to attract us to his treatment of that higher law in its native seat.

"It is but little short of forty years since I have followed the study and practice of law, constantly and diligently, so that those who will not deny me reason and capacity, can hardly deny my knowledge and experience in the subject I write of. My modesty did not permit me to publish it, lest it should be judicially cited where I sat; but now becoming old, I have been prevailed with to print it while I might oversee the press. It was not vanity and ambition that set me on work, but being so long a servant to God and your majesty in the matter of justice, I thought it my duty *not to smother my thoughts of the immaculate righteousness of God Almighty in his moral law, and of the justness and fitness of your Majesty's laws.*"

So he wrote in 1681; and not till fourteen years after does he come to treat of law in what another great writer calls its

[1] Professor Lorimer's recent *Institutes of Law* are nowhere so powerful as where they point out, and I think demonstrate, that all positive laws of all countries are mere expositions and applications of one universal law.

native seat, "the bosom of God." The "Vindication" is divided into eighteen "meditations." The order of the earlier perfections meditated upon is—1. Upon God's being a Spirit. 2. Upon his self-existence and eternity. 3. Upon God's omniscience. 4. Upon the will and pleasure of God. 5. Upon the power of God. 6. Upon the oneness of God. 7. Upon God's freedom. 8. Upon the blessedness of God, implying his self-sufficiency, self-comprehension, his infinite love to, and delight in, himself.

Then follows a chapter, which, as we shall afterwards see, has a special interest, on "God's Holiness or Godlikeness." The perfections which precede this chapter, and are above enumerated, he calls God's "natural, necessary, and immanent" attributes; and he makes here the transition to "his voluntary perfections, the effects whereof are terminate upon creatures." These last are also considered in eight chapters, in the following order:—1. God's unchangeableness. 2. Goodness. 3. Truth. 4. Justice. 5. Mercy. 6. Faithfulness. 7. Wisdom. 8. Dominion. Each of these "meditations" generally ends with a prayer. The method is a good one with a view to edification and devotion, and Stair gives excellent reasons for it in his introductory chapter. But it probably indicates that the now aged judge had abandoned the idea of claiming public attention to his "Inquiry concerning Natural Theologie," as a unity, and had re-written it into chapters for his own reading and that of thoughtful private Christians in general.

It retains, however, in each part, the lucid order and march of reason which characterise his other works. It has some passages which are striking in relation to the theory of law and of politics. It would, I have no doubt, be interesting historically to any one sufficiently acquainted with the Protestant theology of France and Holland at the time of Stair's exile. And it has at least one characteristic which is attractive to the student of the ethics of theism, or the divine and archetypal forms of the great moral ideas.

The following passage, for example, on the origin of the judicial power of society,[1] is equal to anything written by Stair in the highest vigour of his powers. Observe especially

[1] From the chapter, "Upon the Justice of God," p. 184.

the parallel drawn by our great lawyer between private or municipal and international law. The sword is delegated by God, not to the individual nor directly to the magistrate, but through mankind as a whole to the magistrates whom they appoint to exercise God's justice. The original responsibility rests upon the whole people, and is discharged by them through their delegates. So with nations, whom international law considers as so many individuals. They too are a whole, a family; and only as a whole have they that dread power given them from above. A nation *has no right* to make war upon another without having first submitted the case to arbitration, any more than a private individual has to hang one who has injured him. Indeed the principle goes further, and would extirpate all fighting, except in self-defence, whether on the part of nations or individuals. In every case where parties irreconcilably differed, the council of all nations, sitting in judgment, would pronounce and enforce its decree. The wild justice of revenge would cease among nations, as it has long since done among individuals.

"Judicial justice is only to be performed by those who have not only power to judge, but do proceed in the way of judgment, whereby it is distinguished from distributive justice strictly taken. Judges do distribute punishments according to merit, and rewards also, as they are able, according to the merits of the parties; and in most cases of distributive justice, private persons are relieved, and are liable to no debt even to God, in so far as he hath devolved the sole power upon civil judges. Before these were constituted, every man was obliged to reward and punish as he had ability and opportunity. The command of God, immediately after the Deluge, *Whosoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*, is not a prediction, for then it had not been true, but is a precept, not directed to civil judges, for then there were none, nor to fathers, though there were; but 'man' is as large in the one part of the precept as in the other. It is not said, Whosoever sheds man's blood, by that man or his relation his blood shall be shed; for he that's killed or disabled cannot shed his blood who did it, nor ought he to be judge or avenger of it, where another can be had, which is the prerogative of God alone. Men may defend themselves against injury, which is not by distributive or judicial justice, but by the obligation they owe to God to preserve those lives whereof he alone is master; but they may not avenge themselves without a judge knowing the evidence of the fact, though he be not a civil judge having an authoritative superiority. Kings and states ought not to be both judges and parties where others can be had; but before they enter in war, they ought to demand satisfaction, and

give sufficient evidence of the fact, and not decline arbitriment, where an indifferent judge can be found. Nor do they judge their own cause against their subjects, but by judges, though constituted by themselves, yet sworn to do justice between them and their subjects without respect of parties, not only in respect of their civil rights, but in crimes and injuries against themselves. It is of this kind of justice that princes and states interpose between their neighbours entering in war, where no arbitration hath preceded; and they cannot justly concur with the injured without a preceding judgment, for it would choke (shock?) humanity to think that they might kill men by implicit faith or report, much less by kindness" (*i.e.* kinship) "or contract. By this justice men are not only obliged to act as judges, but as witnesses, by giving their own testimonies, or any evidence they have, or can cause any in their power to give. *Avenge not yourselves* is not with a restriction to private persons; *vengeance is God's*, and can only be done by himself, or by his warrant. I know the perverseness, and even inadvertance, of men makes them run upon their adversary, to give themselves that great but inhuman pleasure of revenge, not so much delighting in justice as in the misery of the injurer; yet the mighty God hath not only said, but sworn, that he *delights not in the death of a sinner.*"

The theological interest of the volume must be left to be described by readers who are more competent to estimate it. The English and Scotch influences which affected public life stretching from the Assembly of 1638 to several years after the Revolution, may easily be imagined. It extended through the days of Laud and Leighton and Rutherfurd and Locke and Hobbes; of the bishops, the curates, and the covenant; of the standards of Westminster, the timid Arminianism of Scotch Episcopacy, and the approaching chill of Moderatism. But it is no doubt also influenced to some extent by Stair's Continental relations. He expressly refers to "new mistakes like that of the Pelagians, taken up by some of the Protestant Church in France," which he thinks should be tenderly dealt with, though "all these ways of general and amissible grace do much encroach upon the wisdom of God." Still, "I do not doubt but many of these men abhor Pelagianism, which makes me always hope that there may be a reconciliation between these and other Protestants, which are commonly called Reformed." And he argues for himself, that "men ought to be satisfied that through Christ there is an universal grace purchased, given or offered, and refused, which sufficiently satisfieth the many expressions in Scripture, of *Christ's dying for all men*, yea, for every man, and for the sins of the world." These passages come in under the last chapter, whose full title

includes "The Dominion" (*dominium*) "of God, and his Dispensations thereof towards his rational creatures, especially by the Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace," an expanded and elastic description, which we must regard as a "protestation to add and eke" to a treatise on the divine perfections whatever of theological interest might occur to the writer before laying down the pen. As a general rule however, the discussion on each attribute is admirably restricted to its proper contents, and the illustrations of the perfections of the divine nature drawn from Scripture and history do not exceed the proper bounds of a meditation. The meditations certainly make large use of scholastic and theological definition; but this is veiled by the absence of the pedantry of quotation, and by the manifest absorption of the theological apparatus into the working machinery of the writer's mind. The book is indeed essentially a popular one; it is all pure English and strong reason. It was written for those hard-headed, though perhaps unlearned, readers who were for centuries to be found among all classes of Scotchmen, not excluding the peasantry: and such readers still peruse it, rather with the sense of encountering in the unknown author a fresh and original mind, than with the embarrassment of dealing with masses of technical divinity in the highest of all regions.

Assuming therefore that there may be many things in Stair's treatise interesting to the historical theologian, I pass from them, and confine myself to one characteristic of it which belongs quite as much to ethics as to the doctrine of God. The book is throughout an argument, that all the enumerated perfections *necessarily* belong to God, and are proper to him. And this characteristic seems to be alluded to in the title, a "*Vindication* of the Divine Perfections." A "vindication," in modern English, has come to mean a defence, or a justification. Stair himself uses it in this sense, and in this very book. But that is a corruption, and as a lawyer, he was in the daily habit of using the word in its proper and original signification. Vindication is a civil law word, and means the claiming of a thing as already and absolutely one's own.[1] It is thus distin-

"[1] Appellamus in rem actiones, *vindicationes;* in personam vero actiones, quibus dare aut facere oportere intenditur, *condictiones.*" — *Institutes.* "Vindicare nihil aliud est, quam aliquid sibi asserere, et suum esse dicere." — *Vinnius in loco.*

guished from other claims which we may make to be put in possession of what we have a right to get, but which is not yet ours. We do not, for example, vindicate a debt, or a sum which is due to us; we simply claim it. We "vindicate" that which is already ours and in our possession, against all interferences by others with our property or against their claims to it. It is, I believe, in this sense, partly at least, that Lord Stair uses the word he has chosen to bind together his meditations. The divine perfections, he brings out, are not mere attributions which God may fitly claim, and which the creature may rightly ascribe; or even which God, in point of fact, eternally possesses. They are proper to Him, absolutely and necessarily his; and they may all be vindicated as his to the understanding of any one who will look at them in their true sequence and order. For "though they be without all composition in the fullest simplicity, yet they must necessarily be conceived by creatures as some being prior, and others being posterior, in order of nature." And as their relation to God is essential and eternal, so is their relation to each other.

Accordingly the most striking and characteristic part of Stair's treatise is that in which he discusses the relation between the natural and moral perfections of God respectively. How are the moral related to the natural? What is the hinge between them. How are we to move from the one to the other? The key to this is given in the peculiar title of the tenth meditation, viz., "Upon God's Holiness or Godlikeness." He here argues that, "When I inquire, Why doth God punish sin? and resolve that it is because he is just; if I yet further inquire, Why is God unchangeably just? I cannot but think it is *either* because it is congruous to his glorious nature to be unchangeably just, or, that he is unchangeably just, only because he will be so." The latter alternative, which founds God's justice and other perfections on his will to possess them, he discusses and rejects in the first place. "Whatsoever depends upon mere will, is ambulatory and changeable by an opposite act of the same will, and both acts would be equally good." And the following passage, in which the same is argued out, is striking, on more grounds than one:—

"I know it sounds harshly to some pious and well-meaning souls, to say that God governs his actions by a law, supposing it to import that he is under a law, which it doth not import. For God is neither under nor

above his own moral law, for he is a law unto himself. . . . It would sound harsher to these tender souls to say they worshipped a lawless God. It breeds horror to think how like these mistakes would render God to tyrants, who cannot hear of any other rule of their subjects' obedience, but *such is our pleasure*, and who would have themselves thought to be above all law, and to be tied by no obligation to their subjects."

It is interesting to think of these last words as written by the old judge, who in his exile, seven years before their publication, demanded of William of Orange what his true design was in invading an absolute monarch, and being satisfied, "pulled off his wig," and pointing to his bare head, answered, "Though I be now in the seventieth year of my age, I am willing to venture *that*, and my own and my children's fortunes, in such an undertaking." It is more important, however, to remember that the controversy with Hobbes had revived a universal interest in that theory of *will*, as the source of truth and right, which is generally associated with the name of Occam; and that Cudworth's *Eternal and Immutable Morality*, published posthumously the year after the *Vindication*, has for its chief motive the refutation of this view—a view which the Cambridge men professed to find favoured by Calvinism, as well as by the thinkers on the other side. Stair also is, in this passage, one of those who "hammered upon Hobbes' steel cap." But the whole book is one protest against the idea of an arbitrary morality, and accordingly the usefulness, as well as lawfulness, of inquiry into the divine nature is next argued, as tending to produce love and adoration. In any case, "none can justly blame me to clear my own thoughts, and raise them as high as I can; and I do bless God for the increase of love and reverence he gives me thereby." He reverts therefore to his question, "Why are God's decrees and actings good or holy?" And if the answer is, "Because he himself is good or holy," he asks, "What is the *meaning* of holiness or goodness, as applied to God?" He answers, by translating holiness into godliness or *Godlikeness;* and in the following important passage he explains what he means by the word:—

"I am persuaded that the rise of most of God's decrees and dispensations are, from the congruity thereof to his natural perfections, as becoming and being worthy of such a being. I say it is a congruity to his natural, not to his moral perfections; for he is not just because he is

true, nor true because he is just, nor gracious or merciful because he is just or true. But when I consider what is congruous to, worthy, and becoming a Spirit omniscient, omnipotent, self-existent, all-sufficient, infinitely blessed, free and independent, and then put the question to myself, Must not such a being be just, exactly fulfilling all his promises, encouraging and rewarding the good, discouraging and punishing the evil, according to their merit? I am fully persuaded he must be such, not by a fatal necessity, nor by mere indifferency, but by a voluntary and free choice. And when I further pose myself, Whether such a being will only perform his promises, reward and punish according to merit? I am convinced it is congruous to him to be good, bountiful, gracious, and merciful beyond what his justice requires, and that without any bounds, as in his justice, which precisely follows his promise, or what is congruous for him to do upon occasion of the good or evil actions of his creatures. When I consider, Whether such a being will always express his mind truly, and never deceive? I can have no doubt of it. If again I consider, Whether such a being will ever choose fitted means for all his purposes, and do nothing in vain? I am assured that he is infinite in wisdom, and will do nothing in vain. And lastly, when I consider, Whether such a being will ever be consistent in his purpose, and be unchangeable therein, and in his justice, bounty, truth, and wisdom? I know he cannot change in these, because they are all congruous to his unchangeable nature. By this congruity I understand God's holiness or Godlikeness; that is, that God always acteth like himself."

And, accordingly, the second half of the treatise is occupied with the working out of these "perfections," in their proper order of congruity to the divine nature. But this congruity he fixes, in the first place, as the moral quality in them:—

"I do not take holiness to be as a metaphysical abstract from all God's moral perfections, but that it is the precise and formal reason why they are morally good." And "God's holiness or Godlikeness is, that God acteth always like himself."

We shall see afterwards, as we have seen already in part, how he transfers this moral quality of holiness to a lower sphere than that of the divine nature. But he here argues that in that supreme sphere it exists, and consists in congruity. "The Scripture doth not express and define wherein holiness consists, but by the expression of godliness or likeness to God;" and he even attempts by this theory to throw a ray of light on the abyss of the origin of evil. We must not explicate godliness by goodness, in the sense of reducing it to goodness. On the contrary, "we must explain God's goodness with congruity to his nature, which comprehends his freedom,

whereby it is not congruous to him to communicate all the good he can, which would never terminate nor be stable; but that he acteth freely, and that it were impossible for us to know what good he hath done or will do, if he had not revealed it." Goodness here is probably taken as equivalent to benevolence. But if we are to take all the divine virtues, including benevolence, together, what common moral quality do they possess? "The Greeks," he says, "the learnedest of nations, have no other word to express virtue but τὸ πρέπον, that which is comely and becoming; and therefore the divine virtues cannot be fitlier expressed than by θεοπρέπεια, and the human virtues by ἀνθρωπρέπεια. By the reasonings in Scripture from what is becoming, God doth assure his unchangeable justice; *shall the Judge of all the earth do unjustly?*" He grants that "no serious man can imagine that every indecent gesture or expression is a sin." Morality is not the same as æsthetic. But it is parallel to it, and that even in the highest region. When we ask, Why does God do such things? and are answered, Because he wills to do them, the question always recurs, Why doth he will them? But "when this return is made, that these are congruous to, and suitable or becoming such a nature, that is rested in as a self-evident proposition. For as God hath imprinted on the soul of man by sense a self-evident apprehension of proportion, symmetry, and beauty, of which no man craveth, nor can any man give, an anterior reason, so there is more reason, and no less clearness, that he hath given the like evidence to the mind, in the apprehension of what is congruous, suitable, and becoming an infinitely blessed and all-sufficient Being." Again, in the concluding sentence of the discussion, he argues, that as beauty is a sort of comeliness or becomingness, and "the proper nature of glory is shining or resplendent beauty, so majesty is the beauty or comeliness of sovereign princes, and in the highest degree of God alone. And yet it is wholly in symmetry and suitableness to what becomes that greatness; and therefore holiness or Godlikeness must needs comprehend the most transcendent glory and majesty in the divine deportment of God by his voluntary actings, suitable to his divine natural perfection."

So much for the passage, which I have called the hinge of the book; through which all the latter, or active and voluntary perfections are shewn to rest and revolve upon the former or

natural attributes.[1] "It *became* him, for whom are all things," to be and to do what he has chosen to do and to become. The concluding paragraph of the "Godlikeness" chapter brings down the same principle from the solemn heights of the divine nature to the whole duty of man. "The holiness of God *and of creatures* consisteth in the congruity of their voluntary actions to their natures," is Stair's most general statement in this book, and it reminds one of his still more general definition of Law in the *Institutions*. "Law is the dictate of reason, determining every rational being to that which is congruous and convenient for the nature and condition thereof." Whatever defects may be alleged in a principle so comprehensive as to embrace God and his intelligent creatures, it is not faulty as in any sense equalising Him and them. For among his natural attributes, as stated by Stair, are sovereignty and all-sufficiency; among theirs, dependence and subservience; and from both there results, on the one principle of congruity, an obligation of obedience even to his "voluntary and positive laws."[2] Yet the whole tendency of the speculation is to throw positive law, even of God, into the background. Hence, "divine law is that mainly which is written in man's heart" (*Inst.* vol. i. pp. 1, 3), and it is largely expounded, while voluntary and positive laws of God "in themselves are mutable, and as they had a beginning, so some of them had, and others of them shall have, an end." The same thing is the case with human laws, and one of the most curious things in his great work is the long *apology* he makes for the existence of positive law at all in the world, and in particular in Scotland.[3] But in the *Vindication* we have,

[1] William Wisheart, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in his *Theologia*, published in 1716, has a paragraph in which he defines God's holiness as "congruousness to himself." He does not, however, define created holiness as conformity to the nature of the creature; and if the definition in the divine region is borrowed from Stair, it is not carried out into any of the analogies or consequences into which the latter pursues it. Wisheart's whole book shews much more reading than originality or power of assimilation.

[2] "Reason doth determine mankind yet further from the conveniency of his nature and state, to be humble, penitent, careful, and diligent."—*Inst.* vol. i. p. 1.

[3] *Inst.* v . i. p. 15. So in the advertisement to the edition of 1693. "The law and light of nature and of reason is the general rule of justice for the whole world. And the law and customs of nations, whether common or peculiar, should do no more, but clear and ascertain that general law of mankind, by describing the forms, orders, and expedients for making it effectual, and altering the course thereof in things which God Almighty hath left in the

with regard to "heavenly things," the same—if I may recall a word which I remember coined extemporarily by Professor Wilson in his oral lectures on Ethics—the same *intercompenetration* of eternal reason with the universe of movement and circumstance, which in the lower sphere is the well-known excellence of the "founder of the law of Scotland."

As regards the history of Ethics, we may note that Stair's book, published in 1695, preceded that powerful school of English thinkers which in the following century founded morals upon the "fitness of things." The theory of Dr Clarke and of Dr Price is essentially the same with that of the Scotch judge; and the former, in his "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God," carried it with universal applause into the region with which we have seen Stair deal. But while Clarke takes the attributes in generally the same order, and argues (Proposition xii.) "that the supreme cause and author of all things must of necessity be a being of infinite moral perfections, such as become the supreme governor and judge of the world," he does not separate the two classes of attributes with the like contrast, nor does he make the one class depend upon the other with the same instructive clearness, as the lawyer does. It has generally been held that this whole school, in basing morals on the relations or fitnesses of things, or (which comes to the same thing) upon conformity to nature, went too far in the direction of objectivity, and gave room for the reaction in this country towards the view of a subjective moral sense as propounded by Hutcheson. But it deserves consideration whether the sole fault in theorists like Stair and Clarke and Price is not, that they seem occasionally in words to *identify* moral rectitude with conformity to nature, instead of merely basing the one upon the other. The two ideas are certainly not the same, and a moral faculty of some sort is necessary to superadd in us the moral idea to the mere intellectual idea of conformity to nature—if it does not also intimate to us (by what Kant calls a "synthetic *a priori*" judgment) that conformity to nature is "right." Stair, we may say in passing, does not seem to have considered this question deliberately; but the very large place he gives in his legal treatise to conscience, as the law "written in man's heart," and a "law of nature, known naturally or

power of men, which by their contracts or statutes they may dispose of as they see convenient."

immediately, like unto those instincts which are in the other creatures," shews that he would have no difficulty in going at least as far with the "Scotch school" as seems desirable. Meantime, congruity to nature is with him the standard of morality, if not morality itself.

But is this not just the old doctrine of the Stoics? In part it is; and the problem how Stoicism and theism might be united is one which has often presented itself to the philosophic imagination. But we prefer to close with another suggestion. The great Scotch lawyer has fallen back in his theism on the stoic foundation. Was it strange that he should do so? The greatest lawyers that ever lived, the men who built up the most magnificent fabric of public reason the world can even yet shew—the jurists of the imperial age of Rome—were Stair's constant counsellors and assessors. And they were Stoics. In that age of majestic decay not yet visible from without, of external splendour with inward satiety, of crumbling traditions and vanishing ideals and pure hopes lost in impure fulfilment—amid all this, these men found stoicism enough, not indeed for happiness, but for greatness. The hard, proud doctrine of conformity to man's true nature was barely enough to live upon—but it sometimes strengthened them to die. And when through the languid and corrupting body of society there shot the pulse of a new theism, would it have been strange if some of these men, wearied with a fruitless self-sufficiency, had not only recognised dependence upon God as congruous to human nature, but had transferred their old doctrine of congruity from the constitution of man, to the inward nature and attributes of the new-found Personal centre of all?

ALEX. TAYLOR INNES.

ART. V.—*Comparative Religion an Apologetical Basis for Christian Doctrine.*[1]

WERE there no help but to drift with the shifting tides of prevalent opinion, the man who in these days is called to be a teacher of Christian theology might well shrink

[1] A Lecture delivered at the opening of session 1876–77 in the Free Church College, Aberdeen.

dismayed from his task. But if the clear voice of history, sustaining the deep witness of the spiritual consciousness, helps him to strength of purpose for such a vocation, it intimately concerns him not to misread those popular verdicts to which, nevertheless, he must rise superior. Neither is it difficult to measure the pulse that beats in current sentiment. Present tendencies bend decisively in the direction of stiff prepossession against that science which in many previous ages has had accorded to it an imperial place among all sciences, which has been the foster-mother of genius, the minister of art in its loftiest creations, and man's directress in the profoundest instincts of worship. More religion, or better, more morality; but at least no more theology, absolutely no dogmatics—these are among the shrillest cries which for the nonce pierce our firmament.

Things have vastly altered. Time was when theology reigned the grand monopolist, absorbing all sciences, metaphysical and natural, everywhere uplifting itself as the *suzerain* to whom all other studies bent the knee, by whose spirit every branch of research was dominated. Trains of centuries appear, in which one queenly figure is seen inspiring, controlling, engrossing human genius. Through the long avenue of generations, stretching from Augustine to Abelard, theology is in the main the arbitress in all inquiry. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say with Guizot that the theological spirit is "the blood which ran in the veins of the European world down to Bacon and Descartes." It is quite within the truth to affirm with him, that at least "from the fifth to the twelfth centuries it is theology that possessed and directed the human spirit."[1]

But days have come of a naturalistic rather than a theological temper, not of stagnation (God be thanked!) but of intellectual intoxication, in which many a disintegrating force is at work on old beliefs. The ancient moulds into which faith's intelligence once was cast are passed again through the crucible. All doctrines are called to maintain themselves in the face of powerful and persistent assault. It is theology now that has to beg its bit of bread, and humbly crave its little corner, fearing that there may be found for it no room in the inn.

[1] *History of Civilisation in Europe*, vol. i. p. 114. (Bohn's edition.)

There has been something of *Nemesis* in the change. It cannot be concealed that theology has been at times too much of a despot and usurper. There have been whole eras in which it has hardened into a corset, encasing and cramping man's free intellect. Too rapidly its quickening periods of genial revival have congealed into a frigid, biting dogmatism. Too often it has made more of its own dead forms than of the living Christ, whom it is its glory to present to the quick appetencies of faith. For neither party could it ever have been good that theology and science should occupy relations under which the former became mistress and the latter slave, the one (to use the familiar metaphor of Leibnitz) the imperious Sarah in possession of the house, the other the humiliated Hagar, driven forth with her Ishmael when she dared to hint revolt. The retribution which follows the failure entailed by over-largeness of promise, and punishes the arrogance that claims the whole where but the part is due, has in some measure entered.

It is the time-spirit now that lifts up its voice in the street. Emitting its oracles by such of its hierophants as Henry Buckle, and John Morley, and Viscount Amberley, and the Duke of Somerset, and a hundred more, it finds no weariness in the iteration of its austere assertion that Christianity as a practice has shrivelled into imbecility, and as a doctrine must give way to the superior ideas of philosophy. Heralds announce the advance of an intellectual revolution, in the face of which an ancestral religious faith must disappear as chaff before the whirlwind. Culture is credited with the supreme success of driving theology off the field. Men of education are supposed to be no longer capable of believing what apostles and evangelists believed and taught.[1] Things unexampled hitherto are predicted for the human mind, which at length, waxing in strength, "learns to rely upon its own resources, and to throw off incumbrances by which the freedom of its movements has been long impaired."[2] When even men of a devout spirit join in the outcry against "formulated theology," as among the chief "stumbling-blocks in the way of Christ's influence,"[3] one can understand

[1] See the Duke of Somerset's *Christian Theology and Modern Scepticism.*

[2] Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, vol. ii. p. 263. [3] See *Ecce Deus*, p. 88.

at what a discount that science, which to Bacon was "the Sabbath and haven of all man's labours and peregrinations, sacred and inspired divinity," is now widely rated, and how clamant is the demand to cast it off as a dead weight upon the genius of modern times.

But must we say of the religion of Christ that to-day its "failure is too patent"?[1] Must we look upon the doctrine of Christ as proved, after fair trial, to be nothing more than a transient phase of the spiritual sentiment of humanity? Is it so obvious that the creed inherited from more earnest ages can in no way be maintained? Have we been wrong in supposing religion to have been the handmaid of civilisation? Is it religion that is indebted to culture, not culture to religion? Is it the case that "the history of the civilisation of the earth is the history of the civilisation of Olympus also?"[2] Have we to take to the unknown and unknowable as the object of our worship? Are we compelled to believe that theology's day is gone by, and that its doctrines are only the traditions of times of ignorance, fond superstitions in which modern intelligence can discern nothing higher than an antiquarian interest, or the immature issue of a train of mental evolution, which aims at a far grander consummation? Are its processes proved so false, and its dogmas so absolutely doomed, that the wisest thing the man abreast of his age can do is to imitate Strauss in declining to waste time in refuting them? Has it come to this between the Christian Church and the *Zeit-geist*, that to be proof against conviction is the worthiest attitude for the prophets of the latter to assume toward the most cherished beliefs of the former, or that the only notice which the intellect of the one need deign to extend to the faith of the other is to crave, like another Diogenes before a fated Alexander, that it cease to cast its shadow between it and the sun?[3]

In its peculiarly apologetical character, the present century is recognised as a counterpart to the second. Every branch of sacred science reflects the apologist's complexion. Systematic theology itself is compelled to seek an apologetical basis. With a rapid glance, therefore, at a single

[1] See Morley's *Critical Miscellanies*, pp. 190–191.

[2] Morley's *Critical Miscellanies*, p. 153.

[3] See Strauss' *Der alte und der neue Glaube*, 4th edition, p. 296.

stratum in that basis, we may not unfitly commence our work.

At least four great teachers offer their varying measures of guidance in this science. Of these the Bible is the first, the one which occupies an elevation and wields an authority exclusively its own, the register and monument of divine revelation, the only primary fount from which the streams of Christian doctrine must be drawn. Each age has to find a theology so drawn. For each must have its own theology. The forms in which every successive generation expresses those eternal truths of revelation which it discovers to be life for itself must be in some sense new. None can afford to live simply on the past. It is vain to seek our health in a mere repristination of the ancient and inherited. "To erect any one age (whether primitive or mediæval)," it has been well said, "into an idol is to deny implicitly that the gospel is life."[1] As the reviving energy of the oak in spring is in some degree fed by the shed leaves which have been lying all winter about its roots, so to a certain extent the theology of the present must grow out of the decay of the past. Hence the less dialectical and the more simply and directly biblical we can make ours, the more successfully shall we adapt it to the needs of the day. The doctrines or dogmas which our theology yields as its results will be best vindicated precisely as they are set in connection with those scriptural modes of presentation which alone can lend them vitality. And if they threaten to sink into mechanical formulæ, there is but one way in which we can re-establish them. That is to clothe them anew with that ethical value, that relation to the personal Christ, and that sympathy with spiritual experience with which they stand invested in the Bible, and which in former ages of their power made them like living creatures responding with living voices to the most secret questionings of the soul. A second teacher appears in History, which reveals the course by which each doctrine has fought its way to acceptance, and shews how the central dogmas of the faith are not things imposed *ab extra*, but were first in the general convictions of believers before they were formulated by the church. We find a third teacher in that inward witness, which has had its rights restored to it only in recent

[1] Westcott, in *Contemporary Review*, vol. vi. p. 420.

times, which demands handling so delicate, but which, when rightly used, is not unfruitful—the Christian consciousness, correctly designated as "neither the gold mine nor the master of the assay, but only the guardian treasurer of the hidden treasures of belief."[1] Yet another teacher we discover in the catholic consciousness of humanity, reflected in the religions of the world. Like the third, this fourth instructor comes with a distinctively apologetical ministry. This newest teacher, though so young, has secured an audience, and is destined to do great things. Do we find, then, in Comparative religion an apology for Christian truth? What apologetical basis for Christian doctrine is discernible in the world's faiths? For, as Mr Maurice justly affirms, "whatever has been found necessary in the course of six thousand years' experience, we have a right to ask of that which offers itself as the one faith for mankind."[2]

Reviewed from the "specular tower" of religious interest, the world, whether as we now see it or as history shews it to have been, presents the spectacle of an apparently endless variety and inexplicable confusion of practice and idea, through which few threads of connection can be traced. Everywhere, however, a closer inspection of the chaos of unrelated will-worships detects signs of catholic convictions, the sense of dependence, the impressions of accountability, the piercing feelings of guilt, the craving for propitiation, the instinct of prayer, the dim gropings after a Daysman. These are the deep roots out of which all religious systems expand, and, however grotesque may be the forms assumed, we have in these at least some witness to the operation of a religious sentiment which translates man in his profoundest sensibilities out of himself. Hence alongside the fact which first arrests our attention, viz., the incalculably varied shapes in which humanity's faith expresses itself, we have to set as a second, the world-pervading presence of a common spiritual instinct which, as it glimmers obscurely above the dark canopy of ignorance and degradation, and struggles after some articulate declaration through the grossest observances and rudest conceptions, at once suggests the existence of deeper points of affinity and richer values than

[1] Oosterzee's *Christian Dogmatics*, p. 24.
[2] *Religions of the World*, p. 162.

are at first obvious. A rare philosophical interest must therefore attend the attempt to reduce these multitudinous religions to their radical types, to trace the nerves of sympathy between them, to map out the careers they have run and the races they have dominated, and above all to carry them back to those primal movements of mind in which they have had their rise. Nor is the speculative the only attraction. There is a real practical interest here. The more carefully we gauge the genius of those modes and articles of worship, the more adequate may be our understanding of Christianity itself, the more clearly shall we know what the churches have got to deal with over the whole heathen field, the better shall we be secured against the mistake of coping with all its types in a single stereotyped fashion. The more distinctly also shall we see how the grand elements of Christian truth and the venerable forms of Christian doctrine find testimonies to their reality, value, and permanence, where a narrower historical criticism discovers only intractable antagonisms.

We indicate but a little segment of what is becoming one of the commanding studies of our time, with which the theologian, least of all men, can afford to continue unacquainted. With the process of the ages old systems demand to be tested by new instruments. The progress of scientific method, which in all other branches of inquiry has been bearing in the direction of the principle of comparison, demands that our religious problems be dealt with more and more on the same broad scale, in order that here too our results may rest on the largest possible area of facts, be substantiated by legitimate verification, and establish themselves on grounds upon which highest knowledge elsewhere has been acquired. The new instrument by which Christian beliefs, and the doctrinal expressions of these beliefs, call to be tested is this science, which has for its mission to demonstrate on grounds of historical investigation what measure of religious truth man has been able, apart from explicit revelation, to reach or regain, what each of the systems so struck out could or could not do for humanity, what the catholic instincts of the soul have been, and to what poles in Christian truth they have tremulously, yet truly, pointed.

Philosophy, as Professor Goldwin Smith so frequently

reminds us, should have taught us by this time that opinions, however strange, which have swayed masses of our fellow-beings for generations, must have been something more than the selfish inventions of priests and statesmen, or the visionary dreams of unregulated fancy. It has led us to search for their deep-lying provocatives. This new science will shew, on the basis of the widest possible induction—an induction which brings each man's individual convictions to the test of a vast array of similar convictions —whether the realisations of these things are seen in Christian truth, and whether there has been need of a special revelation of God to man, embracing such elements as Christ's gospel offers. If Christianity is to make good its claim to be the religion of the world, it must shew itself capable of gathering into a focus what has been struggling dimly towards the light in other systems, of meeting and illumining the instincts which have given them birth, of solving their riddles, of bringing their confusions into clearness, of presenting more livingly and spiritually what they have feebly aimed at. Thus shall it best be demonstrated whether the religion of Jesus Christ, with its grand characteristic doctrines, is more than one of the many outcomes of the natural religious sentiment, better than a temporary mode of faith suited to certain soils and periods, and destined to dissolve into new and higher forms, and whether in its distinctive theology it is possessed of aught more than a drapery, covering for a time a few elements of moral wisdom. It is in the track of Comparative religion that one broad apologetical basis for Christian truth, specially suited to our time, must be sought. And an acquaintance with this study will further help to arm us against that lack of insight into the peculiar pulsations of thought in our own day, to which the narrowness so often imputed to the theologian is traceable. It will make it easier for us, amid the clash of conflicting and effervescent opinions, to strike the fair mid-channel between the Scylla of a crass servitude which makes the *ancient* identical with the *absolute* expression of truth, and the Charybdis of a heady license which counts fixed principles or determinate statements an impertinence.

To expound this apologetical basis of Christian doctrine worthily, would lay upon us the serious task of classifying and characterising the great systems of humanity's religious faith, of finding out where their roots have lain in the human heart, and what has been the secret of their strength. It would impose the duty of discovering what elements of truth may have been latent in them, and in what relation these stand to the spiritual doctrines of Christianity. We should have to track, too, the historic paths which they have trodden, and the methods in which, as they have come to the surface from time to time within Christian circles, they have influenced Christian beliefs, dogmas, and observances. In the meantime we cannot discuss the various modes of analysis and classification which have been proposed. In illustration of our subject it will be enough to fix on one of these schemes. We may accept the *philosophical*, which classifies the world's faiths as so many theories of the universe. Religion has been defined as the synthesis of thought and sentiment, the co-ordination of reason and emotion. A belief which is mere reason without emotion, is a philosophy, and not a religion. A belief which is feeling alone without reason, is sentimentality or superstition, and not a religion.[1] Every genuine religious system is a theory of the world, but that "baptised with feeling." The principle of classification based upon this idea is the one which carries us into the region of abstract terms—atheism, monotheism, dualism, polytheism, pantheism.

It is a great question how many of these terms denote strictly independent types of faith. How many of them, speculatively regarded, embody certain views of life or the universe which have been steeped in sentiment, translated into reverence, and constituted the faiths of races or nations? That problem cannot be discussed at present. We must content ourselves with narrower limits. We may leave *monotheism* unnoticed, because the only anti-Christian monotheistic religion, Mohammedanism, is so largely a mere degradation of Christian truth. We must also take the liberty of simply omitting *atheism*. For the problem presented by Buddhism, whether there ever has existed a

[1] On this, see the discussions in Baring-Gould's *Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, vol. i.

system based on a distinctly atheistic foundation, and to which nevertheless the dignity of a *religion* must be accorded, is too large to look at here. We shall only glance at three elementary types of false religion, those normal types to which we believe others can be reduced, the Dualistic, Polytheistic, and Pantheistic. Each of these covers a distinct error respecting the relations of mind and matter, God and the world.

In the first of these, *Dualism*, we have the theory which solves the problem of the universe, by opposing spirit and matter to each other. It is the type which can be traced to the brooding of the religious instinct upon the two-fold action which seems to proceed everywhere, in the world of nature and in the world of mind. Man becomes painfully advertised of the fact, that objects exterior to him have, as it were, two aspects, under the one seeming to attain, and under the other to miss, the ends proper to them, so that they are at once great and vain, a blessing and a bane. He finds within himself a similar condition of mysterious contradictions. He becomes a paradox to himself. He feels as if his soul were like the Platonic chariot, drawn by two steeds stronger than the charioteer, and fiercely pulling in opposite directions. A solution for this riddle of a perpetual contention he must have. He thinks he finds it in the supposition that there exist in the universe two principles in natural and permanent antagonism. He fancies that the one has its abode in his own spirit, and the other its seat in material objects. He pictures the one as the potency of good, the other as the potency of evil; and these abstractions, the figures of matter and his own mind, become his divinities.

This has been the faith of some of the grandest dynasties of the ancient world. It was substantially the creed of the glorious days of the Babylonians, Medes, and Persians. Its splendours were lost or veiled when these mighty Oriental empires sank. In forms more or less pronounced, it was the animating genius of that great Zoroastrian faith which, established perhaps some fifteen or twenty centuries before Christ, wound itself into the life of vast tracts of Asia, passed after the Macedonian conquests to a large extent into the hands of Parthian polytheism; and, after a lengthened slumber, woke up about the third century of our era into

revived life in Magian ideas and elemental worship. This conception of two rival powers in the universe, to one of which, the evil one, the origin and administration of visible objects were given over, spread far beyond its original limits. Although it had to succumb ultimately to Islam, it almost dispossessed it of its capital. It attempted the subjugation of the West. It disseminated its tenets, at least for a period, in northern regions of Europe, in which races of Oriental descent settled. It incorporated itself into various philosophies and religions. It passed through several phases. In Persia, rising probably out of a monotheistic faith, it was borne on to elemental Magianism, and, subsequently to Alexander's march, issued in a form of pantheism. Originally teaching the simple tenet that all life is a struggle between Ormuzd and Ahriman, in which, as it would appear, the former was designed to triumph, it started the further question, Whether one was superior to the other, or both had a common ground? It found that common ground in Boundless Time, and in that form it entered into several heresies. It has run a marvellous course. Once so potent, and still retaining adherents to some of its characteristic modes in the Parsees of India, it has had to make so decided a surrender to Mohammedanism, that it can scarcely be said now to have any important national existence. Yet it has had a strange fascination. In the first ages of Christianity it was the doctrine most agitated. It penetrated deeply into the Church. It lay at the roots of many of the earliest deflections from the Christian faith, such as the Manichean. It cast its spells over minds like that of Augustine. We have seen how, in these late days, it could play off its witcheries on intellects like that of the late John Stuart Mill. Exaggerated theorising on the origin of evil, and the action of the personal spirit of evil, has been apt to carry Christian dogmatics too far in its direction. It is the clearest heathen witness to the consciousness of man's natural futility in the grasp of a conflict between design and attainment. It is the dogma which explains the problem of the universe, by simply opposing to each other mind and matter, man and the world.

But the same distinction differently conceived leads to a second type, the *Polytheistic*. With a less vivid perception

of the contradiction between two potencies in the soul and the world, it is possible to have a keener sense of dependence. In the silent bounty of the soil yielding its fruits in natural abundance, the nourishing showers falling seasonably from the skies, the ripening warmth of the sun, man can recognise how the things which he enjoys are the gifts of an unseen Power. In the scathing lightning, the destroying tempest, the wasting drought, the precariousness of existence, the limits hemming all capacity, he can see the crushing tokens of his subjection. There seem to be hands in the dark confining him on every side, and dealing out at their own will plenty or famine, joy or sorrow, life or death. Conscious that this Supreme Power is not within himself, he thinks he may find it in that which is nearest him, and yet distinct from him. He attributes life and supremacy to the world outside him. Nature becomes the lord to whom he surrenders. The sun, the sea, the earth, the sky, assume an ideal existence. These become his deities, and with their ministers he peoples the changeful objects and shifting phenomena of the external world. This is Polytheism, of the three types the least speculative, but the most capable of development, and the most adaptable to circumstances. According to the varying ranks of races in the scale of civilization, its forms are many. As giving the least thoughtful expression to the slumbering sense of an original connection with one Paternal God, and as usually making *idolatry* its ritual, it is the lowest order of faith. Yet it has been the creed not only of rude tribes, but of many of the most cultured peoples in all ages. It was the popular Egyptian religion, so far as that remained an adoration of centres of power in the animal creation. It was the current creed of Greece and Rome. Its sway is still retained over immense sections of the heathen world, embracing nations of many different degrees of civilisation, from the subtle Hindoo to the miserable Dyak of Borneo. Plastic variety is its characteristic. Among the most debased races it is a mere deification of the lifeless objects of the material world. But as the races advance, it takes a second order of forms, when men learn to look curiously into their own inner nature, and personify the energies which they there discover. In both forms it assumes a vast multiplicity of phases, as if

no bounds were set to its elasticity. Yet its root-idea remains constant. The objects of its deification increase for each separate territory, every changing movement of the elements, every distinct demonstration of the mind's activity, in wrath, in jealousy, and all vehement affections. But they attain to no greater breadth of conception. They never raise their votary above the world and his own passions. They never carry his sympathies beyond the petty limits of his own experience, his own country or city. Yet while characterised by such narrowness of intellectual conception, it is marked by uncommon activity of the imaginative powers. In one sense a prostration of mind before matter, in another it is the ascription to matter of the nobility felt in mind. Hence it rules the realm of fancy. It usually clothes its own nakedness in the robes of an extensive and multifarious mythology. That mythology begins in poetry, and is slow to give up its purely poetical form. In this garb it embodies at times thoughts upon the nature of things, the character and fortunes of man. But these for the most part are of the most rudimentary order. In general, it is not till the religious power of the creed is passing away that the mythology of polytheisms assumes a more didactic form. Thus in every way Polytheism shews itself incapable and impatient of pure thought, and prefers to cultivate the imaginative faculties. Hence it has called out most powerfully the æsthetic capacity, nurturing the poetic inspiration, fostering art, developing the natural sense of the beautiful. Its very idolatry, or its habit of exhibiting itself in mean, material forms, has contributed to this excellence. But with all that it has helped to achieve in poetry, painting, sculpture, and melody, it has done nothing to elevate man into high moral life, into personal purity, or broad charity. It is the religious sentiment, in its darkest and most earth-bound wanderings, craving after a God to worship and a Saviour to trust. Making mind the slave of matter, subjecting the consciousness of man, in the deep instincts of its reverence, to nature, or sombre powers behind nature, it is the most superficial theory of the mystery of things. It is the dogma which cheats the brooding soul of man with the least reflective solution of its difficulty. Yet how vast has been its power! How potent

is its spell still! Need we recall in what measure it has even paganised Christian faith and practice? In the worship of saints and angels, is it difficult to recognise the re-appearance of the old tendency to deify men, the old expedient of apotheosis? In the wafted incense, the sprinkling of mystically-gifted water, the burning of temple lights, the adoration of relics, are not substantially the same sentiments seen still at work which made the base of Polytheistic ideas?

In direct antithesis to this, at once in form and in speculative dignity, stands the third type. If polytheism tries to satisfy itself on the paradox of things by making spirit bend to matter, pantheism touches the mystery more profoundly. Not in objects *as they are*, not in the bare forms of nature, but in the idea of collective nature, in the sum of all the manifold phenomena and existences of the universe, it devises its solution. It deifies neither the material objects of the outer world, nor the energies and passions of the inner world. As little in earth as in man, in mind as in matter *per se*, does it accept its law. It finds no explanation of the incomprehensible contradiction which everywhere appears, no interpretation of the half-silenced voices of quenchless religious instincts, no answer to urgent questionings as to the mutual relations of man and the world, in the facile expedient of exalting one or other to lordship. So it seeks an answer of its own by mixing up together all objects and existences, and worshipping a deity believed to be apparent in the general idea of all. It compounds the multitudes of individual beings and things into one mystic ideal, and in the shadow which it has created it looks for the divinity to whom its chill homage is due. It attempts the unification of the finite and the infinite. But practically everything becomes absorbed in its deity, and the deity becomes lost in everything. An undefinable totality of being is idealised, of which each man and every object are but minute modes and transient apparitions, and in this thin concept man is to acknowledge the awful claimant of his worship, and the bright centre of his hopes. "The consubstantiality of matter and spirit, God and the world," is a not uncommon or inexact definition of this strange principle of faith. To it God is the spirit inherent in nature, and nature the garb or evolution of God. The divine is in incessant progress,

"sleeping in the mineral, heaving in the sea, flashing in the flame, rustling in the leaf, dreaming in the brute, waking in man." Beings are bubbles rising on the constant stream, and falling back into the same, like "snow-flakes on the river, a moment seen, then gone for ever."

In pantheism, therefore, we have a subtler outcome of the soul's latent religious sentiment. But it is helpless as the others are helpless. The existence which it allows to God and man is an existence stripped of true personality, which sets them on a level with material things, so that the laws and life of the one become the laws and life of the other. It is the highest theory of the universe, in so far as it implies the greatest exertion of reflective energy. But its evil is the want of proportion. It is all excess, or all defect. It is this in a way that must subverse truth and morality. In confounding man and God and the world, and eliminating the idea of free personal existence, it displaces the objective, reduces all to the subjective, and in effect makes each individual, as a necessary mode of universal being, a law to himself. Truth and morality lose their substantial foundations. Good and evil become the creatures of an all-embracing necessity.

Pantheism is designed to be the creed only of the higher intellects among any people. Through their influence it may become formally the belief of populous lands; yet it lapses into a kind of rarefied polytheism among the masses, incapable of grasping abstract ideas. Its imperial conception of an impersonal deity, with its emanation and absorption of souls, has won vast prevalency in Eastern Asia. It is discoverable in the oldest of Indian writings, in the Vedantic hymns, and the cosmogony of the Institutes of Menu. The most ancient theology of the Hindoos is in part polytheistic, and in part pantheistic. At one time the notion of a God manifest in his works takes the polytheistic form of an elevation of the works into gods, and at another the pantheistic form of a confusion of the god and the works. In the gigantic phenomenon of Buddhism, the first article in which is the confession not of supreme being, but of supreme force, and which sees in the flame-motes flickering in the burning taper the natural effigies of individual lives, pantheistic ideas became the dominant factors. The same ideas, peculiarly moulded by Alexandrian *gnosis*, and passing into Saracenic thought, formed the sub-

stance of that nervous Arabian creed which carried Aristotelianism to novel issues, religious as well as philosophical, in the shape of Averroism seized for a time the place once held by the commoner dogmas of Islam, and impressed itself for ages upon Asiatic, African, and European culture. Intelligible only to minds of a speculative disposition, pantheism has been the belief of the leading intellects in many systems and races. It claimed the assent of the cultured classes in the ancient religion of Egypt. Its tenets of a semi-spiritual, impersonal substance, pervading nature like a kind of world-soul, of which men's souls are born, and to which they return like rain-drops drawn from ocean's bosom only to descend into it again, played an important part in the progress of mediæval thought in more than one continent. In its Buddhistic modes it is still the faith of the refined circles of India, and to a large extent also of China. Under various modifications of Lamaism, Bonzism, &c., it appears in Thibet, Mongolia, Japan, and other eastern territories. It is the type which, in its most sublimated form, constitutes the error that captivates minds unduly exercised on the speculative side of the spiritual mysteries of Christianity. It entered as a large element into the philosophic corruptions of Christian doctrine in the gnostic systems of Alexandria. It is the idea into which each new school of Christian mysticism has shewn a tendency to reduce itself. It gleams through the speculations of Christian doctors like Erigena. In more recent times it has proved the natural issue of the rationalistic spirit of English and Continental theology. With pure materialism it divides the dubious honour of being the popular anti-Christian dogma of our own day.

These are the types into which humanity's religious instincts, obscure, yet ineradicable, have run. What value has their review for us? One plain lesson of practical wisdom is at once suggested, which, if practice is the end of doctrine, it will not be amiss to notice. The types are widely distinct. They differ as the theory of matter in irreconcilable opposition to spirit must differ from the theory of spirit prostrate to matter, and that again from the theory of spirit confused with and lost in matter. Equally distinct, therefore, must be the advances made to these by Christianity. As far as can be, the methods adopted for conciliating the heathen heart to Christian truth, should be wisely suited to the dispositions of the races, the

varying stages of their civilisations, the different characteristics of their religious faiths. The conversion of those indoctrinated in polytheistic systems cannot be approached first by those precise applications of truths which tell at once on minds habituated to dualistic or pantheistic ideas. There must be adaptation of the living forms of Christian doctrine to the diverse phases of ethnic belief. And there must be wise selection of agents. The Church is under obligation to use discrimination in the choice of her missionary agents. The pity is that the possibility of exercising such duty of discreet choice is so seldom accorded her. Men of natural genius, most closely resembling the particular types of heathen faith, should be selected and appointed each to each. Men, in whom the severely logical, rational intellect predominates, to whom poetry, parable, and figures of speech, are impertinences, will find few points of contact with the imaginative minds, the allegorising fancies, the symbolical faiths of Oriental races. Men of slow, deliberative, non-speculative genius, will have some difficulty in getting *en rapport* with the subtle, nimble intelligence of the Hindoo, and will be the last to cope effectively with the highly abstract dogmas of impersonal deity, pantheistic absorption, and the like.

What light does the review shed on current affirmations antagonistic to Christianity and its cardinal doctrines? The oracular *time-spirit* has no more familiar declaration than this —that the theologies of all religions, that of Christ among the rest, are but so many pieces of garniture, useful for the conservation of a few maxims of morality, but waxing very old, and ready at any hour to fall to pieces. Does the study which we have been illustrating confirm this? Must we consent to depart from this apologetical basis for Christian doctrine? On the contrary, the history of ethnic faiths lends small countenance to the idea that the real power of Christianity must be looked for only in its ethics, and that the time has come when the canopy and trappings of theologic notions must perish. It shews that it is just the theologic faith that has imparted vitality to the great religious systems. What but the theological dogma, that God is God, and there is no God but God, has made Mohammedanism the power which it has been? If comparative religion has any testimony to deliver on this subject, it is this—that Christian doctrine and Christian ethics are necessary

to each other, that the doctrine is the spirit which gives the ethics life, and that the forms of Christian truth will be powers precisely as the doctrinal and the ethical are kept in union.

It is also a favourite thesis of this prophetic time-spirit that Christianity, like other religions, is the outcome of man's own instincts, the evolution of natural religious sentiment, and that no more specific revelation from God has been given or is needed. Is our apology for or against this *dictum?* It finds in the world's systems so many gropings of the unsatisfied mind of man after more than it can discover in nature or in itself. Witness, for example, how Indian books and beliefs betray the conviction that genuine effort after goodness or wisdom is dependent upon inspirations given through communications from above, and indicate the want of converse with a teacher not of earth. Ethnic faith attests humanity's crave for a revelation. It confesses the soul's consciousness that those shadows of its own among which it sounds for the Eternal cannot make the revelation which it must have.

What is Christianity's relation to these systems? What is the answer of its doctrines to these blind and wandering instincts? That it offers the adequate response to dualism a single typical case is sufficient to shew. Recall how Augustine explains the way in which he was led to embrace the dogmas of the Manichees, because they seemed at once to solve his speculative difficulties and palliate a dubious life. Reflect how, driven to look more narrowly within, and feeling that evil in him was the contradiction of a purer will than his own, he was induced to ask who this Will was, and whether he had revealed himself or done aught for man, and how, drawn to recognise in Jesus Christ the manifestation of that will, he accepted in Christ and Christian doctrine the powers of victory over evil.[1] How much is there in polytheism, also, that it meets and illumines—the sacred sense, struggling through so much grossness and darkness in Brahminism, that Absolute Being must become incarnate, and find an object in which its own image shall be reflected; the deep convictions, too, that somehow man is designed for fellowship with the divine, that only the twice-born can reach that fellowship, and that triumph in the combat between good and evil comes through the

[1] See Augustine's case handled at length by Maurice, *Religions of the World*, p. 223, &c.

intervention of a heavenly being, who descends to bear the scars of battle. Nor less does it illustrate the Buddhistic ideas of a pure intelligence pervading all, and embodying itself in certain priests, the final rest of the soul in Deity, the origination of the human spirit like a spark kindled from the divine, and much else that the dreams of pantheism labour to express.

The distinctive doctrines of Christian theology might be shewn in rich detail to meet the vague tenets of ethnic theologies. The antagonism, for example, between Hindooism and Christianity is sufficiently pronounced. Yet there are strange points of affinity. The doctrines of the former contradict themselves, in order to bear testimony to the higher truth of the latter. Sin should logically have no place in the one, because with an impersonal God there can be no holy law and no moral transgression. Yet sin is there, and the system must have its own theory of expiation. This it seeks in the idea of transmigration. But, as has been well remarked, that becomes in effect a substitutionary atonement. For the man expiating present evil by suffering a new birth, has in this new birth no consciousness of his past life, and is therefore as good as another being bearing the penalty of sin.[1] What testimonies, also, to the Christian doctrines of a Holy Spirit are found in these hazy beliefs in a world-pervading intellect, and a living light proceeding from the Fount of Light! To which elevation does the Christian doctrine of the fatherhood of God carry the Confucian tenet, that fatherhood and family are the base of all being! Above all, these creeds are emphatic witnesses to the mightiest dogma of Christianity—the Incarnation. They all express the instinct that there must be some Infinite behind things, an abolute Cause or Being, whether it be Hindoo, Brahm, or Buddhistic universal intelligence, or Egyptian Ammon, or Persian measureless time, or the Greek idea of a central power giving oracles of wisdom, or the Roman notion of a sovereignty producing order. But they all attest the conviction that this ultimate cause needs manifestation. Not one is satisfied with the recognition of hidden or distant being. The veiled Ammon must come forth, Buddhistic intellect must find visible centres for itself in Lamas and Buddhas, Brahm must become Brahma.

[1] As to this, see Dr Robson's *Hinduism, and its Relations to Christianity*, vol. i. p. 253, &c.

Not one of these systems gives the solution of the problems which it starts. Brahminism with its living light seeking its own image, Buddhism with its pantheistic intellect, Parsism with its ground of all in boundless time, Odinism with its dark conflicts between spirits, the Greek demand for one to exhibit a perfect humanity—in each there is a void which its own hand has failed to fill. Christianity is the interpretation and reconciliation of these discrepant systems. It takes up the conception of pantheism, that God underlies nature, and that of dualism, that there are powers in conflict in the universe, and that of polytheism, that deity is plural and manifested in nature. But the doctrines of Christianity are the correctives of what is false in each. The contending powers are not equal, matter is not evil, the God underlying nature is not impersonal, the plurality of Deity is a plurality in unity.

Christianity answers the demand. It does embrace within itself all that the soul of man through six thousand years has yearned for. And what it embraces it clarifies, illumines, and directs anew. Thus may we commence our studies in Christian doctrine with the clear persuasion that, in the profoundest experiences and deepest instincts of the soul of man, as attested by the history of the world's multiform faiths, we may find so many apologists speaking for the reality and beneficence of the truths of Christianity. We shall see how, as the lyre is said at times to give notes of tremulous melody when another instrument is struck in its vicinity, there is that in Christian doctrines to which, when they are touched lovingly, the tenderest chords in the soul of man will respond. We can proceed to the investigation of the great forms into which Christian beliefs have been cast, with the assurance that we are to handle truths which cannot pass away. We may have to learn that what a great teacher of our own age has said of Christianity generally is applicable in particular to its doctrines, that "many a winter and many a summer have since rolled over it. More than once it has shed its leaves and seemed to be dying, and when the buds burst again the colour of the foliage was changed."[1] We shall have to mark changes and advances in the Church's statements of the great articles in that doctrine. But we shall see clearly that permanent truths have ever been embodied in these statements, and we should

[1] Froude's *Short Studies*, vol. ii. p. 32.

be encouraged to hold them with the earnestness of living conviction. For strong conviction is power, where compromise or indifference is feebleness. If at any time the fear visits us that, notwithstanding honest and prayerful endeavour, we may fall into error in some points, let us abide by the trust that the Lord of truth will sustain us, and that He who is unerringly righteous will take account of our sincerity. But that we may be sobered and steadied in our studies, let us understand how we are yet accountable for our belief, and that the sincerity which God can bless with his approving regard is only that sincerity which proves itself in the full and humble use of all our powers and opportunities, so far as these may bear us. May God, only wise, help us to prove all things, so as to hold fast that which is good, enrich us with a living interest in his truth, and make us scribes well instructed in the matters of his Son's kingdom! STEWART D. F. SALMOND.

ART. VI.—*Extempore Preachers: Beecher, Parker, Spurgeon, and Talmage.*

IF the success of a preacher is to be judged by the number and quality of the audience he attracts, few living men are more successful than those whose names we have placed at the head of this article. Mr Beecher is pastor of a church numbering over 2500 members, and the congregation he addresses weekly is still more numerous. Dr Parker attracts to the City Temple, in Holborn Viaduct, a congregation not much smaller than Mr Beecher's, while his weekly lectures on Thursday morning are generally attended by about a thousand people. Dr Talmage's tabernacle, in Brooklyn, is said to accomodate 4000, and to be invariably crowded. And last, and most famous of all, the pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle ministers with unflagging power and acceptance to the largest church and congregation in Christendom. Great as is the influence thus exerted by the living voice, the printed page has, in each of these cases, extended it marvellously. Mr Beecher's sermons have been regularly published for the last twelve years; Dr Parker has been a prolific author; Dr

Talmage's sermons are every week circulated in hundreds of thousands in this country, as well as in America; while the sermons preached in the Metropolitan Tabernacle are eagerly read in almost every part of the globe.

Differing from one another in many respects, all these preachers are extempore. By this we mean, not that they do not write or prepare their sermons, but that they all generally speak from notes, or without manuscript help. Mr Beecher generally writes the opening part of his sermons; Dr Parker little, we believe, beyond an outline; Dr Talmage carefully accumulates his material, but trusts to the moment for much of his fiery language; while Mr Spurgeon writes little or nothing. Mr Beecher frequently reads part of his sermon; and then, to use the graceful comparison of Dr Storrs, "instead of walking off the pier into the ocean, he sails into the extemporaneous discourse as a ship glides from the ways into the water." Dr Parker reads discourses on special subjects only; while Mr Spurgeon and Dr Talmage, we believe, invariably eschew the manuscript. Substantially, however, all four may be described as extempore preachers; and a very large part of their printed sermons was never written at all, but simply taken down from their lips. These sermons thus occupy quite a distinct position, and must be read carefully by all those who wish to know how thought shapes itself when great orators are inspired by the gaze of listening thousands. The forms it takes then are very different from those assumed when the result of contemplation is written down on a quiet page, on a quiet table; but the student has very few books from which he may draw the contrast. None are more precious than those which we now propose to pass under review.

While we have grouped four teachers together, partly from their present influence and partly on account of their adhering to a common mode of speech, we propose considering them one by one, making a few general remarks in summing up. In our examination we shall look at the manner of the sermons, by which is meant the framework, style, illustrations, &c., and then at the matter, by which we mean, not merely the system of theology taught, but also those aspects of truth which have laid firmest hold on the minds of each, and are most frequently set forth in their sermons. In following the alphabetical order, we begin with Henry Ward Beecher.

Whatever may be thought of the nature of the influence Mr Beecher has exerted, no one can deny his transcendant gifts. Mr Spurgeon, who differs from him on many points as deeply as we do, and who is not much given to superlatives, pronounces him the greatest genius now alive; Dr Parker thinks him the greatest preacher since apostolic times, and other testimonies as enthusiastic might be multiplied. In reach and penetration of intellect, in depth and range of feeling, in culture and power of language, he is easily the first of all living preachers. We never had the good fortune to hear him speak, but all competent judges declare that in power of oratory there is no man fit to be named with him. He has in him the elements of a great poet and a great philosopher, and might have been either had he not chosen the nobler office of the Christian ministry. Of the deep defects of his preaching we shall speak in due course, but it must be distinctly laid down at the outset that no preacher should consider his training complete without a thorough knowledge of Mr Beecher's method.

The manner of his sermons is tolerably uniform. When he chooses a text, it is generally not to expound it in every detail, but to take the great outstanding truth which it teaches, and after a preliminary exposition, to discuss that truth. The exposition is generally marked by care and fulness of knowledge, for it is noticeable that Mr Beecher does not neglect the grammar and dictionary; he is, on the contrary, an assiduous and exact student. The subject is generally unfolded under two or three divisions, all of which are appropriately and fully illustrated, and a brief application closes. Mr Beecher prefers great subjects, and is above petty homiletic ingenuities. He chooses for the most part a great text, points out the main subject it treats of, and addresses himself to that. Lesser men can be original only when they take texts and subjects out of the common track; but Mr Beecher never treats the most worn theme without colouring it with fresh life. He is fond of recurring to the same themes, and even to the same texts; but when he does so, there is always a noticeable freshness about the sermon. We take one or two illustrations of his method almost at random. From the text, "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession

for us with groanings that cannot be uttered," he discourses on the "sympathy of the divine Spirit." He commences by shewing the way in which a great nature teaches and sympathises with a very humble one out of pure love, and how our sympathies are irresistibly drawn when we hear of such self-forgetfulness, and applies this analogy to the divine Spirit, who helps not only our aspirations, our dreams, our great purposes, but also our infirmities. After his exposition, he divides our infirmities into those rising from the material frame; those which arise from our condition in temporal life; those which come from our domestic relations; and, especially, "those hidden and superior trials of the nobler parts of our souls." It is pointed out, in conclusion, that the administrative power of the universe is love; not love earned and wrought for, but love that flows spontaneous out of the divine nature; and we are expected, in view of this, to have hope for ourselves, and hope also for the very worst. It will be seen that there is nothing extraordinary about this skeleton; the power lies almost entirely in the filling up. From the text, "Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people," after remarking that in the East, roads, one of the distinguishing marks of modern civilisation, were either wholly wanting, or were mere paths, and that there is special fitness in the comparison of life to a road, he goes on to speak of the various hindrances to spiritual growth, specifying and illustrating such as these; a low ideal, lack of deep and continuous devotion, evil companionship, and the addiction of men to pleasure. Here again it is obvious that all must depend on the illustration and exposition of the various heads. The language used in the discourses is extremely appropriate and rich, but Mr Beecher's style does not attract attention of itself; you look at the thought rather than the expression. If a fault is to be found, it is that the phraseology is sometimes a little difficult, though to those accustomed to the author, it soon grows easy. For there could not be a greater error than to suppose that Mr Beecher lowers his style in order to make himself popular. If he errs, it is altogether on the other side, his language in exposition being sometimes over technical and hard. He is fond of points of rest, and paragraphs are frequent in his sermons. He does

not often rise into high bursts of eloquence, but those passages in which he does are most impressive. We give a specimen. In a grand discourse on Immortality, he says:—

"Do two persons walk together in an inseparable union, mingling their brightest and noblest thoughts, striving for the highest ideal, like flowers that grow up by the side of each other, breathing fragrance each on the other; are two persons thus twined together and bound together for life, till in some dark hour the one is called and the other is left, and does the bleeding heart go down to the grave and say, 'I return dust to dust'? Was that dust then? That trustworthiness, that fidelity, that frankness of truth, that transparent honesty, that fervour of love, that disinterestedness, that fitness and exquisiteness of taste, that aspiration, that power of consolation, that piety, that great hope in God—are these elements in the soul of the companion that has disappeared but just so many phenomena of matter? And have they already collapsed and gone like last year's flowers struck with frost back again to the mould? In the grief of such an hour, one will not let go the hope of resurrection."

The main force by which Mr Beecher sustains the attention and assists the comprehension of his listeners is the copious use of illustrations. To every style of preaching these are a desirable adjunct; to Mr Beecher's they are absolutely essential. It would be altogether impossible to sustain preaching in such a high key without using them. These illustrations are derived almost entirely from Mr Beecher's own observation. His reading must be extensive and careful, but there is very little parade of it in his sermons. References to books or even to names are most unusual, whilst poetical quotations are conspicuous by their absence. We know no writer of anything like Mr Beecher's calibre who has so little show of his reading in his pages. Neither does he illustrate much from historical or contemporary events. The sources from which he draws are the ways, customs, griefs, joys, achievements, and sins of humanity. Life and death to him are greater and older than any ephemeral source of interest, and to those he recurs constantly with unfailing relish and result. He has a most marvellous knowledge of human nature, and his sympathy is so large and constant that nothing comes amiss to him; and what is trivial and tiresome to other men is full of attraction to him. He is thus continually gathering material for sermons, and the use of it comes to him very easily; for he confesses that most of his illustrations occur to him when he is standing before the great congregation. Here again, we remark, that

there is seldom, if ever, anything vulgar even in the illustrations he draws from the most common sources. A certain elevation of mind that he possesses enables him to choose the good and reject the evil, and he has helped many a preacher to look upon nature and upon men with new eyes.

It would not be safe for ordinary preachers to use illustrations to anything like the same extent as Mr Beecher. For one thing there are very few who, in view of their own capacities or the intelligence of their congregations, could attempt the same height of style. And there are fewer still, if there are any at all, who could week by week produce so many fresh and helpful comparisons. But preachers may learn from him that illustration is a most important source of pulpit power, and that the best illustrations are those a preacher finds himself in his own first-hand intercourse with nature and man. These vile compounds called "Dictionaries of Illustration" would then vanish from ministers' libraries, and many a preacher weary of converse with books would find a new and delightful study chamber in the world of nature. Besides, his discourses would cease to appear lofty and arid, for they would be filled with passages making a direct appeal to the most easily touched sensibilities of his hearers, in linking on the work of the week to the exercises of the Sabbath day. It would be a new era in the history of many a minister and many a congregation if the daily wearing toil of the week were so lightened and explained. In this point of view Mr Beecher's sermons are invaluable.

We should willingly dwell longer on Mr Beecher's manner, but space forbids. We now proceed to speak somewhat in detail of the views of the divine nature and government in relation to man expounded in Mr Beecher's sermons. These have been much discussed and much misconceived; and though space does not allow us to give references and quotations, we may state that the brief exposition which follows is the result of a careful study of almost all that Mr Beecher has published. It is needful to point out that he has gradually departed from orthodoxy, and that he often appears to contradict views that he has formerly defended. But the main elements of his teaching he has adhered to all along.

We commence with his ideas of God. It is one of Mr Beecher's best services to theology and to preaching that he has developed, with more eloquence and power than any other,

the truth of that text, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." He has not only got beyond the idea of an abstract God, but he has bravely taught that God is the highest ideal of manhood very far transcended; that he is better than the best, more noble than the most noble, and sweeter than the dearest—the sum of all that is fair and magnanimous in human life. Not only is he this, but he is all this in relation to man. His very nature is healing. He broods over man, seeking to bring out the divine that is in him. He is full of patience and of delicate feeling. He is such, that to know him rightly is to love him with heart, and soul, and strength, and mind. Before there was anything in man to love, such was the grandeur of God's royal nature that he loved him even unto death. The life and death of Jesus Christ were a revelation of this; nay, they were this. For Mr Beecher so conceives of Christ and God, that sometimes he does not seem to distinguish them. Thus in the opening of one of his marvellous prayers, he says:—

"We bless thy name, our Father, that we may draw near to thee familiarly. Thou art our Sun; thou art our Shield; thou art our Tower; thou art our Pavilion, where thou dost hide us until the storm be overpast. Thou art the bread of life and the water of life. Thou art the Way and the Door. Thou art the Redeemer and Intercessor. Thou art the forerunner."

From this it will be easy to infer the view that Mr Beecher takes of Christ. Christ is to him only another name for God. He believes in the divinity of Christ most intensely, but he does not approach it from the side of orthodoxy, and impatiently dismisses theological speculations about the Trinity, such as the Athanasian Creed as nemocrancy run mad. His proof of the divinity of Christ, is that Christ attracts his whole affection, and if Christ is not God, what is there left for God? It follows that his theory of the Atonement is what is known as the moral theory. The sufferings of Christ were expository. It was needful that Christ should suffer, to shew the greatness of divine love. Such phrases as "the satisfaction of divine justice," he rejects somewhat contemptuously, but he is too candid not to admit that the Scriptures plainly point to a fact corresponding to the phrase. This fact Mr Beecher declines to investigate. He lays the utmost emphasis on the side

which in his view appeals most directly to sinners, God's compassion and love towards men.

His view of man is often and very clearly expounded. Man comes into the world a mere bundle of possibilities; glorious possibilities, no doubt, but inglorious also. These possibilities need to be developed into actualities, and the forces of the household, of society, of God's providence, begin to operate, the end of their work being to develop manhood.

The question which it is most difficult to answer is, What place in Mr Beecher's scheme is assigned to the new birth? There is no difficulty as to the gospel to be preached. Every man-child and maid-child is to be taught from the beginning that God loves them dearly, and wishes to win an answering love. It was this thought, Mr Beecher tells us, that broke his heart. He had been seeking for peace, and had searched books and asked counsel from sage advisers in vain, till one bright summer day it flashed upon his mind that God loved him; that God's nature was remedial; and that God's love would heal him of his sin. From that time everything was changed for him. The question is, What place does this revelation of God's love take amongst other developing influences? According to evangelical teaching, the gospel is not one amongst many developing forces. When it is brought home to the soul by the work of the Holy Spirit, the man becomes a new creature in Christ Jesus. Old things pass away; one road is forsaken, and the feet are set in the narrow way that leadeth unto life. According to the teaching of another school, this revelation of God's love is generally gained gradually, and though a very potent force, is merely a developing energy taking its place along with many others similar, though not so powerful. Between these theories Mr Beecher wavers, but we regret to say that he appears now to have adopted the second. In his earlier sermons he dwelt with evident satisfaction on the fresh start which a new birth gives to a sinner —the joy with which a soul, old in vice and tired with reaping the bitter harvest of past sin, heard that it could become a child again, and have life to live over. His unfailing sympathy led him to see the power with which this doctrine appeals to sinners, and drew him strongly towards it. But even then he dwelt much on the fact that conversion, though in a sense sudden, is the result of a long train of

previous influences. He was also careful to insist that conversion was only the entering in at a door; the new-born were children, and had to grow up into perfect manhood. With all this he insisted that a new birth was essential for all. But of late he has explicitly abandoned this position, maintaining that it is needful only for those who have been great sinners, or upon whom religion has had no power during their early years. He thus adopts the Pelagian view.

His teaching on the work of the Holy Spirit is, as might be expected from his view of the new birth, extremely vague. He recognises his existence and operations, but refuses to distinguish him from the Father, and uses the names of all three persons in the Trinity as convertible. Although he seems frequently to use the language of orthodoxy in ascribing all that is good in man to the Holy Ghost, he does not appear to mean anything more than the truth of the text, which declares that every good gift comes from above.

Like all who hold an uncertain doctrine of regeneration, Mr Beecher is not very clear as to the eternal state. In several discourses he takes up the teaching of Christ, and shews that all who believe in Christ as divine must hold that the doom of the impenitent is fixed. But he does not vindicate the doctrine from other grounds; and it may safely be said that those who hold the doctrine of eternal punishment to be true, simply because they cannot explain away Christ's words, are on the high road to rejecting it. Accordingly, we find him saying, that if there is one soul eternally punished, it must be a soul on which the whole might of God's love was spent in vain. His whole theory of the world, and the assumptions on which most of his preaching is based, require logically that all shall be restored. And we find him speaking in his prayers of the "life that waits for all, but especially for us who have believed on the Lord Jesus Christ."

Mr Beecher frequently and very eloquently expounds his view of the Bible. He rejects all theories of inspiration, and refuses to be bound by every statement and phrase in the Word of God. But no one has shewn more powerfully that the Scriptures are profitable for instruction in righteousness; and some of his best sermons are those in which he explains the deeper spirit of the Bible, shewing at once its mercifulness and its righteousness. The attacks on the Bible, made from

the side of science and chronology, he treats with a wise disdain.

His preaching on the duties and trials of life is exceedingly powerful and sympathetic. No man has more rousing power. He so shews the glory and nobleness of Christian life, that all other life seems base and poor. We know no one who sees more clearly beyond the mere accidents to the essential, to whom all the outward accessories are so little, and the true life so much. Not that he is indifferent to the things coveted in this life; the real power of his preaching lies in his blending of the shrewdness of a man of the world with the elevation of a Christian, whose life is hid in God. Such touches as, "When there are five or six in a family, or (blessed be God!) eleven, as there were in my father's house," are constantly occurring, and have a very real charm. Wickedness, and especially meanness and oppression, rouses him to the very highest eloquence; and it will never be forgotten that, in the slavery dispute, when Christian ministers scarcely ventured to speak above their breath, Henry Ward Beecher thundered from the mightiest pulpit in the land in the cause of the slave. As a moral teacher, he is almost entirely to be commended.

Many of his discourses are devoted to the trials of human life. These he realises as very few have done, and hence the remarkable tenderness and beauty of his treatment. Many preachers speak of trials from the outside, either because they have not felt them, or because they cannot set down their experience; but Mr Beecher has been much in sorrow, and much amongst the sorrowing. His favourite medicine for sorrow is the hope of immortality. We are here only for a swiftly passing season, and when it is over we shall appear in Zion and before God. Thus it matters very little whether we are sick or well, poor or rich, disappointed or successful. For all of life is but a little price to pay for seeing God, and waking in his image, and being satisfied.

Mr Beecher's great weakness lies in his want of a clearly defined creed. There are two opposite tendencies in his mind. His early training, no less than much in his own heart, gives him a strong bias towards evangelicalism, while his philosophy and his hope for the race incline him to a broader creed. There is thus a constant conflict. In one sermon he seems to be an evangelical theologian; in the next he is shrieking wildly at orthodoxy and the orthodox.

It is almost impossible to over-estimate the gravity of this defect. In the first place, he has no clear message to give to the anxious soul. "What must I do to be saved?" To that question he says, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ;" and if you cannot do that, rouse yourself up, begin a new life, make an end of some evil habit. Souls in agony seek a clearer guiding. We cannot tell what makes a child of God, or what is the line which parts the children of the world and the children of light. He generally assumes that his hearers are all in a sense Christian, and only need to be roused up. This deprives his consolations of much of their power. If I am an heir of glory, it is right to tell me that I should not fret over my griefs. But are all men heirs of glory? If I have been bereaved of Christian friends, it is right to tell me of the heaven in which God has housed them. But as Tholuck says, "after death there are diverse ways," and it is mere mockery to use this as a universal salve. In spite of all his splendid powers, and the many precious things of his preaching, Mr Beecher, we are grieved to say, fails in the most essential thing, pointing out a path in which the wayfaring man, though a fool, shall not err.

Leaving much unsaid, we now leave Mr Beecher, to discuss with more brevity a London preacher, Dr Joseph Parker.

Dr Parker is comparatively a young man, and though he held an important pastorate in Manchester with distinguished success for some years, he was not much known to the general public till he came to London, where he ministers in the most magnificent edifice belonging to English dissent. He has written much, but none of his books have attracted general attention, except *Ecce Deus*, a very brilliant but somewhat unfinished discussion of the life of Christ, which appeared about the same time as *Ecce Homo*. Although he is not so well known as the other preachers in our list, he is, in our judgment, fully entitled to take rank with them as a preacher of remarkable power and originality, whose writings cannot be studied by any intelligent reader without profit and instruction.

Dr Parker's manner was at first founded on that of the *Homilist*, a periodical which has, we are afraid, done harm to English preaching, though it certainly incited in the breasts of

many worthy youths a wholesome ambition for freshness. But his maturing genius has got rid of these weaknesses, and his divisions are now simple and often striking. Dr Parker is one of those preachers who believes that a good division is one of the main excellences of a sermon, and we are inclined to agree with him. We give a specimen or two both of his early and later manner. As an example of his more pedantic style, take the following outline on Matt. v. 21, 22:—I. The moral education of the world has been conducted progressively; II. Progress in moral education reveals the insidious development of misanthropy; III. The progress of moral education is the only true hope for the best interests of human nature. Better and more simple is the following, on the words "Rest a while":—I. The invitation was given by Jesus Christ, who thus shewed his care for the smaller as well as for the greater things of this life; II. The invitation was addressed to spiritual teachers, shewing the wearing nature of a preacher's work; III. The invitation is to a limited period of rest—Rest *a while*. "Into thy hands I commend my spirit," spoken by the psalmist, and by Christ, is naturally and beautifully considered as "a watchword for life and death." Dr Parker is careful to treat every section of his subject freshly. He is very rarely dull or commonplace, and we never read sermons better calculated to keep an audience awake. His main distinction in manner, however, from other preachers, is the large place he assigns to exposition, and the unique and brilliant fashion in which he opens up the Scriptures. The commentators, philologists, and geographers might never have written a line, for all that appears of their results in his sermons. He takes up a Bible narrative, and seeks to find out the eternal principles that are in it, and bring them out and apply them to the life of to-day. The Bible is to him a chronicle of the one heart of God and the one heart of humanity, and thus it is the blended story of the heavens and the earth. That this mode of exposition has many advantages cannot, we think, be questioned. Every student must sometimes have asked *cui bono*, after plodding over the desert of some vaunted commentary. Dissertations upon words, various readings, geography and history, give him no clearer conception of the Bible story, and no fresh power in expounding it. The press teems with commentaries of all kinds, but very few of them are really profitable to the preacher, just because

they are written by men who, however respectable their scholarship may be, are entirely destitute of insight and genius. The geographical and literary discoveries of recent days have been spoken of with wonderful gratulation, but it is remarkable how little they have illuminated the Bible. And thus it happens that many a preacher turns away from the hopeless endeavour to find some grains of gold amongst the mountains of sand that make up Lange's *Commentaries*, to the homely pages of Matthew Henry, who, though without light from the Germans, brought reverence and genius too to the holy Word. We shall not be understood as denying that it is the imperative duty of the preacher to seek the light of the latest researches in holy writ; we are merely insisting that this is but a small part of his duty. No man has such power in making the Bible stories speak to the life of to-day as Dr Parker; and many who are much his superiors in scholarship and other qualities, may well be content to sit with admiration at his feet as he brings out the eternal meaning of incidents they have been accustomed to pass by as trivial. Dr Johnson said of Thomson that he could not look on two candles burning but with a poetical eye, and Dr Parker cannot look on the driest list of names in Chronicles but with the eye of an expositor. His besetting sin is probably to take more out of a passage than, fairly treated, it should yield; his feats with texts remind us at times of the juggler who delighted and perplexed our youth by drawing from his mouth endless rolls of ribbon. So Dr Parker sometimes surprises his readers by the cleverness of his sayings without edifying by their truth.

Dr Parker's matter is mainly expository, as has been pointed out. He is not a theologian, and theological preaching is expressly condemned in his latest book, the *Priesthood of Christ*. "The common heart," says Dr Parker, "has never taken warmly to systematic divinity; on the contrary, it has avoided the books and pulpits devoted to that subject." Although in several of his books he has handled the deepest problems of theology, he has not done so with much success. As we pointed out in a review of the *Paraclete*, published in this journal,[1] the really valuable part of the book is the expository. The *Priesthood of Christ* is a more ambitious attempt, but in our opinion it is not a great success. Dr Parker, who never can

[1] *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, April 1875.

treat a subject without result, has certainly put some old truths in a very striking way, but theological science has not been advanced one step by any of his writings. In the main, he adheres to the evangelical creed, and faithfully points the sinner to the cross. But he naturally shuns theological terms and discussions, and is always strongest when he is treating some incident of human life. He loses his power very much when he ventures into other regions. And he very seldom sets himself to evangelise simply. The staple of his sermons is Christian instruction, generally with a concluding appeal to the unconverted. It is said that he holds the doctrine of conditional immortality, but we suspect that his opinions on the subject are not fixed.

There are two classes of hearers and readers on whom Dr Parker will not exercise much influence—those who are in anxiety about salvation, and those who delight to hear of the high experiences that are possible to the believing soul. Mr Spurgeon will suit the former; Mr Beecher the latter. Dr Parker moves between the two. He loses much from a certain want of scholarship, which appears in occasional violations of good taste and palpable weakness in some departments. *Sed non cuiois.* We are very grateful for those gifts which he has used so nobly, and are sure that his example cannot fail to have a most beneficial effect on the pulpit of Britain. He has in a most remarkable degree the power of enlisting the attention, and for want of this power very able and eloquent prelections have fallen completely dead. He has shewn how to expound the book of God in a way that will furnish constant and profitable instruction. He has a wide and profound knowledge of human nature, which he often uses to great advantage in his sermons. His style is a model for speakers; and there is in it often a startling beauty and clearness of expression. Dr Parker had it in his power to be a great novelist, and the two specimens of works of fiction which he has given us shew a distinct dramatic gift, though the absorbing needs of the pulpit have left Dr Parker, as they must have every such preacher, with only a limited measure of strength for outside work.

We come now to Charles Haddon Spurgeon, the most famous of all English preachers.

Mr Spurgeon's unparalleled experience of popularity claims

study even from those who do not admire him. They are bound to account for the fact that he has for twenty years addressed the largest audiences probably that ever continously waited on one preacher, and that his power shews no signs of waning. They will not, we venture to say, succeed in solving the problem without according a very large amount of real merit to Mr Spurgeon.

It is easy to explain the manner of his sermons. He selects texts from all the books of the Bible with considerable impartiality; it will generally be found that in each year's sermons the texts are distributed pretty equally over the Old and New Testaments. He then opens with an introduction, which though brief, is generally the best phrased part of the whole sermon. The division follows, and is always clear and helpful. Considering the immense number of sermons he publishes, Mr Spurgeon is generally very happy in his divisions. We quote two or three specimens from his latest sermons. The text, "Him God hath exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins," is thus divided:—I. Note Christ's titles and learn their meaning; II. Approach him under these two characters; III. Note the gifts of the Lord Jesus; IV. Ask him for them. From the text, "I have set the Lord always before me, because he is on my right hand I shall not be moved," the theme is taken. "The secret of a happy life" is taken as the theme, which is defined as—I. Living in the Lord's presence always; and II. Trusting in the Lord's presence always.

Mr Spurgeon's style is famous as a model of clear Saxon. It is often tinged with beauty, and shews always that the preacher has gathered material from far and near; but the best merit that belongs to it is unfailing clearness and force. Mr Spurgeon can rise on occasion to a high and stirring strain of eloquence, and is never more powerful than when he launches thunderbolts against evil in every form. He is deeply read in the theology of this country, and has taken from it its homeliness, directness, and unction, while leaving behind what is involved, cumbrous, and technical. Mr Spurgeon loves to call things by their name, and is not careful to avoid raising a smile, though occasions of laughter are much less frequent in his sermons than they used to be. He introduces anecdote and illustration into his sermons to a

considerable extent, though not so much as in former days. Many have taken exception to the frequency with which his own experiences are narrated, but as we think, without much reason. The power of personal reference in securing the attention of an audience is very great; and if the employment of this source of strength is attributed by some to egotism, it cannot be helped. No preacher can afford to disregard it. The illustrations are gathered from an immense variety of sources, and bear witness to his wide knowledge. The sources of his power are not, however, sufficiently described by these things.

Mr Spurgeon is heart and soul a believer in Calvinistic theology. He has reached this belief in a deeper way than by the mere processes of intellectual research. His faith has laid hold upon his soul in every faculty, and is constantly making itself manifest in all his utterances. An ingenious writer, in that brilliant and too short-lived periodical, the *National Review*, attempted to account for the popularity of Mr Spurgeon's Calvinism, and had produced a number of recondite reasons. He failed, however, to give the chief reason, which is, that Calvinism is the system that an unbiassed reader will find in the Word of God. Men reverence their Bible, and they follow most enthusiastically that preacher who, without novelties of his own, impresses upon them what the Bible teaches.

It is true that new developments and departures in theology have a singular charm for a certain class of minds. But the general mind loves the old better, and only by a slow and difficult process adapts itself to the new. It adds immensely to Mr Spurgeon's strength and influence that he accepts the phrases and truths of evangelical theology, and counts that he has done his work to sufficient purpose when he has urged and illumined them.

Further, in his way of preaching, Mr Spurgeon is intensely practical. By that we do not mean that he indulges in "moral" preaching, which, whatever may be said to the contrary, our fathers were right in considering unprofitable and sterile. We mean that his teaching exactly meets the wants of souls. It is common enough to hear and read appeals to people to concern themselves about their salvation: what people need to be told and desire to be told is what they must do to be saved. Mr Spurgeon, more minutely and more patiently than any

preacher we know, explains the way of peace. It need not be wondered that he has been so greatly blessed, and those who have the care of souls will find no better model. Then, in preaching to Christians, he deals with the actual problems of the Christian life. The chief desire amongst Christians is to gain an assurance of God's love, and to this subject Mr Spurgeon constantly recurs, not dismissing it with a wave of the hand, but taking it up fully and elaborately. Many excellent sermons act merely as a mental stimulus; they instruct, and even to some extent excite, but they do not meet the deep needs of the soul. It is, we are convinced, one of Mr Spurgeon's chief sources of power, that he devotes himself almost entirely to the great concern. It is this that has made his writings so dearly prized by the dying. There is no more enviable popularity than the popularity which this illustrious minister has amongst those who are in presence of the profoundest realities. When cleverness and eloquence have lost their charms, we have often found the dying listening hungrily to Mr Spurgeon's writings, when nothing else, save the very Word of God, had any charm or power.

We mention next the gracious unction which pervades his pages. We cannot define unction, but it seems never to be present except with a strong faith working by love. It is conspicuously absent in most of the sermons of this day, but our fathers had it more frequently. There is a holy savour about Mr Spurgeon's pages which we find nowhere else, and which refreshes and comforts. We escape from the din of contemporary controversy into the serene region of trust. Mr Spurgeon has led many a troubled heart there.

With all this he combines the manliness of a genuine Englishman. There is nothing weak or morbid about his mind; indeed, if he has a defect, it is that there is too little pathos in his sermons. He is, if we may be allowed the expression, a typical John Bull, and it is his John Bullism in religion that has made him so popular with all classes of the community. All know him to be every inch a man, and even those most hostile to his opinions are proud of him. The charity child, who on being asked who was the prime minister of England, replied, "Spurgeon," was not far from the truth. His is a tower of strength, and very few of our public men have half his influence. His career has been conspicuously

self-denying. He has not sought his own ends, but the progress of the kingdom of Christ. And he has found his reward in receiving the cordial admiration and confidence of the country.

Had Mr Spurgeon pleased, we believe he might have stood far higher as a writer than he does. He says somewhere very touchingly that he has deliberately turned away from many attractive and alluring fields, in which he might have shone, that he might give undivided strength to the preaching of the glorious gospel. While other preachers have produced far more brilliant sermons than he, we have no hesitation in saying that he is the best model for preachers, and that those who care for usefulness rather than for fame will choose him as their truest inspirer and guide.

It will be seen that it is not from any under-estimate of Mr Spurgeon that we have devoted less space to the analysis of his characteristics than has been given to others. It is simply because he is so well known that a detailed account would be superfluous.

Dr Talmage is a man of genius, but he is much the least considerable of the four preachers we are discussing. It is but a short time since he burst into a popularity, which, on the whole, he is maintaining. But his defects are so glaring, and his merits so obvious, that they may be pointed out in a few words.

His main power is intensity. His sermons seem to be spoken at fever heat, and abound in thrilling expressions. This causes him to exaggerate so habitually and so grossly that it is difficult for people with cultivation to read him with any patience. Still, on the *si vis me flere* principle, it must give him immense power over an audience. His next merit is the astonishing variety of his anecdotes and allusions. Names may be counted in scores in his pages, and anecdotes, good bad and indifferent, abound. This is really a considerable source of power, and it is greatly ignored by most preachers. The very mention of a name in the midst of an argumentative paragraph causes the whole to be listened to. Dr Talmage has evidently read widely, but he is far from accurate, and his style of quotation and reference is frequently grotesque in the highest degree. He has great power of word-painting, and his language is often rich and varied. As often, however, it transgresses all the rules of taste. He searches for short and memorable texts, and by

taking them out of their connection sometimes presses them into unaccustomed service. His divisions are very pithy and striking. We mention, as his last and best characteristic, that he is an urgent gospel preacher, and that his appeals seem to have been much blessed. We think he fails very much in merely appealing to the unsaved without clearly explaining their duty. The question with many hearers in our churches is, "What is meant by believing and not working?" Into really practical discussion Dr Talmage does not go, hence his preaching is somewhat too much like a display of fireworks. We are most anxious not to disparage him unduly, and repeat emphatically that in popular power he has very few, if any, equals; and though most of us have had our fling at popular preachers on certain occasions, we all know that want of popularity means, in most cases, want of success.

In conclusion, we can only indicate, without expanding, some inferences from our survey.

1. The chief weakness of modern preaching is the want of a solid theological basis. This arises not so much from unbelief as from sheer ignorance. Our Scottish churches wisely insist on a thorough training in dogmatic, and it is to be hoped for many reasons they will continue to do so. Preachers who are compelled to leave out the great gospel text, and the rich teaching of the epistles, lose very much. We have no wish to see a technical phraseology revived, but we do wish to have the old doctrines taught in the language of to-day.

2. The necessity of a wide secular culture is very apparent. The preacher should be familiar, so far as is possible, with criticism, poetry, philosophy, we would even add fiction. All the eminent men whom we have reviewed, shew in every page that they are in the full current of modern culture. No preacher, however sound and earnest, can hope to succeed without a large amount of extra-professional study.

3. It is hopeless to expect everything in one man. Some minds are by nature and training fitted for expository preaching, others for pictorial, others for doctrinal, and every man must find for what he is best suited, and in the main devote himself to that. *Non omnia possumus omnes.*

4. It would be absurd at the close of an article to take up the great question of *extempore* versus *read* sermons. We

merely note that all these four luminaries have expressed emphatically their preference for the spoken style. It would be rash to deny that the highest success can be gained with a manuscript, in the face of such examples as Candlish and Chalmers. But those who firmly believe that the extempore style is in most cases much preferable, may quote on their side the great names of Beecher, Parker, Spurgeon, Talmage, and Maclaren.

W. R. NICOLL.

ART. VII.—*Formosa and the Gospel.*

FORMOSA is a leaf-shaped island belonging to the Chinese province of Hok-kien. It was called Formosa by the Portuguese, and Taiwan (terraced coast) by the Chinese. The European name may point to the beauty of its landscapes, while its Asiatic name refers to the symmetry of its geological formation; for, to a spectator crossing the channel, its mountain ranges, running through the length of the island, appear to rise from the coast-line in a series of terraces. Separated from the continent of Asia by a channel, the mean breadth of which is about a hundred miles, it extends from about 22.25 N. lat., and 119.122 E. long., and is so bisected that the western half is an alluvial plain of 14,000 square miles, whilst the eastern half consists of successive mountain chains, with intervening valleys. Divided by the tropic of Cancer, the northern section produces the ordinary vegetation of the temperate latitudes, including even the Scotch fir and thistle; and although the bamboo tree is found in the north, yet it is not half the height of that produced under the more favourable conditions of the south.

Owing to the action of the Japanese warm ocean current (Kuro-siwo), the eastern and northern portions are enveloped in cloudy mists, or receive heavy rains during winter, whilst the sun is shining on the south-western plain; and during the summer months, the northern part has fair weather when the southern end is drenched by the mists and vapours of the tropical sea.

As a consequence of these changes of the north-east and south-west monsoons, the tea plant is successfully cultivated in the north, but is unknown in the south, at least, as an article of mercantile value. Situated midway between Borneo and Japan, there are evidences that, like the great chain of islands forming the Archipelago, Formosa is of volcanic origin. A terrible destruction of life and property followed the tidal wave of 1782. About thirty years ago an earthquake destroyed a part of the capital (Taiwan-foo), when several hundreds of persons were killed; and only fifteen years ago, through some volcanic force acting on the north-eastern coast line, the harbour of Keelung, an area of several square miles, was instantaneously left dry. As the fish appeared easy of capture, numbers of the people went down with baskets and were gathering the spoil, when the water returned, not like an advancing tide, but like a perpendicular wall, and overwhelmed them. The Philippines and Celebes, upon the same lines of dislocation and disturbance, have at various periods been visited with similar calamities. On some of the islands, earthquakes are monthly, and even weekly occurrences. In journeying through Formosa, numerous rifts can be seen among the hills emitting fiery vapours which are quite visible by night, though invisible by day; and about ten miles from Tamsui there are sulphur springs, with medicinal properties, which present some curious phenomena.

The spot resembles the crater of an extinct volcano. There are some twenty fissures emitting smoke and sulphur, and at the point where a stream from the adjoining hill traverses the subterranean fires, eddying columns of vapour ascend into the atmosphere from the boiling chasms. Near the centre of the crater the ground becomes so perforated, that a sensation of instability is felt, and the thin honey-combed crust has the appearance of a mass of liquified lead, but at the circumference it becomes a solid flooring of lava. Half a mile westward, a delicious tepid bath can be enjoyed, and invalids occasionally resort to this neighbourhood.

The following paper will be devoted to a cursory survey of the resources and tribes, and of the missions of Formosa. The four treaty ports, Taiwan, Takao, Tamsui, and Keelung, were opened to foreign trade in 1860. The coal mines of the latter port have, up till lately, been merely excavations at

different heights on the sides of the hills facing the sea. The coal obtained in this rude way was small and sulphurous, unfit for use by itself, and requiring to be mixed with a superior article from other quarters. About two years ago, at the request of the Commissioner of Customs at Tamsui, the mineral strata were surveyed, when it was found that, at no great depth, anthracite coal was so abundant as to warrant the introduction of European appliances. Under the direction of the government, machinery has been procured, and the best coal is now supplied to passing vessels and exported to the mainland.

Petroleum, iron, and copper are found in savage territory; but when a British merchant attempted to open the oil-springs, permission was refused by the authorities. The buffalo cart, a relic of the Dutch occupation, is the chief instrument of transit. The water buffalo is used for ploughing, with the ordinary bullock, and the other domestic animals are the pig and goat. The deer, boar, bear, and panther are only found on the more easterly mountains. Almost every species of fruit known in temperate and tropical latitudes grows wild among the hills, or is cultivated by an industrious peasantry, the more useful being the banana, orange, pine apple, guava, mango, plum, and custard apple. The higher ranges are wooded to the summit with fern, chestnut, and camphor trees. The last is especially valuable, and it is to be regretted that, on account of the border warfare between Chinese and savages, this tree is ruthlessly cut down, without due care for its propagation. Wheat, Indian corn, tobacco, ground nuts, hemp, and sweet potatoes, are the minor agricultural products; rice, sugar, and tea are the staple growths over two-thirds of the cultivated area.

The tea trade with the United States, and the sugar trade with North China, Japan, and Australia, have of late rapidly developed, as the following statistics shew. In 1869 there were exported 710,970 lbs. of tea, as against 3,199,300 lbs. in 1874; and during the same period the sugar export rose from 14,955 tons to 39,039 tons. Following the settlement of the difficulties of 1868, and in consequence of the more healthy relations which have sprung up since that time between natives and foreigners, the value of the import and export trade has been almost doubled. In 1869 it was

£870,258, whereas in 1874 it had become £1,443,794. Included in this estimate are 3109 cwts. of opium imported in 1869, as against 4837 cwts. in 1874. The widespread consumption of this latter article, within an area not embracing a hundredth part of the population of the empire, may indicate how vast are the disastrous effects, physically and socially, of this drug throughout the eighteen provinces. Estimated by the supposed number of the Chinese population—two and a half millions—Formosa consumes more than five times her fair share. Within the church it is one of the fruitful sources of backsliding and apostasy, while the more intelligent outsiders perceive the anomalous position in which our country has placed herself—with the one hand holding out to them the Word of Life, and with the other offering them this pernicious drug. While the incidents of the war of 1859 were fresh in the recollection of the people, a missionary preaching in a village belonging to one of the northern provinces was mobbed, and while retreating, such sentences as the following fell on his ear:—"Begone, you hypocrite! You killed our emperor, you burned his palace, you sell us poison, and now you come and preach virtue."

Since Formosa passed into the hands of the present Manchu dynasty in 1683, it has been gradually colonised from the opposite provinces of Hok-kien and Kwang-tung. About two millions speak the dialect of the former, and about half a million that of the latter province. In addition to the Chinese, there are a number of aboriginal tribes speaking a variety of dialects, and numbering also about half a million. Some of these tribes, preferring the chase to agriculture, and savage freedom to Chinese rule, have more than once, owing to their lawless conduct, embroiled the Pekin government with foreign powers. Slight collisions took place between the United States and China in 1866, and between Japan and China in 1874, when war was with difficulty averted through the timely intervention of the English minister, the cruelties of Formosan savage tribes being on both occasions the cause of contention. Some of the tribal districts of the aborigines consist of eighteen, or thirty-six villages, in many cases not covering more than a hundred square miles, and a comparison of their various dialects point to one parent tongue. Many of the numerals, as well as other words, are closely allied to those used by the

natives of the Philippines (where there are thirty-two dialects spoken), and there is the same linguistic affinity, not only with the more southerly Malayan tribes, but also with the islanders of Polynesia. Last year, making the acquaintance of an American missionary who had laboured for forty-five years in the North Pacific, and repeating to him some of the numerals of our mountain tribes, I was surprised to learn that they were the identical syllables used by the Sandwich Islanders. Ignorant and treacherous, without idols or temples, there are found among these people a few indistinct rudiments of theism, and some confused ideas of the immortality of the soul; and whether around the domestic hearth or camp fire, they still manifest some attachment to their religious traditions. Their strict adherence to monogamy, and jealous regard for female purity, might indicate contact with a higher civilisation in the past, but constant friction with the Mongolian is rapidly obliterating these primitive vestiges. Before going to hunt, they split open a betel nut, place inside of it a scarlet bead, lay it in the palm of the hand, and wave it toward heaven, invoking assistance in the chase, then laying it on the ground, go their way. Over a sick person the banana leaf is waved, the painful part is kissed, and whether the patient lives or dies, the only reward to which the doctor is entitled is also a red bead.

Like all mountaineers, they are fond of spirituous liquors, which they distil from millet or rice; and it is worthy of observation that, when they squat around the convivial board, some of the members of the company dip their forefinger in their cup of wine, and before raising it to the lips, sprinkle a drop or two on the ground, while the rest of the party drink without any such ceremony. You are told, with some satisfaction, that the more worthy half who so sacrificed, had killed an enemy, and these drops were intended to propitiate his departed spirit. An unusual matrimonial custom obtains among them. When a girl sets her heart on a youth belonging to her own or to a neighbouring village, she shews her affection by going with him and herding the cattle or digging potatoes; and if she wins his affections, the day is fixed for the marriage, when she brings him into her father's house. This she will not leave under any circumstances till after her parents' death, when she is free to follow her husband wherever

he chooses. Unlike what obtains in China, this domestic law keeps the female child under the parental roof, and consequently a daughter is the more desirable acquisition.

Owing to the overcrowded state of the houses, the chiefs have built beehive-looking dormitories in various parts of their villages, with a view to the separation of the sexes. In these bamboo structures the young men pass the night, and when not engaged in the chase, make mats or coats of skin.

As one travels from village to village, no graveyards are visible. The grave is dug five or six feet deep under the flooring of the house for any of the members of the household; but when either of the parents dies, he or she is buried under the nuptial bed. Distinction of race may explain how the rites of sepulture differ from those of more civilised peoples, but it may seem more incredible that there is a higher deference and respect paid to women by these rough children of nature than by their politer and more astute neighbours. As soon as they tender their allegiance to the Chinese, and begin to wear the queue, their women lose every vestige of that dignity and respect which from an early antiquity was accorded by the other sex; and in various localities women are invested with some personal authority.

A gentleman belonging to our Pekin legation, who visited these tribes in 1873, sent a graphic account of his journey to the *Times*:—

"A few steps further brought us to the house of the chief, who was a ruler over ten tribes. He was away on a hunting expedition, and we were received by his wife. The house in which they lived was, in fact, a pent-house, consisting of one room, used for eating and sleeping. The end towards the road was excavated so that a person could stand upright in it, although the roof was but five feet from the level of the road. This portion of the room had mats upon the floor, and a wooden settee ran round it against the wall, whereon was seated the wife of the chief. She was a handsome young woman, with regular features and fine eyes, but her good looks were much marred by an incipient goitre. Our guide entered the room first, and advancing to the divan on which the lady was seated with her legs tucked up under her, he raised her hands to his lips and reverently kissed it. She bowed to us as we advanced in succession with all the dignity of a Western princess. On her head was a massive wreath of brilliant yellow flowers; and we learnt afterwards that married women had the privilege of wearing flowers in their hair, while those who were not married might only wear leaves. Her dress was of green cloth, with a red and yellow border, and round her neck she wore a necklace of beads. . . .

On the wife of the chief being informed that we positively intended starting, whether she sent an escort with us or not, no further opposition was made; on the contrary, she attired herself in a gala costume of green cloth, did up her hair with fresh flowers, and smeared her face with oil. Then seating herself on the divan, she extended her hand for us to kiss as we bade her farewell. I fired three shots from my rifle, which I was told was a civility, and we started down the mountain. On reaching the outskirts of the village we were requested to stop, and presently we saw the wife of the chief being carried down the path towards us on the back of a stalwart warrior. We learnt that it was against etiquette for her to put her feet to the ground outside her own precincts, but that as she wished to see us safely on our road, she had desired to be carried to the limits of the settlement. The warrior deposited her upon a stone bench, and we again bade her a formal farewell."

After the States of Holland had thrown off the Spanish yoke, and adjusted their internal affairs, they succeeded in founding an empire in the East. The Portuguese preceded them, both as navigators and colonists, but were supplanted by them in the Malay Archipelago. In 1625 the Dutch became masters of Formosa, and for more than a quarter of a century they preached the gospel, and established schools, in the various villages which lay within a day's journey of their head-quarters at Fort Zelandia, till their mission was extinguished by Koxinga, a Chinese adventurer, who attacked the Dutch garrison, and after a siege of nine months, obliged it to capitulate, the garrison being allowed to retire to Batavia.

For twenty-two years this chief and his son governed the island as an independent kingdom. His grandson was persuaded to visit the Court of Pekin, and voluntarily surrendered the island to the reigning dynasty in 1683. The Dutch colony of the seventeenth century, whatever good it may have effected during the brief term of its existence, has left no permanent fruits. After a lapse of two hundred years, the island has become once more the field for the Christian effort of two Western Protestant churches, whose form of doctrine and type of church government are not far removed from those of the ancient church of Holland. The Presbyterian Church of England and the Presbyterian Church of Canada are now aggressors on the heathenism of Formosa; but how changed are all the conditions under which the new effort is being made! Then, it was upon a Malayan population, ignorant and simple, dwelling in sparsely scattered villages, and who, without much difficulty, yielded themselves to the teachings of the Dutch

pastors. Now, the foreground is occupied by a comparatively dense Chinese population, neither ignorant nor simple, dwelling in walled cities as well as towns and villages, clinging tenaciously to their own religious rites, and viewing with much suspicion, if not with contempt, the propagators of an alien faith. The old Malayan races, not a little corrupted by contact with their superior, but guileful neighbours, are now wholly pushed into the background. If in this respect, however, the later teachers have a far more difficult task than their predecessors, in other respects they have an immense advantage. Then, the missionary spirit was a mere appendage to a scheme of colonisation, and was constantly subjected to political and commercial necessities, which checked the zeal of every godly pastor who might arrive on the field.

So far as can be ascertained, it was always limited to the comparatively few villages which accepted a modification of Dutch rule and civilisation, and which were situated within a day's journey of the political head-quarters. And there can be little doubt that the intense desire to stand well with the Japanese, and to oust the Portuguese from the Japanese trade, led the Dutch East India Government to prohibit the baptism of converts, lest the Japanese should think that they coveted anything but commercial relations. Happily the missions of these days are trammelled by no such restrictions. They aim at nothing less than the evangelisation of the whole island, but are entirely unfettered by either political or commercial considerations. The most significant and striking features of comparison between the missionaries of two hundred years ago and those of the present day will be found in the appliances of work. To take but a single instance, the use of the printing press; it cannot be doubted that the wonderful facilities for printing have put a new face, not only on some of the methods, but especially on the results of mission work. It is no longer possible to wipe out Christianity from a region by the slaughter of so many converts. Where the gospel has taken real hold of any fair number of individuals, and the word of God is liberally diffused amongst them, and amongst the many who are inclined to hear, the difficulties of the persecutor are greatly increased. What occurred in Madagascar during the long and relentless persecutions might almost be predicted of any other island or district where similar conditions of a living faith and a

circulating Bible exist. The power and preciousness of the written Word must become in such circumstances vastly deepened; a single leaf might prove not only a treasure to its possessor, but the sword of the Spirit to subdue other hearts.

Although the Dutch occupied Formosa thirty-six years, no dictionary of the native dialect was ever printed by the labourers of those days. It was reserved for the second or third generation later, to print as a curious relict of former times a manuscript dictionary of the Favorlang dialect of Formosa, which was discovered in the archives of Batavia. In 1872, through the labours of the Amoy missionaries, and under the editorship of Dr Maxwell, the Chinese New Testament was prepared in Romanised colloquial, which has been widely circulated among these illiterate tribes; while the valuable Chinese-English dictionary of the Amoy vernacular, by the Rev. Dr Douglas, has supplied for all future workers an ever ready instrument for the acquisition of the language.

While labouring on the mainland opposite, the Rev. W. C. Burns, the first missionary of the Presbyterian Church in England to China, left Amoy in a sailing vessel with the intention of preaching the gospel in Formosa, but the vessel in which he sailed was, by stress of weather, driven back to the mainland, and he did not renew the attempt. In 1865, the Rev Dr Douglas and Dr Maxwell, of our Amoy mission, crossed the channel, and attempted to plant a native church at Taiwanfoo, but the authorities and *literati* excited the populace to a riot, and drove the two missionaries and their native assistants out of the city. Dr Douglas returned to his own sphere of labour at Amoy, while Dr Maxwell succeeded in establishing himself at Takao, a treaty port, twenty miles southward. From Takao, as a centre, the work spread in the southern district, till at the end of 1875 there were twelve stations with three hundred and ninety-three members, and an average attendance of eight hundred persons on the Lord's day services. In 1869 the capital was successfully occupied as the head-quarters of our mission, and at the end of 1875 there were fourteen stations connected with this centre, with a membership of 545, and an average attendance at the weekly services of 1470 persons. In 1872 the Rev. George Mackay arrived in Formosa as the first missionary of the Canadian Presbyterian Church. He occupied Tamsui, the northern treaty port, and at the end of last year there was

connected with that centre eleven stations, with a membership of eighty, and an average attendance on the weekly services of seven hundred persons.

There are now seven foreign missionaries working in Formosa; five of these belong to the Presbyterian Church of England, and two are in connection with the Canadian Presbyterian Church.[1] Of our members and adherents, nearly the half are able to read the word of God for themselves.

The Scriptures in the Romanised form have been widely circulated amongst our twelve aboriginal stations. The power of reading this simplified medium is attainable in three months; and many of our adult Chinese members who could not read their own character, have gladly availed themselves of this easy method to read the book of God.

It has been stated how our missionaries were driven out of Taiwanfoo in 1865. In 1875, there assembled in the same city a united conference of the missionaries, preachers, elders, and deacons of the English and Canadian Churches, in all, one hundred and eight delegates, representing thirty-seven stations with a membership of over a thousand, and a nominal population of at least five times that number. And at the close of the second day's discussions, the brethren gathered around the Lord's table, and thereafter a party went out and held an evangelistic service in one of the squares of the city.

The primitive church and many modern missions have been cradled in the midst of persecution. The Formosa mission has been no exception to this rule. In 1865, the literati not only succeeded in expelling the first preachers from the capital, but in 1868 a much more persistent attempt was made to terrify the natives as regards the new doctrine, and destroy the infant church.

Dr Maxwell, in his medical report for 1869, thus describes the condition of things:—

"The chief interest of this report centres in the re-commencement of mission labours at Taiwanfoo, the capital of the island. The authorities

[1] The Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia has for several years supported two native preachers, and maintains a correspondence with them through the missionaries. In Scotland, last year, nearly £3000 was contributed chiefly by members of the Free Church for the support of the China mission at Amoy, Swatow, and Formosa. A Roman Catholic mission was planted in Formosa in 1860.

succeeded in forcing us out of this city in 1865, and for four years it was found impossible to return to it; but the effect of the conflict at the close of last year was to re-open the whole question of treaty rights, and as Taiwanfoo is one of the treaty ports, there was not a shadow of ground on which the authorities could justify their conduct in 1865. . . . The English interference was provoked not by untutored savages, but by the highest authorities in the island—by the Chinese governor, and by the various mandarins of the several districts into which Formosa is divided.

"The provocation consisted, as we are enabled to scan it now, in an attempt to ignore all treaty relations with foreigners, and to compel them to submit to the ordinary position of Chinamen, or leave the island. It attacked merchants in every article of commerce by illegal prohibitions and taxations, by attempted exactions on foreign shipping, by seizing their Chinese agents and correspondents, by armed surrounding of their premises, and by threats, and actual attacks upon their lives. It attacked missionaries, Protestant and Roman Catholic alike, by the studied circulation from the mandarin offices outwards throughout the whole island of the most diabolical accusations and slanders; by the systematic destruction, under the patronage of the mandarins, of the various chapels and dispensaries throughout the country; by the cruel persecution of Christian men and women, the plundering of their houses, and such treatment as compelled them to flee for their lives; by the imprisonment of one catechist, the repeated flogging of another, and the brutal murder of a third; by publicly accusing one missionary of various acts of murder, and demanding punishment of those crimes at the hands of his consul, whilst absolutely refusing to allow the consul to make any examination into the truth of the said charges. At the close of the struggle between the local authorities and the British consul, and on the proclamation by the commissioner that liberty to worship God was permitted to the Chinese, and that the treaty was to be respected, mission work was at once re-commenced."

But notwithstanding this fiery ordeal during the eight months the native Christians were obliged to live at Takao as refugees, not a single instance came to our knowledge of one who denied the faith he had embraced. This may partly be explained by the circumstance, that at the time they were surrounded by an atmosphere of instruction, worship, and prayer, and partly by the impassive nature of the people to suffering, and even to death. Confined to the narrow limits of the settlement, they set apart stated times for private and united supplication and prayer, and for sustaining the severely tested faith of the brethren. "Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning."

The official persecution of 1868, as might have been expected, failed to extirpate Christianity, but did us the essential service

of causing the people to understand that they could enjoy religious toleration in the profession of a foreign faith, and that their authorities must respect treaties. However, unable to interpret aright the gravity of the circumstances which led us to vindicate on this occasion our treaty rights, many people were urged by their litigious tendencies to suppose that every trifling act of persecution would in the future be as promptly redressed; and not only so, but many cherished the mistaken idea that if civil suits should arise with their mandarins, the missionary would act as their friend and advocate.

Consequently, during 1869, mingled motives brought crowds to our hospitals and chapels. The farming and shopkeeping classes were not slow to discover the advantages gained by those who had derived substantial benefits from the consul and missionary. Influenced by such unworthy motives, numbers, who at the outset had no desire for the Word of God, came under the sound of the preacher's voice, and week after week listened to that truth which has the same power now as in apostolic days; while the missionaries perceiving the favourable opportunity offered them, scattered the seed broadcast over this ill-conditioned soil, and, as time has proved, much of this seed has sprung up and borne fruit. Thus it ever has been, and will be to the end of the world, as in primitive days, when even mercenary motives brought crowds around the apostles; and the history of mediæval and modern missions attest the same truth, that it was not only from the lower stratum of society the first converts were obtained, but also from among those who approached the gospel through idle curiosity, or even with selfish ends in view.

What Froude says in *Short Studies on Great Subjects* is applicable to Formosa: "In the sciences the philosopher leads; the rest of us take on trust what he tells us. The spiritual progress of mankind has followed the opposite course. Each forward step has been made first among the people, whereas from among the learned have the last converts been obtained." Our first converts, although obtained chiefly from the agricultural and trading population, do not exclusively belong to these classes. Of the forty native preachers, about one-fourth are youths of some natural parts and early education, whilst at a few of our stations there are elders and members who are capable of conducting the weekly or the

evening worship during the absence or illness of the regular assistant in charge.

In reference to this large accession to the Christian Church, some very natural questions occur. 1. Do the converts give indications of rising morally? 2. What discipline is exercised? 3. What has been done towards self-support? 4. What measure of organisation has been attained, and what progress in school and training work?

1. Any one who wishes to form an accurate estimate of the moral standing of these converts, their imperfect ideas of doctrine, their frequent failings in practice, and lack of a high-toned spirituality, must take into account the fearfully degenerate state of heathen society. It will thus be found easy to account for seeming anomalies. Wherever the grace of God is deposited as a seed in the heart of the European or the Asiatic, it must of necessity grow, but this growth may not be equally rapid. In the latter case, it lacks the advantages possessed by the European, brought up under a standard made for him by the religious atmosphere which surrounds him, whereas the other, owing to greater moral weakness and the deadening influences around him, may commit so many mistakes as to raise the question, Whether such unsteady conduct is compatible with true conversion? The converts in apostolic days were frequently exhorted to put away these very sins. Our experience of church life in Formosa, the conditions of which are somewhat analogous to those of the first century, teaches us to combine humility with gratitude. Some of the members give good evidence of the new birth, others may have experienced it, but their light only burns dimly and irregularly; whilst there is a third class who require to be admonished and disciplined.

2. What discipline is exercised? During 1875 five per cent. of the membership were under discipline, but probably one or two per cent. would be restored. The sins to which our converts are specially liable are unclean conduct, opium smoking, and a disregard for the Lord's day. Our custom is to call the backslider before the pastor and elders, then faithfully and lovingly counsel him. If he acknowledge his guilt and shew signs of contrition, united prayer is offered on his behalf, and at the next meeting of the brethren, with the announcement of his name and sin, they are informed he is

meanwhile suspended from church privileges, till such time as he gives satisfactory evidence of repentance. If after a year of probation his conduct betokens penitence, he is again received into our fellowship, but if there are no indications of reformation, his name and guilt are a second time proclaimed, and he is expelled from the church. On one occasion while the pastor and elder were inquiring after a backsliding husband absent from home, the heathen wife gave the following reason (different from those mentioned above) for the apostasy of her husband: "Ever since my husband has believed this gospel, he has been involved in family afflictions. In three years four of his relations have died, his uncle, brother, sister, and last of all, our only child." The taunts of the heathen were too much for this severely tried member, "Where is now your God?"

3. What is the measure of self-support? In their relation to the parent church, these spiritual children can only remain in leading strings for a limited time, otherwise their proper growth and development will be seriously arrested. Before Christianity can become indigenous, this subject will require to be persistently and discreetly placed before these infant communities, and every addition to the native pastorate should, if possible, be self-supporting. In Formosa, a healthy emulation has been witnessed between the Malay and the Chinaman in the matter of chapel-building. Through the wide-spread influence of the hospital, the gospel often finds access into inland districts where the itinerant preacher has never come. By these aboriginal villagers numbers of chapels have been built at no expense, or at a very trifling outlay to the mother church, and when the Chinese began to move in the same direction, the example of their poorer brethren was used as a lever to elevate their cooler zeal. Of the thirty-seven buildings for worship, all of which are the property of the mission, not more than half-a-dozen have been entirely built, or purchased, with foreign money. The practice of systematic giving has been in operation for a number of years. It is far more difficult to get a native schooled to give a small sum weekly or monthly, than it is to get a good contribution from him for some new church. The Presbyterian missions in Formosa contributed in 1875 towards self-support about £75. One station, with a membership of sixty-one, contributed £8, while

another, with a membership of seven, gave eight shillings. And in addition to these yearly gatherings, more than £550 was collected by the natives between 1871–5, for building new places of worship. The weekly prayer-meeting of the home churches has been called the spiritual thermometer of congregational life; but the elevation of the spiritual life of these foreign churches will be specially indicated according as they practise systematic giving for the support of Christ's institutions amongst themselves. This will prove a solid guarantee that the truth is asserting its influence not only as regards the individual, but as regards the church in its collective capacity. Then the day will not be far distant when these native churches will be supported by their own funds, ministered to by their own pastors, governed by their own laws, and with the dew of their youth upon them, bring forth fruit to the glory of our common Father.

4. The measure of organisation, school, and training work. The measure of organisation obtained is still very imperfect. Our church life has been unable to express itself through the regularly constituted session and presbytery, but at the majority of our stations elders and deacons have been appointed; as a rule, one elder or deacon in the proportion of one to every twenty members, or thereabouts. The desideratum is a higher level of intelligence and a more extensive knowledge of the Scriptures amongst our members, to fit them for holding these offices, and for taking an active part in the work of the church. Perhaps the most important of our operations is to direct the education of the young, and train a native ministry. Wherever a station has been established with a sufficient number of children, a school has also been attached. In Chinese cities and towns educational facilities are abundant, but the text-books almost exclusively used are the ethics of Confucius and Mencius. Whilst not excluding these from the course of reading, yet, in order to provide Bible instruction, we have our own independent schools for training the children of the church; at the same time an opportunity is afforded to any outsider who may choose to send his children, provided he in common with the Christian parent pay his fair share of the school expenses. The children belonging to the mission schools of the more populous centres, though devoting their time chiefly to the reading and writing of the Chinese char-

acter, also learn the Romanised colloquial; whilst the children of the more isolated hill stations learn to read and write the colloquial, and at the same time acquire some proficiency in the character.

There are fifteen schools, with about three hundred children in attendance. Of these about one-half is Chinese and the other half Aborigines. It is necessary to compare the relative value of these two elements in our mission as bearing on our future aggressive agencies. Max Müller has remarked[1] that "Missionary work is of two kinds—parental and controversial; the former having to do with rude uncultured tribes, the other with existing forms of religion." Where both kinds come into close proximity, as in Formosa, it is interesting to observe how the salient moral features of each race are manifested under the influence of divine truth. The Christian Chinaman, trained from childhood in the ethics of Confucius, familiar with the idea of authority, and a respector of social order, brings into Christ's house his intellectual energy, steady sobriety, persevering industry, and ready loquacity; but withal he retains some lingering feeling of his national superiority, while ever and anon there is a perceptible lack of veracity and gratitude. The Christian Malay, on the other hand, inherits from early traditions no preconceived prejudices, and possessing many foreign sympathies, imports into his simple faith a commendable self-denial, generous hospitality, and loyal submission; but is sadly wanting in energy, perseverance, and self-reliance. As contrasted with that of his less-cultured neighbour, the decision of the Chinese colonist for Christianity is often urged by more deliberate conviction, and guided by higher intelligence, and when this choice is made in youth, a more fruitful life may be expected as its ultimate issue. Inheriting neither social nor educational advantages, the less-civilised mountaineer is led to this choice, at least when viewed from the human standpoint, by inferior motives. He is more liable to be swayed by an enthusiastic impulse, and yield an obsequious adhesion to the predilections of the superior race, while his gregarious proclivities can at once be evoked by a signal from the leader of his clan. At a hill station a Chinese resident preacher is preferred to one of their own tribe, not simply on the higher ground of his intellectual

[1] Lecture on Missions in Westminster Abbey, December 1873.

culture or spiritual attainments, but even on the lower ground of his superior agricultural and business capacity.

As the past ten years have been almost entirely devoted to evangelization, our native helpers have hitherto been only receiving desultory teaching; but arrangements are in progress for building a seminary, and giving them full and systematic training. Such an institute will not only be devoted to the primary object of Bible study, but will also supply instruction in the rudiments of astronomy, geography, physiology, and kindred subjects, not merely for the purpose of mental improvement, but also for the purpose of removing traditional superstitions and misconceptions with regard to the solar system, our planet, and the human body. The goal contemplated through a sufficient preaching and teaching staff, is to provide a native pastorate, under whose guidance and direction the native church may crystallise after the apostolic model, and according to the conditions imposed by its new surroundings.

Besides direct results, the mission has been accompanied by many indirect results, which ought to be taken into account while estimating its value. Many of the fifty thousand patients who, during ten years, have passed through our hospitals, and to whom the word of God has been spoken, not merely collectively, but often in a personal way, have derived both temporal and spiritual benefit, though their names have never been enrolled on the register of membership. Travelling through the island, reports have again and again reached us of persons who have died, fifty and a hundred miles distant from our station, who from the testimony of survivors, died with the name of Jesus on their lips, charging their heathen relatives not to bury them according to the usual rites of idolatry. These testimonies, at the last hour, lead friends and neighbours to inquire about the grounds of such a joyful and assuring death, and in this way unknown districts are partially leavened with gospel truth before regular instruction can be supplied. Remarkable instances of successful surgical operations have been known to startle a whole village, or a group of villages, embracing several thousands of a population; and even where inquiry has not resulted in a decisive renunciation of idols, the preacher has found a certain sympathy on the part of those who have witnessed the benevolent aims of Christianity.

Visitors from a distance to such localities, like the Greeks at Jesusalem, "would see Jesus," and are often led to inquire about his doctrine, and though such inquiries are but superficial, they are to those who watch for the morning a token for good in the midst of the prevailing gloom. Then there is a general medium of communication throughout the empire by the written character, so that a native of one province coming into another where the popular dialect is different, can still understand his fellow-subjects by the help of paper or a slate. The Chinese are a motto-loving people, and often decorate their houses and even the door posts with texts or phrases which frequently catch the stranger's eye. It has been a favourite practice among the members of our church to hang over the domestic hearth the three characters signifying "Christian." After the erection of one of our churches, it was refreshing to read the two following sentences on the sides of the door:—"The heavenly Father's merciful heart sent down the happy doctrine.". "Jesus' grace and righteousness opened the living gate." Intercourse with literary men shews that not a few of them have acquired some knowledge of the way of life, and however crude their notions may be of the spiritual and moral ends contemplated by the religion of Christ, it is apparent that if they have not been reading the Scriptures, they have obtained such knowledge through Christian literature, or through the newspapers in the Chinese character, now perused by the more educated portion of the public.[1]

During the two centuries the Chinese have been colonising Formosa, it has been as a cave of Adullam for the insolvent, distressed, or restless populations of the empire. Although their idolatries are transplanted, they sit somewhat looser to them in the young colony than in a state of society where the rights of Buddhism have prevailed for nearly two thousand years. The three ports on the Chinese coast with which a large trade is carried on are Foochow, Amoy, and Swatow; and at each of these ports, more especially at Amoy, where the same dialect is spoken, the gospel had already taken good hold before any attempt was made on Formosa. With these lines of

[1] Newspapers are now in circulation along the coast, at the treaty ports, and even find inland subscribers. There are several small "Reviews" in the character. One is devoted chiefly to scientific subjects; another to political and religious questions.

communication ever open, not only with these important treaty ports, but also with numerous minor harbours and towns along the coast, it is obvious how many indirect influences are in operation, favouring the rapid spread of the gospel in Formosa, as connected with the previous work on the mainland. These migratory influences act and interact beneficially on the island and on the mainland. But there is a group of twenty-two islands (Pescadores) to the west, with a Chinese population of about a quarter of a million, dependent on Formosa for their rice supply, into which the gospel was introduced by Christian traders in 1869; and more recently, by means of our hospital work, it has also found entrance into an island contiguous to the South Cape, and into other two on the east coast. One of our most trustworthy and intelligent preachers is from the Pescadores, and although none of the missionaries has hitherto visited these groups, reports have been frequently brought that on these islets one household here, and another there, friends and relatives of our members, have cleansed their houses of idols, pray to God through the one Mediator, and are waiting for regular instruction. The rulers of Formosa have not been in direct antagonism either with merchant or missionary since 1868; but some of them since that time have occasionally been compelled to seek the aid of our doctor for themselves and for their subordinates. When the Japanese expedition in 1874 was fighting with the savages of the south-east coast, nearly twenty thousand Chinese troops, with neither commissariat nor ambulance corps, were hurried into the island, and it has been computed that more than the half died from fever and other diseases. Our hospitals became government hospitals both for officers and men. As shewing progress in liberal ideas, it is worthy of remark that after the sick were transported to Shanghai, the mandarins, in appreciation of the benevolent services of a Christian towards the sick, gave him a small sum of money. For direct benefits conferred upon themselves, several of the leading authorities have voluntarily sent donations for the medical work. Irrespective of these official or personal considerations, as regards their bearing towards the religion of Jesus, some improvement has taken place. They have still the same pronounced dislike to a foreign faith, but less misunderstanding exists as to its ends and aims; and often when paltry and petty persecutions

harass Christian districts, the abettors are underlings of the Yamen, who instigate them for selfish purposes without the cognizance of their superior.

Formosa is but a fraction of an almost inconceivable whole. Eight days before his death, Neander said, "It is a great step towards the Christianising of our planet if Christianity find entrance into China." Seventy years have elapsed since the first Protestant missionary was sent from England to China, but at the present time the energy and enterprise of the American, and the systematic thoroughness of the German, are united with the courage and perseverance of the Englishman in the attempt to subdue this great moral waste to order, beauty, and fertility.

During May of this year, the first general missionary conference will meet in the city of Shanghai for discussing subjects of common interest, and evoking greater effort and prayer. But the main hope for the evangelisation of every heathen land depends on a revived spiritual life in our colleges and pulpits at home; while at the same time the church should not be satisfied with sending out individual labourers, but should aim at the establishment of well-equipped missionary institutes, which would serve the double purpose of directing youthful zeal to the foreign field, and, so far as practicable, supplying facilities for studying the history, literature, and language of the countries respectively chosen. Indications are not wanting that the three missionary religions of the world are closing for the final conflict.

Mohammedanism, socially corrupt and politically bankrupt, still shews signs, not only in Turkey, but also in India and Africa, of a keen religious intensity. The rude shocks it has lately encountered in Turkey, has aroused its fanatical zeal and revealed its uncompromising exclusiveness. Buddhism, with the religious census of the world in its favour, has been transplanted through Chinese emigration to the American and Australian continents, and in all probability will find its way into Europe. Looking at the remarkable fecundity of the Chinese, the vitality of their institutions, their stereotyped individuality, their mercantile and intellectual capacity, and the tenacity of their religious convictions, it will be perceived what a formidable foe may yet have to be encountered even in this Christian land. Mohammedan ethics have never proved trustworthy safeguards of morality. The milder and more attractive

faith of Buddha has now lost the aggressive enthusiasm which characterised some of its first missionaries, and rests more on political and social supports than on the settled religious convictions of its devotees. Christianity is the tree of life for the healing of the nations. As the great moral factor in the world, her conquests on the field of missions during the past century prove to any candid observer that the energy of her youth is still upon her, and that in the future, as in the past, she must go forth conquering and to conquer. A glance at the map will shew that India and China are the two great fortified citadels of idolatry, the key of the whole position; let them be evangelised, and the world becomes Christian. But the solemn cry is raised in the temple in heaven, and now echoing through the church on earth, "Who is on the Lord's side?" "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" To any youth whose heart has been touched by the live coal, and who possesses the physical and mental qualifications, and who may feel constrained to devote his life to Christ's work in China, there is promised a hopeful field and brotherly welcome, with toils and persecutions, but at the coming of the Lord a great reward. HUGH RITCHIE.

ART. VIII.—*Vatican Approval of the Massacre of St Bartholomew.*

IN a former article we have shewn the spirit which animated Saint Pius and his Church, and their influence on the politics of that day. We will now see whether his successor and the Roman Church approved of the practical *results* which that influence and advice produced, more especially in France. At the death of this saint—"the greatest instigator of the Catholic mind to the extirpation of the Protestants in every country," as Sharon Turner calls him—Gregory XIII. was in May 1572 elected to succeed him; prior to his taking orders he had been married, and indeed our contemporary authority, De Perussis (vol. i. p. 152), in his Diary notes down the fact that in 1573 Gregory had elevated to high dignities and created a Roman gentleman his illegitimate son, born before he took orders.

Worthily following the footsteps of Pius, Gregory, according

to Platina's (Sacchi's) continuation of the *Lives of the Popes*, turned his attention towards aiding the Emperor and Charles IX. to extirpate heresy as much as possible, and to propagate the Catholic faith. With this object he spent large sums, besides what he sent to Charles IX. to continue the war with the heretics; in order that he might not be compelled by want of money to enter into peace with the heretics, which would have been injurious to the faith, he sent him 40,000 ducats.

This money might however have been spent in Rome with greater advantage, for notwithstanding the inestimable blessings attending the rule of God's vice-regent on earth, the state of the holy city seems to have been more lawless and desperate than that of any other town; for our historian declares that the holy father would have had a happier and quieter reign if he had not been greatly afflicted by the banditti, who became so powerful in the territories of the church, and so capable of doing injury, that not only were they to be feared in the open country and towns, but what was most remarkable, no one was safe either in person or property even in the heart of Rome itself. None could tell the numbers of those they robbed or slew; nor did this last for a short time, but their atrocities extended over many years, and it was only in the reign of his successor, Sixtus V., that some stop was put to this discreditable state of things.

Three months after Gregory's accession, the massacre took place in Paris, and great was the exultation thereat when the news arrived at the Vatican. Cardinal de Lorraine was so overjoyed that he gave the messenger a thousand gold crowns, exclaiming, "The king's heart must have been filled with a sudden inspiration from God when he gave orders for the slaughter of the heretics," and rejoiced exceedingly "that members of his family had been the principal actors in this great and memorable act" (De Thou, vol. iv.; De Montor, *Pontifes Romains*, vol. iv.). No time was lost; public thanksgivings were ordered on such a scale as shewed that the importance of the event was fully appreciated by the holy father, and that the Vatican well understood that it was not only the death of Coligny and a few conspirators, but the extermination of an entire sect which they were celebrating and extolling.

Indeed ignorance of the real extent of the massacre cannot

be alleged in extenuation of the papal exultation by any one who is acquainted with historic facts. That the *full details* were actually known at Rome before the rejoicings were ordered by Gregory, is vouched for by Capilupi, who says that when the officer sent there by the Duke d'Aumale to notify the event to him (and who was also bearer of the king's letters to the pope) had arrived, the Cardinal de Lorraine interrogated him as to how it had happened, and its details, so it was at once seen that this king's messenger *had been present,* "et qu 'il *estait très bien informé de l'ordre de toute l'entreprise et de ce qui s'y devait faire.*"[1]

The news arrived at the Vatican before the 6th September,[2] for on that morning the *letters written by the papal legate* in Paris were *read* at the meeting of the council of the pope and his cardinals. Solemn thanks in St Mark's were ordered the following Monday, a high mass was to be celebrated at the "Minerva" before the pope and cardinals, and a jubilee to be proclaimed for all Christendom; guns were fired from St Angelo, and bonfires illuminated Rome. On the 8th, took place the great procession of the pope to the church of St Louis, accompanied by the bishops, cardinals, ambassadors, nobles, Swiss guard, cavalry, &c. Over the entrance of the church was the following inscription, which tells volumes as to the part played by Rome in bringing on this catastrophe. It is so conclusive, that we must give it in full:—

"To the most auspicious Pope Gregory XIII., to the sacred college of illustrious cardinals, to the senate and Roman people. Charles IX., the most Christian king, fired with zeal for the god of armies, suddenly like[3] an exterminating angel divinely sent, *having by a certain opportunity exterminated nearly all the heretical enemies in his State,* in perpetual memory of this great blessing, having now peace, and rejoïcing *in the terrible effects,* incredible results, the happiness accomplished throughout by the grace of God, *the counsels given, the aid and succour sent,* the prayers offered up during twelve entire years; the requests, supplications, tears, and sighs of his people and of all Christians offered before the great and glorious God: and foreseeing that this auspicious event (taking place as it does at the commencement of the pontificate of the most excellent Father Gregory XIII., shortly after his admirable and divine election, together with the happy continuance of the Levant expedition) portends and signifies a re-establishment of ecclesiastical matters, and of the strength and bloom of religion, hitherto weak and withering; on this account,

[1] *Archives Curieuses,* f°. 465. [2] *Mem. de l'Estat,* Tome, 1er.
[3] *Angelo percussore divinitus immisso.*

uniting with you this day in earnest prayers, and though absent in body, yet present in mind,—he renders grateful thanks to the great and good God in this church of St Louis, his predecessor, praying him most humbly that he may not be disappointed in his hope. Charles, of the title of St Apollinarius, Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Cardinal of Lorraine, has desired to make this known and testify it to the world, in this year of our Lord 1572."[1]

In the Bodleian Library is still to be seen an original copy of the prayers and responses used at this grand thanksgiving service, and containing the above inscription. It is entitled, "Ordine della Solennissima processione fatta dal Sommo Pontefice nell'alma Citta di Roma per la *felicissima nova* della *destruttione della Setta Ugonotana,*" and is printed by the "*Impresori Camerali in Roma,* 1572." It gives the order in which the procession was conducted. First came the confraternities, then the "religious," priests, canons, the court of his holiness in full dress, then his golden cross, his protonotaries, auditors, bishops, cardinals—surrounded by the Swiss guard—the ambassadors, and then his holiness himself, under the magnificently embroidered Baldacchino, borne by illustrious persons, and surrounded and followed by a cloud of courtiers and officials.

The mass was conducted by the French cardinal, Janses, "in gratiarum actiones di tanto beneficio ricevuto da nostro Signore Dio, alla quale rispondeva con suavissima e dolcessima musica, la Capella di nostro Signore, che diede allegrezza a tutti i circonstanti e alla citta di Roma; conoscendosi in questo, quanto questa Citta fusse affettionata alla religione, e al Regno di Francia."

The principal collect was, "Almighty and eternal God, who resistest the proud, but givest grace to the humble, we render thee worthy prayers, praises, and devout thanks, in that, saving the faith of thy servants, thou hast wrought gladness for thy catholic people out of the perfidious race. We humbly pray thee that, what thou hast faithfully begun, thou wouldest mercifully follow up, to the praise and glory of thy name, which is now invoked by us thy servants, through Christ our Lord," &c. Meanwhile, on the 27th August, while Paris was still streaming with Huguenot blood, the metropolitan chapter of the cathedral of Notre Dame ordered for the following Sunday a religious ceremony and procession, "to thank God for

[1] *Memoires de l'Estat.*

the extermination of heresy and of the enemies of our holy catholic faith so happily *commenced.*"

We may well be shocked to find the worthy canons so extremely exacting as to consider the three days butchery which had already taken place only "a commencement," and cannot be surprised, after sanction from such a holy quarter, to find that the massacres were still going on in Paris up to the 26th September, according to the Count St Pol, ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, or up to 5th October, according to Perussis, while in the departments they continued for a much longer period.

The devout feeling displayed by De Perussis in his Diary (October 1572) must be highly edifying to every good catholic. He says, "At Paris they are still executing the rebels against God and the king: it was evidently a miracle that in one early hour of the morning, and without spilling any catholic blood, over two hundred and fifty chief Huguenots and their fellows were slain!"

Will our Jesuit writers say, after these clear admissions publicly posted in August and September 1572, and under the very eyes of the pope and his legate, that "the church had nothing to do with it," and that "the pontiff did not know the details of the massacre as we do"? Why! this inscription alone is enough to refute the paltry excuse, for it states as distinctly as possible that Charles had, "by a certain opportunity, *exterminated nearly all the heretical enemies,*" and acknowledges the spiritual aid of "the grace of God, (?) the counsels given, the aid and succour sent (through the papal general Sforza, doubtless), the prayers offered up during twelve entire years." Would these words apply to the execution of half-a-dozen conspirators? Would such rejoicings have taken place for such a simple and everyday execution? and will it be pretended that the "felicissima nuova della destruttione della Setta Ugonotana" does not prove a knowledge of the extent of the massacre?

A year after this the cardinal, openly and in Charles's presence, praised the "holy dissimulation the king had shewn."[1] Some months after the massacre, Gregory XIII. sent his legate, Cardinal Orsini, to France, who was received at

[1] **Mackintosh,** *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. iii. p. 226. Dale's Despatch, in State Paper Office.

Lyons with great pomp and pontifical honours,[1] the streets being carpeted for his reception. He was conducted at once on his arrival to the church of St John for vespers, and on leaving, was met by the greater number of the assassins who had murdered in that town numbers estimated variously from eight hundred to four thousand men, women, and children of the Huguenots. They went on their knees and asked absolution. The legate, however, inquiring why they required it, one of the chief citizens told him these were the people who had carried out the massacre in Lyons, whereupon the legate forthwith gave them absolution, making the sign of the cross with his right hand. The ringleader, Boydon, however, would not claim absolution in public, but obtained it from the legate in his private chamber,[2] while (according to Poullin de Lumina in his *Hist. Chrono. de Lyon*) the butcher who had distinguished himself by the slaughter of the greatest number of Huguenots was invited to the legate's table.

Orsini's departure from Rome had been accompanied with every circumstance of pomp and ceremonial, and he was escorted to the gates of the city by a procession of cardinals. The reception of the legate placed the king in an awkward position. To be complimented by the pope was to accept the responsibility of the transaction, and the court advisers seriously thought of requesting the legate to refrain from entering France, but fear of offending the pope carried the day. The cardinal was so free in his open and public praises of the massacre, that the king's ministers actually had to request him to be more moderate in his language, which however, as we have seen, did not prevent his absolving the abominable Boydon and other chief perpetrators of the butchery at Lyons, and praising the greatness of soul of the king.[3] Though Charles had done a good deal in the work of extermination, Orsini was instructed to urge him to go

[1] By Perussi's Journal [in D'Aubais' "Pièces Fugitives, &c., 1759], we see that "the Cardinal-Legate Orsini left Avignon in November 1572, and stayed in Paris till the following March, and his Diary for the anniversary of St Bartholomew's Day in the following year states that 'it was solemnly celebrated by general procession (at Avignon), in which the cardinal-legate and other dignitaries took part.'"

[2] *Mem de l'Estat*, tom. ii. p. 490, ed. 1576. The "Notice sur Mandelot," par A. Pericaud; "Discours du Massacre," par J. Ricaud; De Thou, lib. 54, vol. vi. in 4to, p. 532.

[3] See De Thou, lib. 54, tom. vi. pp. 532–3, edition 1734.

on with this severe policy and *do more*, and the legate obeyed so well, that the ire of Catherine was aroused, said Salviati, and Charles had to say that he thought he had done enough, "having given orders that in every part of his kingdom heretics were to be slain (posti a fil di spada), so that in a few days more than 70,000 were slain (erano stati ammazzati settanta miglia e d'avantaggio)."[1] Orsini assured him he *had* done well, and surpassed all his ancestors in glory!

Salviati's despatch of 2d September 1572 is a good example of the spirit which pervaded the church, even after the massacre. He wrote that "Il Re Christianissimo in tutti questi accidenti in luogo di giudicio, e di valore, ha mostrato animo christiano, con tutti habbia salvato alcuno, but that the other princes who made great professions of catholicism, to merit the favour of the pope, yet had with much diligence endeavoured to save as many as possible."

Cardinal de Guise, two years after the fatal day, wrote to ask the king of Spain for more funds for the murderer of Coligny;[2] while another church dignitary, in the same year, 1574, Father Sorbin, then confessor to king Charles, and subsequently bishop of Nevers, published a short life of Charles, full of his praises as a pious and devout Christian, and lauding him for his vigour against the heretics, and his dissimulation and concealment of his long-settled plan of extermination; more especially does he point out, as a great example of his piety, that on his death-bed the infatuated youth only regretted that his work against the Huguenots had not been more successful. He says the king had in this matter done nothing but what can be defended and authorised by God's own word, and few death-bed scenes can be more ghastly than the one where the guilty soul of Charles, with such thoughts, could be thus prepared by such a priest to appear before its Maker.

When the story was invented of a plot on the part of the Huguenots having made the massacre necessary, Salviati wrote to deny it. In his despatch, 2d September, he says:—"Cela n'en demeurera pas moins faux en tous points, et ce seroit une honte pour quiconque est à même de connaître quelque chose aux affaires de ce monde de le croire;" and when his holiness was afraid of a cessation of the slaughter, and made the nuncio

[1] Cicarelli's *Life of Gregory XIII.*, and Platina's *Vite de Pont.*

[2] Bouillé, *Ducs de Guise.*

urge Charles to further exertions, Salviati sends the following despatch on 22d September :—

"Je lui fis part de la très grande consolation qu 'avaient procurée au Saint Père les succès obtenus dans ce royaume par une grâce singulière de Dieu, accordée à toute la Chretienneté sons son Pontificat.

"Je fis connaître le désir qu'avait Sa Sainteté de voir pour la plus grande gloire de Dieu, et le plus grand bien de la France, *tous les Hérétiques* extirpés du royaume, et j'ajoutai que dans cette vue le Saint Père estimait très à propos que l'on revoquat l'edit de pacification."

And on the 11th October again we find him saying, "Le Saint Père ai-je dit en éprouve *une joie infinie*, et a ressenti une grande consolation d'apprendre que sa Majesté avait commandé de m'ecrire qu'elle espèrait qu'avant peu la France n'aurait plus de Huguenots." Not a word of pity or compassion do we find in any one of the legate's letters, not even in his despatch written on the very days the worst horrors were being perpetrated, which he could not avoid seeing for himself.

Eudæmon-Johannes, Bellarmine's bosom friend, declares his belief that this was an act of clemency and piety ;[1] and another of the Jesuit fathers, Bompianus, in his life of Gregory, says the news was exceedingly agreeable to his holiness, on account of the advantage it was to the church.[2] Moreover, Ferrals the ambassador wrote on 11th September to Charles :—

"Après quelques autres discours qu'il me feist sur le contentement que luy et le collège des Cardinaux avoient recu de la dicte exécution faicte et des nouvelles qui journellement arivoient en ceste cour de semblables exécutions que l'on a faicte et font en plusieurs villes de vostre royaume, qui à dire la verité, sont les nouvelles les plus agréables que je pense qu' on eust sceu apporter en ceste ville, *sa dicte Saincteté* pour fin *me commanda* de vous escrire *que c'est evènement luy a esté* cent fois plus agréable que cinquante victoires semblables à celle que ceux de la Ligue obtinrent l'année passée contre le Turcq ; ne voulant oublier vous dire, Sire, *les commandemens estroictz qu'il nous feist à tous, mesmement aux francais* d'en faire feu de joye, et qui ne l'eust faict eust mal senty de la foy."

Salviati and Cardinal Granvelle both urged Alva to slay his prisoners without ill-advised mercy, and that as they were Huguenots it would be well to drown the whole lot."[3] The latter, when viceroy of Naples, actually complained to the

[1] *Resp. ad. Ep. Casauboni.* 1612. 118.

[2] "Ita maxime jucunda Gregorio accidit."

[3] Granvelle's letter to Morillon, 11th September 1572.

Cardinal de Lorraine, says Grappin, "that it had not taken place long before;" and the celebrated preacher, Panigarola, gave an oration from his pulpit (according to Labitte), when all the details were well known, extolling Charles for having done what never had been previously heard of in the history of the world; while Morvilliers, bishop of Orleans, actually voted with the other members of the royal council in favour of the massacre.

The delight of Gregory XIII. at the intelligence knew no bounds, said the French ambassador at Rome; he proclaimed a jubilee by a bull, for which *in extenso* we must refer our readers to Strype's *Life of Parker*. The words are from one of the original placards distributed in Rome from the Press of the Apostolic Chamber:—

"Nos ipsi statim hoc audito una cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus, in templo Sancti Marci quas maximas potuimus omnipotenti Deo gratias egimus, et ut pro sua immensa bonitate Regem ipsum in persequendo tam pio salutarique consilio conservare et custodire, viresque ei ad Regnum antea religiosissimum a pestilentissimis hæresibus omnino expurgandum, et ad pristinum Catholicæ religionis cultum redigendum ac restituendum subministrare dignetur, ex toto corde, totaque mente nostra precari et obsecrare. . . . Pro felici Christianissimi Regis contra hæreticos successu gratias agant ipsumque orent, ut quæ idem Rex auctore Domino facienda cognovit, ipso operante implere valeat."

He was "merveilleusement ayse d'entendre le discours que mon dit neveu de Beauville lui en feist." Cusano wrote to the German emperor, "All Rome is in delight at the act." Gregory XIII. received at a later period an earnest petition, that he would urge Henry III. of France to exterminate the remaining heretics, to spare neither life nor property, for that such an execution, apparently cruel, was in reality merciful, glorious, and a holy duty;[1] and His Holiness gave an audience in November 1572 to the wretched assassin who fired the arquebus at Coligny, who was introduced to his presence by the Cardinal de Lorraine and the French ambassador.[2]

The reception of the French envoy (brother of Cardinal Rambouillet) by the pope, with great ceremonies, was as late (according to Father Theiner) as the 21st December, four

[1] *Discorso di Monsignor Terracina a Gregorio XIII.* "*Thesauri Politici Contin.*, 1618."

[2] Vienna Archives. Letter to the Emperor from Count Arco, of 15th November 1572.

months after the massacre; and on the 23d took place his oration and the reply of Muretus in full consistory,[1] and the credentials he presented were dated 19th November. Theiner gives them at page 336.

We must not omit to notice these orations pronounced before his holiness the pope by the great orators, Mark Antony Muretus, and Antony Buccapadilius, secretary to Gregory XIII., in whose name the latter spoke. The former termed the Huguenots "a multitude of serpents, not come from above, but out of hell, who, corrupting all things by their breath, and expending their dangerous and accursed poison on every side, tried to take the life of the young king." (This, we beg to say, has been shewn above to be simply a falsehood):—

"My hair stands on end when I mention the things which happened after these infernal plagues and furies were sent by the enemy of the human race. . . . The congratulatory speech made this day to you in the king's name must be most satisfactory to you; for though, on account of the great affection he feels towards you, he would have already discharged this duty before all others, yet, prevented by difficulties which all well know of, he has not been able to do so before the time when, by divine providence, you yourself thought in like manner of the pleasure you felt at this change for the better in his affairs. . . .

"O! happy Catherine, mother of the king, who through many a year, with admirable prudence and care, has kept the kingdom for her son, and her son for the kingdom, now sees her son really reigning. O! happy day, full of joy and happiness, in which you, O holy father, having had this news brought you, went to render thanks to God and to Saint Louis the king, on whose eve these things took place, and yourself accompanied on foot the procession you had ordered. What more agreeable news could have been brought to you, or what happier commencement could we have wished for your pontificate than to see in the first months thereof this pernicious darkness dispelled? . . . Look now on this new David, adorned with the spoils and blood of the slain giant, and thus speaking to you full of happiness at your knees. . . . Though his majesty knew that your holiness could hear of all these things by the Baron de Ferrals, his ambassador to you, yet he thought he could not sufficiently testify his piety and reverence towards you unless he sent you for this purpose a special envoy."

And now let us see the answer of the pope through his spokesman, as we find it given in the copy in the *Bibliothéque Nationale* in Paris (L.B. 33–319), under the heading, "Réponse d'Antoine Buccapadulius J. C. secretaire de sa saincteté au nom d'iceluy sainct Père Gregoire XIII."

[1] See also *Mucantius Diariorum*, T. i. fo. 75.

"Excellent Orator,—Charles, king of France, adorned with the hereditary title of Most Christian, which he has verily acquired and confirmed afresh by the discomfiture and destruction of the heretics, enemies of Jesus Christ, does by this magnificent embassy easily testify to the most holy father and this great and sovereign order (of cardinals) his transcendant virtues and power, and the rank and majesty which he holds so worthily. He rejoices with his holiness, which proceeds from his benign nature; he rejoices with the Church of God with the hope he has derived from his holiness, which proceeds from love. He offers to this holy see both himself and all that is in his power, which is a work of piety. He renews his own obedience and that of his ancestors, shewn in all ages to the apostolic see and the Roman Pontiff, which shews his perseverance in piety. He recounts the hard fight, so close and so perilous, which he has had for the Christian faith, which is an act of magnanimity joined to the same piety, justice, prudence, and wisdom. He promises, finally, all the power he holds from God, and all the means of his kingdom, to bring into the fold of Jesus Christ the nations who have not yet the true faith, and to restore those who have rebelled against it. The king could not have offered a thing more agreeable to God; more useful to the Christian Church, and which his holiness and all good people could more wish for; or more worthy of his glory, and of that of his ancestors. And as these actions are still greater in consideration of the youth of the king, even so much the more acceptable is this embassy, oration, and act of obedience to our holy father the pope, and his venerable brethren the cardinals of the holy Roman Church; and his holiness will have so much at heart all that concerns the dignity and prosperity of the king and his kingdom, that though he readily declares it by word, much more willingly will he shew his love for him by deeds. Pronounced at Rome on the 23d December 1572."

These are pretty good encomiums to be lavished from such a source on the royal assassin and his accomplices, and this too, four months after the event, when all Europe was acquainted with its details; while another undoubted authority, *L'art de verifier les Dates*, published by the Benedictine monks, testifies (vol. iv. page 432) that these rejoicings were *ordered* by the pope; that there were salvos of artillery, illuminations throughout the town, &c., and adds a description of the pictures painted by Vasari, stating that the inscription over the one representing the murder of the admiral bore the words "*Pontifex* Colignii necem probat." We beg to call the attention of the reader to another piece of "Catholic" honesty and straightforwardness. In the magnificent collection of the Abbé Migne's *reprints*, extending over 550 volumes, is one of this *Art de verifier les Dates*. In it the *whole* of the account given by the Benedictines in their work, of the rejoicings at Rome and of the pictures

ordered by Gregory XIII., &c., are omitted. Yet it professes to be a fresh edition *d'après les Benedictins.*

Such is ultramontane honesty. We now give the account omitted. "In 1572 the pope having learnt through the Cardinal de Lorraine, then at Rome, the massacre of the Huguenots on St Bartholomew's Day, fired cannon from the castle of St Angelo, and ordered illuminations throughout the town. Next day he, accompanied by his cardinals, goes on foot to the churches of St Mark and St Louis, to thank heaven for intelligence which he believed to be so advantageous to religion. The ambassador of the emperor bore his train; the Cardinal de Lorraine said mass; medals were struck to commemorate the event; a picture was painted wherein the chief scenes of this horrible massacre were represented. In an inscription over the picture were the words, *the Pontiff approves the murder of Coligny.* He was, however, gentle by nature, and disliked the shedding of blood, so that we may imagine that all this was done for appearance, or as a piece of acting which appeared to him necessary from the position he held." All *after* this and *before* is correctly reproduced. Are we not justified in declining to believe the statements of such a party without the strictest investigation as to their truth?

But true to his word, the pope did not only express his delight by words, he determined to transmit to posterity lasting memorials of this splendid butchery. At his request the celebrated painter Vasari was permitted by his ducal patron to leave Florence for a lengthened visit to Rome, there to adorn the walls of the Vatican with frescoes representing the principal and most glorious episodes of the massacre, and appears to have remained in the holy city about seven months.

Maximilian Misson in his *Nouveau Voyage en Italie,* published in 1731, gives the following description of the pictures, which agrees well with Vasari's account of the original design ordered by Gregory:—

"Talking of painting, I must tell you something of the murder of Admiral Coligni, which is here depicted in three large pictures in the hall where the pope gives audience to ambassadors. In the first picture the assassin Morevel, having wounded Coligni by a shot from his arquebus, he is carried into his house, and at the foot of the picture we read, 'Gaspar Colignius, the admiral, being wounded, is borne to his house. Greg. XIII. Pont. Max. 1572.' In the second, the admiral is massacred in his own house with Teligni, his son-in-law, and others; and

on this picture are the words, 'The slaughter of Coligny and his companions.' In the third, the news of the deed is brought to the king, who shews his pleasure thereat, and 'The king approves the death of Coligny.'

"The pope was not satisfied with painting the story of this massacre as a trophy in his palace; in order the better to perpetuate such a memorable deed, he had moreover medals struck, on which is his effigy and 'Gregorius XIII. Pont. Max. An. I.," and on the reverse an exterminating angel, who in one hand bears a cross, and in the other a sword with which he strikes vigorously, and the words 'Ugonotorum strages, 1572.' These medals have become very rare, but my friends have obtained some for me."

Pistolesi, in his magnificent work on the Vatican,[1] gives a most elaborate description of these frescoes of Vasari, and, alluding to them, we find Father Jones in the *Month*, vol. xvii., stating, "Vasari was in Rome engaged in decorating the Sala Grande with frescoes of the battle of Lepanto. He found a place in the same hall for a fresco of the Huguenots." It would thus appear that, by the merest chance, owing to Vasari *happening* to be in Rome, an odd corner was filled up at the artist's suggestion. Let us see whether this view is borne out by the facts. We have fortunately still extant some letters of the great artist himself referring to the orders he had received from Rome to come there *from* Florence, in which latter place he certainly was in October 1572, and did not go to Rome till the following November, for he writes to his noble patron at Florence on the 17th of that month about his audience with Gregory XIII., and that it was "*the intention of his holiness to have depicted* on the other side *the affairs of the Huguenots which took place this year* under his pontificate." Accordingly he stays in Rome till the following June, when it will hardly be pretended that the full details of the massacre thus represented amongst the glorious events of papal history, were not as well known there as they were in every European court. But we will give the original words of Vasari. He was still at Rome on the 29th May 1573, when he writes to his patron, Cosmo de Medici, to say he would leave "per la prima comodita" for Florence, as he was half dead with over work, but he does not appear to have left Rome till June 1573, as the following extracts from his own letters will shew.

[1] Pistolesi (E.), *Il Vaticano Descritto*, vol. viii. p. 97. Florence, 1838. Published with the "imprimatur" of the ecclesiastical authorities.

We find him writing on 5th October 1572 from Florence: "... On Thursday came a letter from Cardinal Buoncompagnio, who instructs me that the intention of the pope is to finish the Sala de' Re according to my designs, and that I am to be ready to go as soon as possible to Rome, and that he had ordered him to write to me to this effect." Moreover, we find here the letter of introduction written by Cosmo de Medici to his holiness as late as 16th October 1572 (nearly two months after the massacre), and which is as follows:—

"Most holy and blessed father: George Vasari, painter, comes sent by me to obey your holiness, whom I have instructed to serve you in everything you may order, considering it a great honour that you should make use of one of my men. The said George will kiss the holy feet of your holiness in my name, to whom also I wish happiness and long life. From Poggio, this 16th October 1572."

To his friend Borghini he writes on the very day of his arrival at Rome, the 14th November 1572, "Io son arrivato à Roma oggi, e subito visitai il Cardinale Buoncompagnio che m' a fatto molto carezze et voleva stasera menarmi al Papa." ... He also writes to Prince Francesco de Medici on 17th, that he had an audience on 15th November 1572 with the cardinal. The prince replies on 20th November 1572 to Vasari that "His holiness does wisely (prudentemente) in wishing to let appear in the Sala de' Re *such a holy and glorious success as was the execution of the Huguenots* in France [cosi santo e notabile successo come fu l'essecutione contra li Ugonotti], and we shall be delighted if you serve him with the diligence you usually observe in your undertakings." And again on 11th December 1572, and on 12th, to the same princely patron, Vasari gives the following description of the frescoes:—

"His holiness has ordered the compartments representing the Huguenots, which will be three in number—in one the assassination of the admiral, and his being carried to his house, and the visit of the king and queen to him, when they leave two hundred corslets to arm their people for his defence. There will be another in which will be shewn the night when the Guises, accompanied by officers and soldiers break in the doors, murdering many, and Besme kills the admiral, and then they throw him out of the window, where he is massacred; while in-doors and throughout Paris the slaughter and murder of the Huguenots is carried on. In the third will be represented the king going to the church to give thanks to God, and the people bless him, and he proceeds to the council of his parliament while the survivors are being despatched." ...

In a somewhat facetious letter from Rome on 17th November 1572, addressed to Prince Francis de Medici, we find Vasari writing two days after his arrival :—

"I arrived in bad weather at Rome, and on the 15th had an audience with the cardinal, who was much pleased that your highness had sent me, and forthwith we went to our lord the pope, who received me most graciously, and kissed me on the forehead ; I also kissed his feet in the name of your highness and of the grand duke. . . . He informed me that he wished to complete the Sala Regia entirely, and I said I would not fail to fill up the two compartments still wanting, and then we might think of the rest. *His holiness intends filling up the remaining compartments with the affairs of the Huguenots of this year*, which took place under his pontificate."

In the following March (5th), he writes in high spirits: "Il lavoro vien bellissimo"—that judges say he has never succeeded better. He hopes to have ended his labours at the end of April, though he may be compelled to stay through May for the perfect drying of the fresco. He complains bitterly of the cold wind in the Sala Regia; but notwithstanding this, and the snow around, he is well—"et camino gagliardo."[1] . . . Finally, on the 29th May 1573, Vasari wrote that he will leave on Monday, which will be the 1st of June 1573, and all his subsequent letters are dated from Florence.

Thus we prove that Vasari was *specially requested* by his holiness to come expressly to Rome for these frescoes; that Gregory explicitly stated he wished the "affair" of the Huguenots to be depicted, and that he retained the eminent artist at the Vatican nearly seven months, viz., till June 1573, when his Jesuit apologists cannot pretend that the holy father was unaware of the full extent of this "holy and glorious success." Also we have shewn that the preparation of these frescoes was not the "hole and corner" affair Father Jones would make it out; but that it was carefully premeditated, designed, and carried out at the suggestion, and with the concurrence and aid, of Gregory XIII. himself.

In addition to these pictures, his holiness ordered medals to be struck in honour of this memorable extermination. The following is the description given of this medal by a worthy French ecclesiastic, Father Du Molinet, a canon and numismatist. He gives an engraving of it, and says:—

"Though some blame this slaughter as too cruel and precipitate, yet

[1] Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'Artisti.* Florence, 1839.

Gregory appears by this medal to have *approved* and *praised* it (probasse ac laudasse), which, however, was through zeal for the Christian faith, and with the hope of *utterly exterminating root and branch*, with the leaders, that sect which had infected France with its poison. This is typified in the medal by the angel taking the vengeance of celestial wrath against the enemies of the Cross of Christ."[1]

The worthy canon takes precisely our view of the feelings which actuated Gregory in this matter, and is supported in it by Father Maffei's *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, which we have alluded to before; by Mezeray's *Histoire de France;* Strada, the Jesuit, who boasts that the pope gave thanks to "God the avenger," and calls the massacre "a just deed;" Father Daniel's *Histoire de France*, vol. v. p. 981, which says, "Gregory was overjoyed at it. Many panegyrics were made at Rome on the occasion, and great praise was given to the zeal shewn for the Catholic faith, the conversion of the princes, and the terrible chastisement inflicted on the heretics;" Bossuet, who declares "the news was most acceptable at Rome;" Cardinal Santorio, archbishop of Sanseverina, who alludes to the acts of "King Charles IX. of glorious memory on that celebrated day of St Bartholomew, *so delightful to Catholics* [lietissimo à Cattolici];" Artaud de Montor's *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains*, vol. iv., which, though rather a fulsome adulation than a history, details the great rejoicings at Rome, the gift of the thousand gold crowns to the bearer of the news of "this great and memorable fact," &c.; the Abbé Bergier, who says in his *Dict. de Théologie*, that "the Pope rendered solemn thanks to God for the event," but adopts the exploded theory that it was because he believed there had been a plot against the king's throne; and finally, by the Jesuit Father Bonanni, who details "these brilliant proofs of the piety of Charles, of his sincere attachment to the Catholic Church, and of the pontifical solicitude," and states that Gregory XIII. sent Cardinal Orsini as his *legate-a-latere* to admonish the king to pursue his advantages with vigour, nor lose his labour so prosperously begun with sharp remedies, by mingling with them more gentle ones" (*Numis: Pontif:* 1690, vol. i. p. 336, published at Rome 1699, with the sanction of the General of the order of Jesuits, and that of the pope's Chancellor Apostolic). He also gives a full description of the

[1] *Historia Summorum Pontificum per eorum Numismata.* Paris, 1679.

medal struck by Gregory, of which we must say a few words. Not only has its existence been denied, its authenticity questioned, but its apologists, when driven from these untenable positions by overwhelming proofs, have, as a last resource, declared in the Ultramontane *Univers*, of November 3d and 10th, 1875, "that the medal is not proved to have been struck by the pope's permission—a medal is not a coin; every private person can have a commemoration medal struck of any event with the effigy of the reigning sovereign, and probably some zealous underling of the Vatican, or some too enthusiastic Frenchman had this medal engraved, or perhaps it was struck by some enemy of the papacy, who desired to throw the odium of these sanguinary reprisals on religion"! The combination of childishness and ignorance here exhibited has rarely been surpassed. It is *not* true that any mint in Europe would strike "any medal required by a private individual, and place thereon the effigy of the sovereign;" it is not true that "an enemy of the papacy struck it," as M. Loth suggests; but the following facts *are* true, and we will give authorities for them, which we can never get our Ultramontane opponents to do.

The medals were struck at the Roman mint, in which the popes all took the greatest pride and interest. It was under their special protection; they appointed over it a "congregation," composed of four cardinals, three prelates, and two chamberlains, and their series of historic medals, commemorative of every great event of each pontificate, is most perfect and interesting.

Their holinesses, from about A.D. 1417 (when we first find the effigy of a pope on their medals), employed for their mint some of the chief artists and engravers of their day, such as Cormanni, Raphael, Pisani, Giulio Romano, and others. The die of this particular medal may still be seen at the Roman mint, and it bears the initials F. P., viz., Fredericus Parmensis, whose real name was Bonzagna, but who was called Parmensis from being a native of Parma. He was celebrated not only as an engraver, but also as a sculptor and goldsmith, and many beautiful medals and seals did he execute, not only for the gentle Gregory, but for his three predecessors, Paul III., Pius IV., and Pius V., for the D'Estes, and other Italian princes.

Three copies (one silver gilt, supposed to be the one

presented by the pope to Charles IX.) are now in the magnificent numismatic collection of the Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale*. Precisely similar bronze ones are in our British Museum, and the writer of these pages has in his possession two originals exactly like them, even to a flaw in one corner. They are described not only by Father Du Molinet and Father Bonanni above-mentioned, but in the well-known *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, 1839, vol. i.; as also in other works of art and travel, too numerous to detail.

This medal, sealing as it does the approval of the church on this fearful deed, endeavouring to shew the approval of the Almighty himself, as typified by the angel with the cross and the sword, is nothing less than a sacrilege and a blasphemy; and no amount of abuse and vilification heaped on the unhappy victims will ever do away with the proved fact, that the Roman Church then rejoiced over, and still defends, the most horrible atrocity which has ever disgraced the pages of modern history.

C. P. STEWART.

ART. IX.—*Review of Literature on Church History in* 1876.

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος ἐπισκόπου Ρώμης αἱ δύο πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολαί. Ἐκ χειρογράφου τῆς ἐν Φαναρίῳ Κωνσταντινοπόλεως βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομέναι πληρεῖς μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειωσίων ὑπὸ Φιλοθέου Βρυεννίου μητροπολίτου Σαρρῶν. (Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. 1875.)

[The Two Epistles of our Father among the Saints, Clement, Bishop of Rome, to the Corinthians. Now published complete for the first time, from a MS. of the Library of the most Holy Sepulchre in the Fanar of Constantinople; with Prolegomena and Notes by PHILOTHEUS BRYENNIUS, Metropolitan of Serræ.]

Patrum Apostolicorum Opera. Textum ad fidem codicum et Græcorum et Latinorum adhibitis præstantissimis editionibus recensuerunt commentario exegetico et historico illustraverunt, apparatu critico versione Latina passim correcta, prolegomenis, indicibus instruxerunt OSCAR DE GEBHART, ADOLFUS HARNACK, THEODORUS ZAHN. Editio post Dresselianam alteram tertia.

Fasciculi I. Barnabæ Epistula Græce et Latine, Clementis Romani Epistulæ, Recensuerunt atque illustraverunt Papiæ quæ supersunt, Presbyterorum reliquias ab Irenæo servatas, Epistulam ad Diognetum

adjecerunt OSCAR DE GEBHARDT, ESTONUS, ADOLFUS HARNACK LIVONUS. Lipsiæ, 1875. Hinrichs. M. 6.

Fascicul II. Iguatii et Polycarpi Epistulæ, Martyria, Fragmenta, recensuit et illustravit THEODORUS ZAHN. Lipsiæ, 1876. Hinrichs.

Fascicul I., Pars I., Ed. II. Clementis Romani ad Corinthios quæ dicuntur epistulæ, textum ad fidem codicum et Alexandri et Constantinopolitani nuper inventi recensuerunt et illustraverunt OSCAR DE GEBHARDT, ADOLFUS HARNACK. Lipsiæ, 1876. Hinrichs.

Clementis Romani Epistolæ. Ed. comment. critico et adnot. instruxit, Mosis assumptionis quæ supersunt collecta et illustrata addidit omnia emendata iterum edidit ADOLF. HILGENFELD. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel. 1876. M. 6.40.

Braunsberg. Der Apostel Barnabas. Sein Leben u. der ihm beigelegte Brief wissensch. gewürdigt. Mainz, 1876. Kupferberg. M. 3.60.

Patrologische Untersuchungen. Ueber Ursprung der probl. Schriften der Apostol. Väter. CONSTANTIN SKWORZOW. 1876. Leipzig: Fleischer. M. 4.

The discovery and publication in the end of last year of a new MS. of the Epistles of Clement of Rome has given a great impetus to patrological study during the present year. Hitherto the sole foundation for the text of these epistles has been the Codex Alexandrinus, from which in 1633 the first printed text was taken. This edition of Young's has been the foundation of every other text; and the improvements which have from time to time been made have come from repeated and careful collation of the single M.S. authority, which was photographed by Sir J. Madden, and printed in facsimile by Tischendorf in 1873. The last elaborate collation was made for Lightfoot's edition of Clement, published in 1869; and Lightfoot's text has been practically taken over by Gebhardt and Harnack in the first edition of their careful issue of the works of the apostolic fathers which is now in course of publication. It was well known, however, that this Alexandrian text was very imperfect. One page, that between the pages marked 167 and 168 in the Codex Alexandrinus, was known to be wanting in the first epistle, and the second was still more imperfect. The new text was found in the library of the patriarchate in Constantinople, and formed part (fol. 51b–76a) of a MS., 8vo size, written on vellum, which contains also a text of Barnabas (fol. 33-51b), the Διδαχὴ τῶν ιβ' Ἀποστόλων (76a–80). The MS. bears the signature χειρὶ Λέοντος νοταρίου καὶ ἀλυτάρχου, and dates from June 1056. The editor is

Bryennios, bishop of Serrae, who has done his work with great care, and with much zeal. He has had before him every previous edition of Clement, save unfortunately Lightfoot's, Gebhardt's, and Tischendorf's facsimile. From the new text we find that the missing page in the Codex Alexandrinus must have began with the second-last sentence of the fifty-seventh chapter, and ended in the middle of the first word of the sixty-fourth, and that the new MS. recovers for us six chapters. The addition made to the so-called second epistle is even more important. The new MS. supplies the last part of chapter twelve, and eight additional chapters. Scholars are just now busily engaged in trying to settle whether or not we may consider this new text perfect, and the general opinion seems to be that we have now got an almost complete text. Perhaps it is too soon to settle the matter. The new edition of Bryennios sheds little or no light upon the vexed question of the nature and authorship of the so-called second epistle.

The new edition of the apostolic fathers by Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, although nominally a re-issue of the earlier work of Dressel, is to all intents a new edition. The first fasciculus, which was published in 1875, contains the Epistle of Barnabas, the two Epistles of Clement, the fragments of Papias and of the Presbyters quoted by Irenæus, and the letter to Diognetus. Gebhardt is responsible for the text, the apparatus criticus, and the notices of editions and MSS.; while Harnack has contributed the exegetical commentary and the discussions respecting the date, authorship, and reception of the writings. He places the Epistle of Barnabas about 120 A.D., on the supposition that the application made of Isaiah xlix. 17 refers to Hadrian, and the hopes of the Jews that that emperor would rebuild the temple. He places the first Epistle of Clement in the reign of Domitian, and adheres to the opinion that the author was the consul, Flavius Clemens, who was cousin to that emperor; and he maintains that the so-called second epistle is really an epistle, and sent from the Roman Church to the Corinthians in the time of Soter, bishop of Rome. In the second edition, however, Harnack changes his opinion, and thinks that the new material published by Bryennios justifies the idea, which Lightfoot was the last to set forth, that the so-called second epistle is a homily, and the earliest known example of the Christian *sermon*, as opposed to

a mission address, and is addressed to monophysite Christians. Harnack has given at great length his reasons for this opinion in two articles in the new Quarterly for Church History.[1] He feels inclined to date the homily about the middle of the second century (130–160, perhaps 140 A.D.), and he seems inclined to adopt a view suggested by Skworzow, that the author is the Clement mentioned in the "Shepherd" of Hermas. The second fasciculus, edited by Theodore Zahn, contains (1) the seven, as Zahn thinks, genuine Epistles of Ignatius; (2) the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, with his Martyrium and Fragments; (3) suppositious and interpolated Epistles of Ignatius; (4) the Martyrium of Ignatius; (5) a collection of Testimonies concerning Ignatius and Polycarp. Zahn repeats the views about the genuineness of the Epistles of Ignatius, which he published in his "Ignatius v. Antioch" in 1873. He regards the shorter version of the *seven* epistles as the genuine Ignatian text, and thus rejects views generally prevalent since the publication of Cureton's Syriac version. His principal argument is based on inferences drawn from what Polycarp says in his Epistle to the Philippians, ch. xiii., taken in connection with the history of the transmission of the text of Ignatius, pp. viii.–x. The edition is most valuable for the thorough revision of the text, and for the apparatus criticus. The chief points in Skworzow's Patrological investigations are—(1) He dates the Epistle of Barnabus at 91 A.D., and concludes that it was written during the persecution under Domitian; (2) the Clement of the so-called second epistle is the Clement alluded to by Hermas; (3) the "Shepherd" of Hermas is directed against the gnostic Marones. Braunsberg's work on Barnabas contains nothing worthy of notice. Hilgenfeld's new edition of his Epistles of Clement finds traces of Ebionitism in the so-called second epistle.

The discovery of the new text of Clement has called forth a good many review articles. The most valuable are the articles of Harnack already alluded to. Gebhardt[2] supplies a valuable criticism of the new text; and Jacobi[3] thinks that the

[1] "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte," &c., vol. i. pp. 2, 3. A. Harnack. "Ueber den sogenannten zweiten Brief des Clemens an die Korinthier."

[2] Gebhardt, "Zur Testkritik der neuen Clemensstücke," "Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte," vol. i. p. 2.

[3] Jacobi, "Die beiden Briefe des Clemens v. Rom," "Studien u. Kritiken," 1876.

newly-discovered portion of the so-called second epistle is the earliest example known of the public prayer of the Christian Church.

In the "Academy" (17th June 1876), Professor Bensley announces the discovery of the Syriac version (hitherto unknown) of the two Epistles of Clement, and promises to publish it shortly.

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. iv. Arnobii Adversus Nationes, libri vii. Rec. et comment. crit. instruxit Aug. Reifferscheid. Wien., 1875. Gerold's Sohn. M. 6.

Corpus Apologetarum Christ. Sæc. Sec., vol. i. Justini Philosophi et Martyris opera quæ feruntur omnia. Ad optimos libros MSS. nunc primum aut denuo collatos recensuit, prolegomenis et commentariis instruxit transl. Latina ornavit, indices adjecit. Jo. Car. M. Eques de Otto. Tom. i. p. Opera Justini indubitata. Ed. iii. Plurimum aucta et emendata. Jena, 1876. Dufft. M. 7.20.

St Justin, Philosophe et Martyr. Etude crit. sur l'apologetique Chret. au II^e. Siecle. B. Aube. Paris, 1875.

The editors of the Vienna "Corp. Script. Eccl. Latinorum" have succeeded in publishing four volumes in nine years. The fourth contains the seven books of Arnobius "Adversus Gentes." The present edition of the Apologist is chiefly valuable for the care spent upon the text, which is at the best corrupt and uncertain, as it must be when it depends upon one MS., and that a defective one. Students will find the present volume useful, because of its three elaborate indices: (1), Auctorum; (2), Nominum et rerum; (3), Verborum et locutionum. Hermann Dufft, of Jena, has begun a re-issue of the justly celebrated "Corpus Apologetarum." The first volume appeared early in last year, and contains the "Opera Indubitata" of Justin Martyr. The new edition (the third) has been so carefully re-edited, in respect both of text and commentary, as to be almost a new work. M. Aubé's book on Justin Martyr contains a critical account of the Apologist in the two characters of Apologist and Philosopher, to which is prefixed and appended a long account of the persecutions of the second century, condensed from the author's "Histoire des Persécutions de l'Eglise jusqu' à la fin des Antonins." The valuable part of the book is a comparison between Christianity and heathendom, founded on Justin's apologetical work, but this is rendered less valuable from

the antagonism to Christianity which marks the author's writings.

Das Kreuz Christi. Religions-historische u. Kirchlich-archäol. Untersuchungen, &c. Prof. Dr O. Zoeckler. Gütersloh, 1875. Bartelsmann. M. 8.

Das Symbol des Kreuzes bei allen Nationen u. die Entstehung des Kreuzsymbols der Christlichen Kirche. Ernst v. Bunsen. Berlin, 1876. M. 3.60.

Die Bildlichen Darstellungen in den Römisch. Katakomben als Zeugen für die Wahrheit der Christkathol. Lehre. Mit 78 Abbildungen. Alex. Grillwitzer. Gratz, 1876. 4°. M. 8.

Insigni Scoperte nec Cimitero di Domitilla. Giov. Batt. de Rossi. From the "Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana." Serie seconda. Anno sesto. Roma, 1875.

Inscriptiones Brittanniæ Christianæ. Huebner.

The Catacombs of Rome, and their Testimony Relative to Primitive Christianity. By the Rev. W. H. Witherow, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876.

Hippolytus and Callixtus; or the Church of Rome in the First Half of the Third Century. By John J. Ign. v. Döllinger. Transl. by A. Plumer. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1876.

Kritische Untersuchungen über die Licinianische Christenverfolgung. Dr Frz. Görres. Jena, 1875. Dufft. M. 4.50.

Dr Zœckler's work on the Cross and the significance of the symbol is likely to remain for some time the chief authority on the subject. The method of investigation is the historical, and the author refrains as much as possible from theorising. He traces the use of the cross in pre-Christian religion, and then its appearance and development in the various phases of Christian thought—in art, poetry, worship, and theosophy. One of his most interesting chapters deals with the early magical use of the cross. Dr Bunsen's work upon the same subject is too "viewy" to be of much permanent value. He regards the cross as primarily an astronomical symbol, signifying the sun, and this theory dominates all his discussions. The Catacombs and their history have always possessed great interest for the Christian archæologist, and the present year's publications shew that the interest is still kept up. Mr Witherow's book does not contain much that is new, but it is a good and careful summary of what we really know about the Catacombs. Grillwitzer is too controversial to be satisfactory on a point like this. In his description of the inscriptions in

the cemetery of Domitilla, one of the oldest of the Catacombs, M. de Rossi continues those investigations which have already, in his "Roma Sottereana," thrown so much light on the relations of members of some of the noble families of Rome to Christianity, and have contributed so much to our early knowledge of the history of the Roman Church. These papers throw light on the relation of the Flavian family to Christianity. Hübner's Christian Inscriptions form an appendix to the seventh volume of the great work, "Corpus Inscript. Romanarum." About 233 inscriptions are given, taken from all parts of great Britain, but principally from Wales, Devon, and Cornwall. They shed considerable light upon the history of Christians in Britain during the Roman period.

The publication of a translation of Dr Döllinger's "Hippolytus and Callixtus," is perhaps a sign of the growing dissatisfaction felt with almost all the historical work of the late Baron Bunsen. Dr Döllinger's position briefly put is, that Callixtus was lawfully elected Bishop of Rome; that after a time Hippolytus, then a Roman presbyter, accused him of heresy; that this accusation at length gave rise to a separation, in which Hippolytus allowed himself to be elected anti-pope; and that, partly in consequence of his position, partly from wise intention, Callixtus introduced several alterations in church discipline, which were held to be dangerously lax by Hippolytus and his party; that in consequence of these innovations, Callixtus deserves to be regarded by posterity as one of the rare wise reforming popes.

The work of Dr Görres is strictly described by its title. The investigations fall under two principal heads:—(1) preliminary inquiries; and (2) a critical account of the persecution, gathered chiefly from accounts of the martyrs. In the preliminary investigations he discusses the Milan Edict of Toleration, the date and reasons for the persecution, its geographical limits, its character and intensity, the acts of the martyrs published by the celebrated Byzantine writer Simeon Metaphrastes, and the character of Licinius. His investigations into the character of the persecution tend to establish (1) that it was directed chiefly against officers of state, soldiers, and bishops; and, (2) partly in consequence, that it was not a bloody persecution. Dr Görres has published, during the present year, two papers on similar subjects, contributed to the "Journal for Scientific

Theology," one[1] entitled, "Critical investigations into the Persecution under the Roman Emperor Maximin I. the Thracian;" and the other,[2] "The Emperor Alexander Severus and Christianity."

The most important contribution, however, made to our knowledge of anti-Nicene church history, except the Clementine discussions, is a paper by A. Harnack, contributed to the "Journal for Scientific Theology," entitled, "Contributions to the "History of the Marcionite Churches."[3] The aim of the essay is to call attention to the history of Gnosticism from the third century downwards. The chief points are: (1) a more correct account of Armenian Gnosticism than any yet given; (2) proof that the Marcionites used a psalm-book of their own in public worship; (3) the carmina of the pseudo-Tertullian against Marcion are referred to the fourth century.

Weizsacker has a somewhat interesting article on the character and nationality of the earliest Christian community in Rome, in the "Jahrbücher" for German theology;[4] and Zeller,[5] Hilgenfeld,[6] and Lipsius,[7] thresh out old straw in three articles on Peter's sojourn in Rome.

Ungedruckte unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel, herausgegeben und in Abhandlungen erläutert. Dr C. P. CASPARI. I.–III. 1866–1875.

Two Dissertations: I. On MONOΓENHΣ ΘΕΟΣ in Scripture and Tradition. II. On the Constantinopolitan Creed and other Eastern Creeds in the Fourth Century. F. J. A. HORT, D.D. Cambridge, 1875. Macmillan & Co.

On the History of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, from the Apostolic Age to the Death of Charlemagne. H. B. SWETE. Cambridge, 1876. Deighton, Bell, & Co.

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[1] Görres, "Kritische untersuch. über d. Christenverfolgung des röm. Kaisers Maximinus I. des Thraciers." "Zeitsch. für Wissenschaft. Theol." 1876. 4.

[2] Görres, "Kaiser Alexander Severus u. d. Christenthum." "Zeitschrift," &c. 1877. 1.

[3] Harnack, "Beiträge zur geschichte der Marcionit. Kirchen." "Zeitschrift für Wissénschaft. Theologie." 1876. 1.

[4] Weizsächer, "Die Versammlungen der ältesten Christl. Gemeinden." "Jahrbücher für Deutsch. Theologie." 1876. 3.

[5] Zeller, "Zur Petrusfrage." "Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft. Theologie." 1876. 1.

[6] Hilgenfeld, "Petrus in Rom." "Zeitschrift," &c. 1876. 1.

[7] Lipsius, "Petrus nicht in Rom." "Jahrbücher f. Prot. Theologie." 1876. 4.

Die Trinitarische Lehrdifferenz zwischen der Abendländischen und der Morgenländischen Kirche. Jos. LANGEN. 1876. Bonn.

On the Clause, "And the Son." A Letter to H. P. Liddon. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. 1876.

De Incarnatione Christi contra Nestorium, libri vii. JOH. CASSIANI. 1876. Innsbruck.

De Sancti Cyrilli Hierosolymitani Archiepiscopi catechesibus disseruit ad doctoris gradum promovendus. Prof. PHIL. GONNET. 1876. Paris.

Caspari's learned book belongs properly to last year's theological results, but it is so intimately connected with work done since that it must be noticed. The aim of the author is to give *all* the various readings and versions of the early baptismal symbols and creed that he can find, and then, if possible, trace their connection with each other. The present volume is devoted to an elaborate account of the Greek text of the longer and shorter Roman symbols from the fourth to the sixteenth centuries. Two interesting appendices follow, the one on Greeks and Greek in the Romish community of the first three centuries, and the other on the use of Greek in the public worship of the Western Church during the early middle ages. In the second appendix, Dr Caspari brings to light some very curious proofs of the constant use of Greek in the West, more particularly in one or two famous monasteries. The lessons were sometimes read in Greek. Greek hymns were sung, and the Nicene Creed was frequently recited in Greek. It is possible that Scotch ecclesiastical antiquaries may find in this appendix some hints to enable them to trace the obscure subject of the connection between the early British and Oriental churches. Dr Caspari's work is already out of print.

Dr Hort's two discussions are masterly and accomplished productions. The first perhaps is the more valuable, because it is unique. It is an attempt to discover whether μονογενὴς θεός or μονογενὴς υἱός is the proper reading in John i. 18, by an examination of the various codices and versions, and by a careful sifting of the early patristic evidence, Greek, Latin, and Æthiopic. The general conclusion is that both readings go back to the last third of the second century; that in the East μον. θεός is the most common from the beginning down to the fourth century; that υἱός is a Western anti-Nicene reading; and that μον. θεός is the true reading. In the second dissertation, Dr Hort wishes to prove that the creed of Constantinople is based, not

on the original creed of Nicea, but on the creed of Jerusalem. The argument is very convincing.

The deliberations at Bonn last year give special interest to the doctrine of the procession of the Spirit, and the three works of Swete, Langen, and Pusey are all concerned with this department of theology. Of these the first is perhaps the only one which possesses permanent interest and value. Last year Mr Swete edited, with great critical accuracy, the "De Processione Spiritus Sancti oratio apologetica" of Theodorus Lascaris the younger, and he has this year followed it up by an extremely scholarly history of the development of the doctrine during seven and a-half centuries, tracing its growth until two theological views were consolidated in two opposing churches. He found the first traces of the later Western form in "Tertullian adv. Praxean," and in Origen's idea of "a procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son," and asserts that there is no trace of the idea of the procession of the Spirit from both Father and Son previous to the fourth century. He then traces the gradual evolution of the doctrine down to the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle. Dr Langen's book, which displays great merit, is perhaps too much the work of an advocate to be of very great scientific value. He pleads that the history of the doctrine warrants the Western Church in retaining the *filioque*, and yet in interpreting it according to the Greek idea of διὰ τὸν υἱόν. Dr Pusey's "Letter to Canon Liddon" is really an answer in the negative to such a proposal, with reasons annexed.

The seven books of John Cassian against the Nestorians form the thirty-second volume of the series, entitled "Patrum SS. Opuscula."

M. Gonnet's book is to be criticised neither as a work of theology nor erudition, he tells us, but simply because of its elegant latinity. The author exhibits a lack of critical information, rare even in a Roman Catholic theologian.

Constantin der Grosse und die Kirche. TH. ZAHN. 1876. Hanover.

Les Pères de l'Eglise grecque, recueil de discours, de lettres et de poésies, avec une notice biographique et littéraire. M. FIALON. 1876. Paris.

Handbuch der Allgemein. Kirchengeschichte, I. Bd., i. Abth. J. HERGENRÖTHER. 1876. Freiburg.

Handbuch der Patrologie oder der älteren Christlichen Literärgeschichte. Prof. Dr ALZOG. 1876. Freiburg.

Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen oder die Kirchengeschichte in Biographien, 9tes Bd., Johannes Chrysostomus und Olympias. F. Behringer. 1876. Stuttgart.

Les Esclaves Chrétiens depuis les premiers temps de l'Eglise jusqu' à la fin de la domination romaine en occident. P. Allard. 1876. Paris: Didier. 7 fr. 50.

L'Eglise des Gauls et le conciliabule de Béziers tenu en l'année 356, sous la présidence de Saturnin d'Arles, Libere etant pape, Constance empereur, Julien César, et Numérus gouverneur de la Gaule Narbonnaise. Douais. 1876. Poitiers.

Professor Zahn's lecture upon Constantine the Great and his relations to the Church, is quite worthy of the reputation of the lecturer, and contains a very clear and able statement of the ecclesiastical situation at the beginning of the fourth century. The most notable feature of the tract is the way in which the author dwells on the monotheistic tendency in the third century, and shews that the question had come to be, Was Christ, or the sun-god, the divinity to be worshipped?

The next three books on our list are not of great value. Hergenröther's "Church History," and Alzog's "Patrologie," form the sixth and seventh volumes of a theological library which Roman Catholic theologians are now issuing. Both works are inspired by the genuine uncritical and unhistorical spirit which now animates the Church of Rome. Alzog's "Patrologie" is the re-issue, as part of this theological series, of a book already well-known, but scarcely to be recommended.

Boehringer's biographical account of church history has this year reached its ninth volume. It is a favourite device with the author to give an account of a representative woman, as well as of the representative man of the time, and in the present volume the biography of Olympias comes after that of Chrysostom.

M. Allard's book has gone through two editions within the year. Its title sufficiently describes it. I have not seen M. Douais'.

Some of the most valuable contributions made during the year to this portion of church history have appeared in the form of articles in journals. One of the best is an article by Weingarten,[1] in the new journal for church history, on the origin of the monastic system within the Christian Church.

[1] Weingarten, "Der Ursprung der Mönchthums in nach-constantinischen Zeitalter." "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte." 1876. 1.

His opinions are—(1) The so-called life of Paul of Thebes is a romance written by Jerome, founded on the novels of the later empire; Paul is not a historical personage, and is not the founder of the monastic life. (2) There is no trace of a real monastic life in the third century, for the asceticism of that time, while founded on maceration and celibacy, was practised in the world, and in the Christian community, not in solitude. (3) The so-called life of the holy Antony is not a biography written by Athanasius, but a *tendenz-schrift* of unknown authorship. (4) The tales about the early establishment of a Christian monastic system in Egypt are very questionable. (5) Egyptian monasticism, when it did arise, came from the monasticism of the Serapis worship. The second half of the article has not yet appeared. Piper has contributed two articles on a subject which he has made his own, the information which church history can get from monuments and inscriptions. The article[1] in the "Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie" discusses the value of this mode of investigation, and the article[2] in the new journal for church history shews how much we can glean about the Fathers of the Church in this way. There have also appeared an article by Reveillont[3] on the Council of Nicea, and one by Grasshoff[4] upon the legislation of the Roman emperors with regard to church property and immunities, but I have been unable to see them.

Die Streitige Papstwahl des Jahres, 1130. Dr E. MUHLBACHER. 1876. Innsbruck, Wagner. M. 5.60.

Papst Gregor. VII. und die Bischofswahlen. Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Verhältniss zwischen Staat und Kirche. 2te völl. umgearbeit. Aufl. O. MELTZER. 1876. Dresden. M. 4.

Histoire de la Papauté. Renaissance et temps modernes (1513–1846). M. CASTAN. 1876. Paris. Fr. 60.

Geschichte d. römisch. Papsthums. Vorträge. W. WATTENBACH. 1876. Berlin. M. 7.

Der deutsche Kaiser und der letzte deutsche Papst Karl V. und Adrian VI. HÖFLER. 1876. Wien. M. 20.

[1] F. Piper, "Ueber der kirchengeschichtlich. Gewinn aus Inschriften." "Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie." 1876. 1.

[2] F. Piper, "Zur Geschichte der Kirchenväter aus Epigraphischen Quellen." "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte." 1876. 2.

[3] Reveillont, "Le Concile de Nicée, d'après les textes coptes et les diverses collect. canoniques." Suite. "Journal Asiatique," VII. Serie, T. vi. 6. 1875.

[4] Grasshoff, "Die Gesetzgebung der Römischen Kaiser üb. die Güter u. Immunitäten der Kirche." Archiv. für Kathol. Kirchenrecht. 1876. 4.

Hadrian VI. Ein Lebensbild aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation. Dr Heinrich Bauer. 1876. Heidelberg. M. 4.

The double papal election in 1130 is undoubtedly a very interesting subject, but it is difficult to see how much more can be said upon it after the elaborate work of Zoepffel published in 1871, and the exhaustive statement of Giesebrecht in the 4to. vol. of his "Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit." Dr Mühlbacher at all events has not said much more, and his book contains little or nothing beyond what has been already published.

The contest between the State and the Romish Church now going on in Germany has given additional interest to the past history of the relations between the emperor and the pope. Dr Meltzer's book which, though nominally a second edition, is really a new work, describes the attempts begun by Gregory VII. to transform the church into a monarchy by giving to the pope more or less control over the episcopate. The relations of that great pope to the emperor form the subject of an article in the first number of the *Cosmopolitan Critic*.

The two histories of the papacy are of course merely summaries, and do not contain anything new.

Dr Bauer's book on Pope Hadrian VI. is a carefully elaborate memoir written from the standpoint of a German protestant pastor. It is divided into four parts; Hadrian in the Netherlands, Hadrian in Spain, his election to the papacy, Hadrian at Rome. Dr Bauer has spared no pains to make his book a perfect piece of work, but he can scarcely appreciate that difference between German earnestness and Italian culture which made Hadrian's life a failure. Herr Höfler's learned tract is reprinted from the transactions of the Vienna Academy of Sciences.

Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron depuis Abraham jusqu' à la fin du xv^e^ Siècle de Jésus Christ. Fragments de la Chronique de Moudjir-ed-Dyn, traduits sur le texte Arabe. M. Sauvaie. Paris, 1876.

Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge. 1 Hft. H. Prutz. Danzig, 1876. M. 3.

Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux. Tom. 2. P^tie^ 2. Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul. Ibn El-Athir.

History and Conquests of the Saracens. Six Lectures delivered before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. Second edition, with new Preface, By Edward A. Freeman. 1876. Macmillan. 3s. 6d.

Mohammed and Mohammedanism. Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain. By R. Bosworth Smith. Second edition, revised and enlarged. 1876. Smith & Elder. 8s. 6d.

The second edition of Mr Bosworth Smith's lectures on Mohammedanism is greatly improved. The author admits a darker side; he investigates more thoroughly the pre-Mohammedan condition of the Bedouin tribes, and gives a better account of Mohammedanism in Africa. Mr Freeman's lectures on the Saracens are enriched with a new preface, in which the author states with his usual force his opinions about Turkish misrule. I have not been able to see the other books mentioned above. It should be noticed, however, that a great many articles on the subject of the Crusades have been contributed to journals and magazines during the past year. Crecellius has an article on the Germans in the Crusades,[1] and Röhricht has two articles on the same subject in the same journal. The great mediæval scholar, C. Thurot, has two critical studies on the historians of the First Crusade in the *Revue Historique*, the one on Baudri de Bourgueil, and the other on Guibert de Nogent. Röhricht has also an article on the Pilgrimages to the Holy Land before the Crusades,[2] and another on the Children's Crusade in 1212.[3]

Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter vom Ende des achten Jahrhunderts bis zum Anfang des vierzehnten. Hermann Reuter. I. Bd. Berlin. 1875. M. 7.

Matthias Ringman (Philesius), humaniste alsacien et lorrain. C. Schmidt. 1876. Nancy.

Bernardino Ochino v. Sienna. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation. Mit Original. Dokumenten, Portrait u. Schriftprobe. Dr Karl Benrath. 1875. Leipzig. M. 7.

Galileo Galilei und die römische Kurie. Nach d. authent. Quellen. Karl v. Gebler. 1876. Stuttgart. M. 8.

Dr Reuter's history of the religious scepticism in the Middle Ages is one of the most important contributions to our history of the mediæval church that has been made for some time. He divides his book into four periods, in the last of which he speaks of the influence of Abelard, while the third is devoted to the sceptical influence of the crusades. The third book is by far the most important, and must always remain a very

[1] "Zeitschrift für Deutschen Philologie."
[2] Riehl's "Histor. Taschenb." [3] "Historisch. Zeitschrift." 1876. 3.

important contribution to our knowledge of the curious reflex religious effects of the crusades upon Europe. Dr Reuter also notices the sceptical influence of the mediæval students' associations. He has neglected one line of proof however. Most of the mediæval students' songs, the "Gaudeamus," for example, were parodies of hymns.

Dr Schmidt's little tract is republished from the "Memoirs of the Archæological Society of Lorraine," and may be regarded as an appendix to the pretty exhaustive history of "Humanism," published last year by Krafft and Crecelius.

Dr Benrath's monograph on Bernardino Ochino supplies a very much needed want, for Büchsenchütz's "Etude sur la vie et les oeuvres de Bernardino Ochino de Sienna" was too meagre to be very satisfactory. The book divides naturally into two parts, the first four chapters which describe Ochino's life while within the Romish Church, and the remaining five which relate the story of his wanderings. The most interesting part of the book is the proof that Ochino's break with the Reformed Church was not due to Laelius Socinus. There is an article upon Ochino in a recent number of the "Theological Review."

Gebler's book on Galileo contains a thorough-going investigation of the relations of Galileo to the Roman Curia, and of the position taken up by the Curia upon scientific matters. Prantl, the unwearied historian of logic, contributes an interesting chapter upon Galileo and Kepler as logicians to the Proceedings of the Academy of Munich.

The contributions from reviews to this portion of church history are not very important. They include an article on the preaching power of John Tauler of Strassburg, by Nobbe,[1] and one on Thomas a Kempis, by Grote, in the same journal.

Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Edited by James Craigie Robertson, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. Rolls Series. London: Longmans. 1875.

Acts of the Collegiate Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon. 1452-1506. Edited by the Rev. J. T. Fowler. Surtees Society.

Adami gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiæ pontificum ex recensione Lappenbergii. In usum Scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniæ historicis recusa. ed. altera. Hanover. 1876. M. 3.

Canon Robertson's materials for the "History of Thomas

[1] J. Nobbe, "J. Tauler von Strassburg als Volksprediger." "Zeitsch. f. luther. Theol. und Kirche." 1876.

Becket" is only the first instalment of a complete collection of the contemporary records of the great English Churchman. It contains the life and miracles of St Thomas, by William of Canterbury.

The "Acts of the Collegiate Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon" are peculiarly useful to the student of the social and churchly life in the pre-Reformation times, as they shed some light on that very dark subject, the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction of bishops, &c., during the middle ages. The chief interest, perhaps, attaches to the records of marriages and espousals, and the state of ecclesiastical law upon them.

Students of early Scottish Church history, who have learned from the second volume of Haddan and Stubb's Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, the somewhat close connection that existed between the early Scottish Church and the old Church of Bremen, will be glad to learn of this republication in a convenient form of the "Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiæ pontificum." The book is a very valuable contribution to the pre-Reformation history of Hamburg and Bremen and the surrounding district. It is reprinted from the seventh volume of the Scriptores in Pertz's "Monumenta."

S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Summa theologica, diligenter emendata Nicolai, Sylvii, Billuart et G. F. Drioux notis ornata. 8 tomi. Regensburg. 1876. M. 20.

Albert the Great of the Order of Friars Preachers: His Life and Scholastic Labours. 12s.

Die Bekehrung der Deutschen zu Christo nach ihrem geschichtl. Gang. Eine Uebersicht v. Dr Gotthard Lechler. M. 60.

Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Christlich Theologischen Literaturgeschichte. Von Dr Karl Werner. Paderborn, 1876.

This edition of the "Summa" of Thomas is a marvel of cheapness and good editing. The English "Life of Albertus Magnus" is a very uncritical work, and is published solely, it may be supposed, as an evidence of the returning love for scholastic theology which the "Dublin Review" has been so assiduously instilling.

Dr Werner pursues his studies in mediæval church life in his book on Alcuin and the theological activity of the ninth century. The book is a worthy sequel to the author's lives of

Bede and Boniface. It is learned and accurate, and brings together what is known about Alcuin and his followers. The same narrowness of view which was apparent in Dr Werner's earlier writings is also seen in this one. The most important feature of the time he describes are the cloister and palace schools established by Charles the Great. He has neither shewn where Charles the Great got his educational organisation, nor how it developed out afterwards into the complicated cathedral, monastic, and university educational system of Europe. Charles's palace and cloister schools are the link between the educational system of the Scoto-Celtic Church and the university life of mediæval Europe. Lechler's tract is reprinted from "Studien und Kritiken," and is one of two articles upon the early ecclesiastical history of Germany, a subject which the Germans have hitherto unaccountably neglected; the other article is by Th. Förster.[1] Both articles seek to depose Boniface from his place as the apostle of the Germans, by dwelling upon the earlier labours of Columbanus and other Scoto-Irish missionaries. The most important contribution to our knowledge of great mediæval teachers, however, is contained in an article of Reuter's on "Bernard of Clairvaux,"[2] in which that well-known authority in mediæval church history shews that Bernard was the *type of his generation*. Tschackert has contributed a paper proving that the dialogues "De Quærelis Franciæ et Angliæ," and "De jure successionis utrorumque regum in regno Franciæ," which were printed by Melchior Goldast in a small collection of writings belonging to the "History of the Maid of Orleans," and were attributed by him to Peter d'Ailly, cardinal of Cambrai, are not genuine. Köhler has a good article on "Rabanus Maurus"[3] in Hilgenfeld's joufnal.

The Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 1876.

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum,

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[1] "Zur Bonifaciusfrage," "Studien und Kritiken." 1876. 4.

[2] Reuter, "Bernard von Clairvaux." "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschicha." 1876. 1.

[3] K. F. Köhler, "Rabanus Maurus als Schriftsteller." "Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft. Theologie."

and elsewhere in England. Arranged and Catalogued by J. S. BREWER. Introduction and Appendix. 1875. Longmans.

The Principles of the Reformation shewn to be in Contradiction to the Book of Common Prayer. By the Rev. NICOLAS POCOCK.

Joannis Coleti Opuscula quædam Theologica. Letters to Radulphus on the Mosaic Account of the Creation, with other Treatises. By JOHN COLET. M.A., afterwards Dean of St Paul's. Now first published with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by J. H. Lupton, M.A. 1876. Bell & Sons.

The Gospel in Bohemia. By E. JANE WHATELY. London.

Very few publications are so useful to the student of the church history of our own country as the reports, now five in number, of the historical commission appointed to find out the papers, &c., belonging to private families, which would be useful in giving information about the past history of the country. The fifth report is quite as interesting and useful as any of its predecessors. The most interesting portion to the student of ecclesiastical history is that which relates to the period of the civil war.

Dr Brewer's book is an introduction to his fourth volume of the Rolls series, the first part of which was published in 1870, the second in 1872, while the third is still unpublished. The aim of the introduction is to give what the author thinks a full, fair picture of Cardinal Wolsey, whom he believes to have been the greatest statesman of his age.

Mr Pocock's pamphlet is intended to shew that the final revisers of the Prayer Book in 1662 were not animated with the same Protestant principles which were professed by the leading ecclesiastics in the reign of Edward VI., and that therefore the Anglican Church is not properly Protestant.

Mr Lupton's edition of Colet's letters and tracts must be interesting to the student of the English Reformation. The editor is of opinion that Colet was the beginner of what is called Rational Christianity in England.

Miss Whately's little book on the gospel in Bohemia is founded on the *Persecutions-büchlein*, and supplies a useful history of the Bohemian brethren, from the close of the Hussite wars to the re-organisation of the brethren under Count Zinzendorf.

Johann Reuchlin's Briefwechsel. Gesammelt und herausgegeben. v. LUDWIG GEIGER. 1876. Tübingen.

König Sigmund und die Reichskriege gegen die Hussiten. Von Dr Friedrich von Bezold. 2te. Abth. Die Jahre 1423–1428. 1876. München: Ackermann.

Die Einführung der Reformation in der ehemaligen freien Reichstadt Colmar. Von Heinrich Rocholl. 1876. Colmar. M. 4.

Die Reformation in der Cölnischen Kirchen-provinz zur Zeit der Erzbischofes und Kurfürsten Hermann V. Graf zu Wied. Nach neuen bis jetzt theils unbenutzten theils unbetrannten Quellen bearbeit. Von G. Drouven. 1876. Köln u. Neus. M. 6.

Kirchengeschichte beider Hessen. 2 Bde. Complt. Von Heinrich Heppe. 1876. Marburg: Lipmann. M. 14, 50.

Briefe und Acten zu der Geschichte d. Religionsgespräches zu Marburg, 1529, u. d. Reichstages zu Augsburg, 1530. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet. von F. W. Schirrmacher. 1876. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. M. 12.

Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert. Von Karl Krafft und Wilhelm Krafft. 1876. Elberfeld: Lucas. M. 5.

Die vier ersten Luther-Biographien. Ein Vortrag geh. im Dec. 1875. Dr Gustav L. Plitt. 1876. Erlangen: Deichart. M. 40.

Luther's Stellung zu Concil u. Kirche bis zum Wormser Reichstag, 1521, histor. entwickelt. Th. Kolde. 1876. Gütersloh: Bertelsman. M. 1.80.

Aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, Culturgeschichtliche Skizzen. Robert Calinich. 1876. Hamburg. M. 4.

Die Evangelische Kirchenverfassung in den Deutschen Städten des xvi. Jahrhunderts. Gekrönte Preisschrift u. Inaugural-Dissertation, Halle. Adolph Frantz. 1876. Leipzig. M. 1.

The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, considered principally with reference to the Influence of Church Organization on the Spread of Christianity. By Robert Barclay. London. 1876. Hodder & Stoughton.

A great deal of very important work has been done in Germany during the past year in describing the Reformation period, either by descriptions of some peculiar phase or period, or by republishing peculiar sources of information hitherto inaccessible. To begin with, Dr Bezold has finished the second part of his great history upon the wars of the empire against the Hussites. The book is very important to the church historian, but hardly less so to the student of European history, for the policy of the times brings us face to face with the opposition between the Emperor and the Electors, and the Church playing off the one against the other. Dr Bezold makes use of all sources of information, chronicles, popular songs, the works of his predecessors, and he has besides found

access to a great number of documents hitherto unknown. His conclusion is that the state of the empire was such that it was only the internecine quarrels between the Utraquists and the Taborites, combined with the death of Zisca, that put down the Hussites. They easily withstood the empire. The edition of the correspondence of John Reuchlin by Ludwig Geiger is published by the Stuttgart "Litterarische Verein," and may be considered an appendix to Geiger's "Johann Reuchlin sein Leben und seine Werke," published in 1871. It contains a complete list of all the letters remaining which were written to and received by Geiger, and will prove an invaluable help to all students of the earlier movements of the great Reformation. Geiger's critical and explanatory notes are extremely valuable for the history of German Humanism.

The two works of Rocholl and Drouven are very good examples of special monographs on the Reformation times. In both we see how thoroughly popular the Reformation movement was and how gradually it gathered strength, while both are founded on MS. authorities for the most part hitherto unknown. Rocholl, for example, shews how previous anticipatory movements culminated in 1575, which he makes *the* date of the Reformation in the town of Colmar, and he describes the conflict between the citizens, who were mostly Protestant, and the town council, which was largely Catholic. The Reformation movement in Köln is also described by Ennen, in a paper contributed to the Rhenish Westphalian monthly for historical and antiquarian investigation, entitled, "The Reformed Congregation in Köln at the end of the Sixteenth Century."[1]

Heppe's book on the church history of the two Hesses is a book of the same class, although it does not confine itself to a period.

Schirrmacher and Karl and Wilhelm Krafft have given us two collections of original documents relating to Reformation times. The more important of the two is Schirrmacher's, who has collected a number of documents bearing on the Marburg Colloquy, and its effects at the Diet of Augsburg.

Kold has investigated with a great deal of care and patience

[1] Ennen, "Die Reform. Gemeinde in der Stadt Köln am ende des 16. Jahrhundert." "Monatschrift f. rhein-Westfäl. Geschichtsforsch. u. Altethumskunde. 1875. 9–10.

Luther's actual position, and his theoretical relation to council and church, previous to the Diet of Worms. The book does not seem to contain much that is new, but it is satisfactory to see this very important phase of Luther's whole position receiving more attention than it has hitherto generally obtained.

The four biographies of Luther, which Dr Plitt describes in his lecture, are those of Melanchthon, Cochlæus, Ratzeberger, and Mathesius. Schirrmacher communicates a hitherto unpublished letter of Luther's, dated December 22, 1525, to the journal for church history.[1] Seidemann has contributed two articles, entitled "Zur Reformationsgeschichte," to Studien und Kritiken,[2] in which he discusses with great minuteness of detail—(1) Luther's letter to his wife, written on July 28th, 1545; (2) Two notes on a Bible, by Luther and Fröschel; (3) Three Melanchthoniana; and (4) A note on Gregorius and Johannes Coppus.

Calinich's sketches describe rubrics, pastors, princes, princesses, and the press. The book is not written in a spirit altogether sympathetic with the Reformation, and he evidently wishes to make the Reformation times look quite as bad as they really were.

Frantz's book is a translation of a Latin essay which won a prize offered by the Law Faculty in Halle in 1874–5, and has very little independent value. The best part of the book is the second chapter, where the author insists upon the fact that church government and the exercise of discipline belongs inherently to the church. This is hopeful for Germany.

Mr Barclay's book, nominally upon the religious societies of the Commonwealth, is really a history of Quakerism. The value of the book consists in the way in which it traces the connection between Quaker views and the opinion of earlier sectaries, and in the curious statistics which it furnishes of the growth and decay of Quakerism.

Histoire de la Reformation en Europe au temps de Calvin. T. 7. Genève. Les peuples du Nord de l'Europe. Merle D'Aubigne. 1876. Paris. Lèvy Freres. 7 fr. 50 c.

History of Protestantism. Vol. II. Dr Wylie. 1876. London.

[1] Schirmacher, "Ein Lutherbrief." Zeitschrft für Kirgeschichte. 1876. 2.

[2] Studien und Kritiken. 1876. 3 and 4.

Die Christliche Dogmengeschichte als Entwicklungs geschichte der Kirch. Lehrbegriffs. 2te Bd. Das Mittelalter u. die Reformationszeit. Dr Thomasius. 1876. Erlangen. M. 8. 40.

These histories are so well known that we need not describe them. Both are more intended for popular use than for theological students. It should be remembered, however, that the seventh volume of D'Aubigne's history has really been put together from his notes and papers, a circumstance which ought to be kept in mind when mistakes are being counted. In this connection it may be mentioned that Dr Fournier, of Vienna, has communicated to the journal for church history a very interesting memorandum on the state of religious parties in France in the year 1563, drawn up by Charles of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and presented by him to the Emperor Ferdinand on the 23d of February 1563. The original is preserved in the Vienna Haus-Hof-und Staats-archiv.

Thomasius' "History of Dogma" has this year reached its second volume. It is learned, thorough, and intensely Lutheran. The most important contributions, however, to our knowledge of the Reformation churches is the article of Ritschl, in the journal for church history,[1] on the origin of the Lutheran Church. In this article, Ritschl, with all the learning and ability for which he is celebrated, lays down and establishes the dictum that the Lutheran Church, properly speaking, owes its origin to a departure from the old churchly consciousness of the Reformers, jealously guarded during the years 1537–1540, and to the adoption of the semi-Socinian idea of Melanchthon, that the test of the church was the possession of *vera doctrina*. This idea, which changed the churchly consciousness of the Reformers into a species of scholastic consciousness, and made the church a mere school of opinion, was further developed by strict Lutherans to mean that the *vera doctrina* was neither more nor less than Luther's doctrine, and the test of being within the church is that a man "se a sententia *Lutheri id est Christi* non discessurum."

Dr Martin Luther u. Dr M. Servet, Eine Quellen Studie. Von H. Tollin. 1875. Berlin. M. 1.

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[1] A. Ritschl, "Die Entstehung der Lutherischen Kirche." "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte." 1876. 1.

Philip Melanchthon u. M. Servet. Eine Quellen Studie. Von H. TOLLIN. 1876. Berlin. M. 3.

Das Lehrsystem Michael Servet's, genetisch dargestellt. 1te Bd. Die vier ersten Lehrphasen. H. TOLLIN. 1876. Gütersloh. M. 4.

De Michaelis Serveti Doctrina Commentatio Dogmatico-historica. G. C. B. PUENJER. 1876. Jena. M. 2.

Dr Tollin has spent fully seventeen years in studying Servetus, his writings and surroundings, and so may be expected to have a more minute acquaintance with his opinions than probably any one else. The fruit of this study appears in three separate books, and four articles contributed to various journals during the present year. The last published work is, we suppose, meant to contain the mature opinions of Dr Tollin on Servetus, and to be the first part of an extensive exposition of his theology. Unfortunately we have not been able to see it. The articles begin with a general one on toleration in the times of the Reformation;[1] the author, however, does not dwell sufficiently on the political aspect of the intolerance shewn towards Unitarians. Then we have accounts of Servetus' Pantheistic speculations,[2] of his opinions upon the Divine Sonship,[3] and of his doctrine of the Devil.[4] Perhaps, however, the most important of his publications are the two works in which he compares relatively the therories of Servetus with those of Luther and Melanchthon. The author seems to be of the opinion that the doctrine, and especially the Christology of Servetus, is more biblical than that of the Reformers. Dr Pünjer's careful and trustworthy little essay was a university thesis.

Sammlung von Urkunden zur Geschichte der Concils v. Trient. I. Bd. Ungedruckte Berichte und Tagebücher zur Geschichte des Concils von Trient. (1te und 2te Abthl.) Von Dr J. VON DÖLLINGER. Nordlingen. 1876. M. 20.

The Jesuits: Their Constitution and Teaching. An Historical Sketch. By W. C. CARTWRIGHT, M.P. 1876. London. 9s.

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[1] H. Tollin, "Die Toleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation." "Riehl's Histor. Taschenbuch."

[2] H. Tollin, "Servet's Pantheismus." "Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft. Theologie." 1876. 2.

[3] H. Tollin, "Servet's Lehre von d. Gotteskindschaft." "Jahrbücher für Protestant. Theologie." 1876. 3.

[4] H. Tollin, "Servet's Teuffelslehre." "Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft. Theologie." 1876. 3.

Dr Döllinger prints six diaries kept at the Council of Trent. Ten have been printed previously, so that we have now sixteen. Almost half of the book is devoted to the diary of Massarelli, kept during the first year of the Council. Besides this, extracts are given from Servanzio, Massarelli's assistant; there are also a memoir by Seripando on the beginning of the Council, and another by Musotti on a later period, and the diaries of the bishops of Verdun and Salamanca. Dr Döllinger's preface contains a *resumé* of the work of his predecessors in this department, and a critical estimate of their work, which is very valuable.

Mr Cartwright's work on the Jesuits is a republication, with additions and corrections, of two articles which appeared some time ago in the *Quarterly Review*. The book describes the foundation, history, and constitution of the order, its contumacy and immoral practices, and the system of morality based on Probabilism, Mental Reservation, and justification of means by ends which has been elaborated by the order. He asserts that the society has attained its zenith of power by means of the Vatican Council, which proclaimed a pontifical Cæsarism with the society as a Prætorian guard. The article in the *Quarterly Review* on the papal monarchy is probably by the same author.

Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte Aug. Herm. Francke's. Von G. Kramer. 1876. Halle. M. 2.50.

Georg Cassander's Ideen üb. die Wiedervereinigung der Christlichen Confessionen in Deutschland. M. Birck. 1876. M. 1.70.

D. F. Strauss und die Theologie seiner Zeit. 1 The. Von A. Hausrath. 1876. Heidelberg. M. 8.

Schleiermacher's Theologie mit ihren philosoph. Grundlagen dargestellt. 1 The. Die philosoph. Grundlagen der Theologie Schleiermacher's. W. Bender. 1876. Nördingen. M. 5.

The Life of Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, deprived as a non-juror in 1689. Ed. by Rev. T. Simpson Evans. 1876. London.

Geschichte der religiös. Bewegung in Inner-Oesterreich im 18. Jahrhundert. Von H. V. Zwiedinck-Sudenhorst. 1876. Wien. M. 1. 40.

Etudes sur la question religieuse de Russie. Le pape de Rome et les papes de l'Eglise orthodox d'orient, d'après les documents originaux grecs et russes. Tondini. 1876. Paris. 4 fr.

L'Eglise catholique en Pologne sous le gouvernement russe depuis le premier partage jusqu'à nos jours (1772–1875). 2d Ed. 2 Vols. Lescœur. 1876. Paris. 15 fr.

A Comprehensive History of Methodism: Embracing Origin, Progress, and Present States in all Lands. Porter. 1876. London. 9s.
History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. By LESLIE STEPHEN. 2 Vols. 1876. London. 28s.

The contributions of the present year to our knowledge of post-Reformation Church history have not been very numerous nor important. Kramer has disinterred some new documents shedding light on the life of the most practical and amiable of the pietists, August Hermann Francke. Birck has gone over carefully Cassander's projects for reuniting Christendom, but without adding much to our previous knowledge of that disappointed eclectic. Bender gives us the first instalment of an unduly elaborate work on Schleiermacher, which is still too undeveloped to be criticised. Naturally enough, there has been a good deal said about D. F. Strauss. We have from the pen of Hausrath the first part of what is meant to be a very elaborate work—too elaborate for the subject; and the Rev. A. M. Fairbairn has contributed three very careful and accurate papers on the theology of Strauss to the "Contemporary Review" for May, June, and July.

Mr Evans' edition of the memoir of the non-juror bishop of Gloucester is the exact reproduction of a manuscript which is anonymous, but which seems to have been authentic. Apart from its historical value as representing an interesting period of church history, the memoir sheds a great deal of light on the relations between Turks and Christians in the East in the seventeenth century.

I have not been able to see the works of Zwiedinck-Südenhorst, Tondini, and Lescoeur, the last of which is the second edition of a well-known work. Hase[1] has contributed a very good article on the Church and the first French Revolution, and Studer[2] gives an account of pietism in Zurich in the seventeenth century.

Mr Leslie Stephen's "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century" is the first attempt to deal with that period as a whole which Principal Tulloch in his "Rational Theology," Mr Hunt in his "History of Religious Thought in

[1] C. Hase, "Die erste Französische Revolution und die Kirche." "Jahrbücher für Protestant Theologie." 1876. I.

[2] Studer, "Der Pietismus in der Züricherischen Kirche im Anfang der vor. Jahrh." "Jahrbuch der Histor. Gesellschaft Zürichen Theologen." I.

England," and Mr Taylor in his "Religious Life," have already treated partially. One of the most important chapters is that in which the author shews the connection between Deism and and the English theology of the seventeenth century.

T. M. LINDSAY.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Hilgenfeld's New Testament Introduction—Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Von Dr ADOLF HILGENFELD, Grossherzogl. Sächs-Kirchenrath und Professor der Theologie in Jena. [*Historical and Critical Introduction to the New Testament.* By Dr ADOLPH HILGENFELD, Member of the Church Council of the Grand Duchy of Saxe, and Professor of Theology in Jena.] Leipzig. 1875.

No department of theological inquiry has engaged more attention in recent years than that which has to do with New Testament literature. Not only theologians have made it their study, but learned men of all classes. Scholars have devoted themselves, some to the task of presenting the text of the canonical books in its purest possible form, and others to the critical questions bearing on their contents and authorship. Hilgenfeld occupies a high position among writers and inquirers of the latter class, and in the work before us we have an important and elaborate contribution to what is called the higher criticism of the New Testament. This higher criticism he has made his special department of study; he appears widely read in all the literature connected with it, and there are few even among German professors who have published more works bearing specially upon it. His books are too numerous to mention particularly, we name only *The Canon and Criticism of the New Testament*, *The Apostolic Fathers*, *The Paschal Controversy*, *The Extra-Canonical Scriptures of the Early Church*, and *The Messias Judæorum*, as the more important of them. He is probably the foremost representative of the Tübingen School to which he belongs, and he appears conspicuously faithful in his writings to its traditions and principles. An examination into the present work will be found fully to bear this out, and also to be of service as shewing the position which that school of theologians is at the present moment occupying.

The author does not conceal his conviction that the higher criticism or the science of Isagogy, as it is otherwise termed, is in direct antagonism to the ordinary church belief as to the canonical books. He believes it has entered upon a persistent conflict with the latter—a kind of thirty years' war—and he expresses a hope that it may not end in a kind of Westphalian peace. He himself appears eager for the fray, and is sanguine enough to believe that even before biblical scholars shall have

settled for us the true text, its history and criticism will be placed on undoubted grounds, and the present belief of the church as to the canon will be a thing of the past. Thus it is obvious that on this ground of theological inquiry war *à outrance* with orthodoxy is his watchword and battle-cry. It is in keeping with this spirit that he deals out scant justice or toleration to those ranged in the opposite ranks. With a point of view such as that of Hofmann of Erlangen, who "attempts to prove, not merely the genuineness of all the books of the New Testament, but even the composition of the Hebrews by Paul himself, with a show of strict science" he will have nothing to do. He holds that "it contradicts the early history of the New Testament canon and the genuinely Protestant spirit of a Luther," and that "a scientific theologian cannot otherwise deal with it than by exposing unsparingly the sophistry of this procedure." Theologians and biblical scholars of the school to which Hofmann belongs are seldom alluded to, and when they are it is after the above fashion. The adherents of that school, however, can scarcely find a better means of strengthening their faith than the history given here of the critical efforts made and results attained by those whom the Tübingen School seem to delight most to honour. The ever-varying speculations, the conflicting theories, and the edifying spectacle of mutual contradiction therein manifested, as existing among that class of theologians, all help to strengthen the conviction that their departure from the confessional or orthodox position has not been fruitful as yet of any happy or useful results.

The author informs us that his present work is the fruit of a course of lectures on the subject of New Testament criticism, which he has delivered year after year for the last seventeen years to his students. Much of what it contains he had given to the world in his previous work on *The Canon of the New Testament*, in 1863. The specialty of his present work is that it presents a history of the individual books of the New Testament. In accounting for their origin, the theory adopted is precisely that of Baur, though with some modifications. These books are in the main *Tendenzschriften*, as they are called, that is, writings indicating the movements and course of development through which Christianity passed, until it issued in its so-called Catholic form about the middle of the second century. Baur's fundamental principles are adhered to, only in their application they are somewhat modified. Baur admitted only four of the Pauline epistles to be genuine, viz. Romans, 1st and 2d Corinthians, and Galatians. Hilgenfeld would add three to the number, 1st Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon. He would admit also the genuineness of the last two chapters in Romans, which Baur was disposed to deny. The last three verses, however, he is disposed to ascribe to another hand. Philippians is, according to Hilgenfeld, "only a letter of thanks to a faithful church troubled by no Judaistic commotion, and it is a valuable memorial of the apostle in bonds. It contains also disclosures as to the inner and outer life of Paul, and traces of the strife with Judaism which form the historic background of the other epistles" which according to Baur are genuine. As to 1st Thessalonians, which Baur regarded as only an imitation of the ungenuine second epistle, he frankly

allows that we have no right to maintain its ungenuineness; that there is no reason for ascribing it to any other than Paul; that throughout the whole epistle the language of Paul may be traced; and that it is a memorial of that period of the apostle's activity when he had to contend only with Jews who were outside the Christian Church. For similar reasons, Philemon is considered to be from the pen of Paul also. With regard to it, Baur had ventured to allege only the possibility of its belonging to the post-apostolic age. The progress of the Tübingen school appears thus to be in the direction of increasing the number of the New Testament books admitted to be genuine. Their theory clearly admits of expansion and development. They have only to widen their conception of Paul and Paulinism, and to modify their strong views as to the opposition between Paulinism and Petrinism to make speedy room for others of the epistles among the number of the genuinely apostolical. It is even possible to imagine such subjective criticism carried so far as to allow apostolical character and authorship to extant books of the early Christian Church, which are not in the canon at all. Thus Hilgenfeld says:—"I have modified the view of Baur as to Paul's epistles. I agreed entirely with him that a thoroughly harmonious relation, without trace of opposition, between Paul and the primitive apostles could only be maintained at the expense of truth. . . . But in the relation between Paul and the primitive apostles, it is not to be denied that there are principles held in common, and besides those four unabridged epistles, 1st Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon, appear to me as genuine." Let but Baur's view of that relation still further be modified, and other admissions of a like kind must undoubtedly follow, until perhaps even the canon has not room for them all. But when we remember that Baur and Hilgenfeld permit us to draw our information regarding Paulinism directly from the writings of the apostle who gave name to it, and yet compel us to take only at second-hand our information regarding what they believe to be opposed to it, we are bound to say that they do not leave us or themselves fair ground for judging of that relation. Had we even one epistle allowed by them to come from the pen of Peter or John, or any other of the apostles, with which we might compare the epistles of Paul, we should not feel ourselves left so entirely to mere arbitrary hypothesis.

We seek for the evidence of this supposed antagonism. We are told that the primitive apostles were content to continue very much in Judaism, and insisted, though gradually less and less strongly, upon the righteousness of the law and the observance of Jewish ordinances, such as circumcision, &c., only they preached Christ as he was in the flesh upon earth in the past, and as he would be manifested in glory in the future. On the other hand, Paul was called specially to be the apostle of the Gentiles. His calling and his broader culture naturally brought him into conflict with Judaism, and the breach widened as his work went on. A few incidents are alluded to in proof of this, which we may now briefly touch upon. Mark left Paul because he differed from his views of preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, and went back to Jerusalem. If the misunderstanding was on that ground (but this can only be matter of pure hypothesis), it was temporary; for in Philemon, an epistle acknow-

ledged by Hilgenfeld to be genuine, and to belong to the latest period of Paul's life, we find that Mark is mentioned as a fellow-labourer. Titus, it is said, was required by the Jewish Christian Church at Jerusalem to be circumcised, but Paul forbade. How Paul's own words (Gal. ii. 3) can bear this interpretation put upon them, we cannot understand; and yet it is held that the Acts designedly withholds the account of this demand, for the reason that it would have raised bitter remembrances of the strife! Paul's words seem decidedly to point out that there was no strife and no mediation needed, such as are alleged; and they were used rather to shew that the Jerusalem Christians and their leaders were at one with him in not requiring any Gentile Christian, even though, like Titus, he might have part in the ministry, to be circumcised. The assembly at Jerusalem is dwelt upon as indicating the same state of division between Paul and the leaders of the Jewish section of the church, and as being an attempt to come to a peaceful understanding. But that assembly seems rather to be a public assertion and manifestation of the unity of Jewish and Gentile believers in the church against the gainsayers, and its decision is clearly a judicial justification of Paul's preaching and conduct as a Christian apostle. Paul and Barnabas receive the right hand of fellowship, and thereby are openly acknowledged as one in faith and work with the other apostles, by whom their special commission to the Gentiles is solemnly ratified, and they are commended to the grace of God. Paul's rebuking Peter for his inconsistency at Antioch is taken as another proof of the opposition between the parties they are supposed to represent, and of the short-lived harmony between them. But the rebuke loses all its significance and force, except on the understanding that they were not representatives of different parties at all, but men professing the same doctrines, and working for the same cause. Peter was to be blamed because, professing to preach a gospel for Jew and Gentile alike, as Paul did, he was seen acting contrary to its spirit and precepts. Yet it is alleged that the Acts intentionally omits this circumstance also, because it did not suit the purpose for which that book is presumed to have been written, that of conciliating both parties in the church! To say the least, the historic basis upon which Hilgenfeld raises his critical structure will be found to be too slender and disputable to sustain it, and his own remark as to the church's view of the canon, with which he closes Part I. of his book bearing on the criticism of the New Testament, and which he makes with a manifest air of triumph, may fitly be applied to it, "The old building, full of rents from the very first, cannot be made habitable. Let us endeavour after an entirely new structure."

As might be expected, Hilgenfeld's views on the canon are widely different from those the Church generally has maintained. With him the canon is simply the classical writings of the Christian Church, the catalogue of the books which were commonly used in its services, and regarded as more or less perfect exhibitions of its professed faith. The Church Fathers are alleged to have borrowed the word from its use among the Alexandrine Grammarians, who meant to express by it the whole of the books occupying the first rank in Greek literature. That they should be written under divine inspiration and by apostles is not necessary to the canonicity

of the books at all. New Testament criticism, in order to be free and true to itself, requires that it be pursued apart from all such dogmas of the Church. Even the Roman Catholic Church is deserving of some praise, because, by setting up a rival authority to that of Scripture, it allows of greater freedom of literary research as applied to the latter. But when we consider how small comparatively are the contributions to New Testament literature Roman Catholic theologians have made, we are inclined to question whether the praise is deserved, and whether, by setting up the authority of the church and of its traditions alongside of that of Scripture on matters of faith, it has really afforded this boasted liberty. Besides, is New Testament criticism not bound to inquire why certain books were received by the Christian Church as canonical while others were rejected as apocryphal and wholly ungenuine, and what was in these canonical books, what was the character acknowledged to belong to them, which led the Church to respect them above all others, and to turn to them as specially authoritative for it on all matters of evangelical history and doctrine? The question of inspiration appears to lie at the very threshold of inquiry as to the Christian canon, and it is no less a historical than a critical one. The testimonies of the Fathers on this question should be heard, and their evident mental and spiritual attitude towards the canonical Scriptures impartially considered. Here is really the battle-ground at present between rationalism and the Church's faith. Hilgenfeld seems fully alive to this, when he makes the important statement that "the whole of modern criticism must be in vain, if there be not in the New Testament writings of post-apostolic date, and of the second century." That appears really to be urging on a crisis before which the Church, however, with the results of the researches made by such approved scholars as Westcott and Lightfoot and Tischendorf, has little to fear. These results clearly point out that it is more than probable that all the books of the canon were written before the close of the first century. The hated shadow of the *Inspirations-dogma* seems to haunt our author throughout the book, and at times, when he has occasion to refer to it, his language becomes passionate and even contemptuous.

Hilgenfeld's chapter on the Fathers bears marks of being written under a strong bias in favour of his own theory. He sets a low value on their literary discrimination, and consequently on their testimonies as to the canon. He alleges the age in which they lived was one in which literary forgeries were little regarded, and were passed over if only they served their own doctrinal ends. Apostolical names were freely given to writings admitted to be canonical. It was a common custom in the first age of Christianity to circulate books under the names of celebrated men of an earlier age. Evidence is set forth that certain churches received books of a clearly apocryphal and supposititious character. Antiquity had not the notion of literary property that is so strictly held now-a-days. A case is cited, however, which goes rather to establish the opposite of all this, so far at least as the Christian Church is concerned. A book entitled the *Acts of Paul* was put in circulation by a presbyter of Asia. For this he was deposed, but he pled in extenuation of his offence

that he had written the book out of love for the apostle. Surely this goes not a little way to prove the fact that the Church was too jealous of the honour of the apostles and of her authoritative books to permit any such literary forgeries to pass, if at least it was in her power to discover them. Such literary forgeries might well pass in a particular district for a time, but it would require strong faith to believe that they could succeed with the Church generally, which was in the best possible position for ascertaining the real facts, and was besides deeply interested in ascertaining them both in respect of her doctrine and practice. We find, too, that the use of uncanonical writings in the Church was merely local and temporary, and that by the fourth century, when the canon took definite form, it had all but ceased.

The Tübingen critics have generally looked upon the four gospels as affording them unassailable ground on which to stand. Before parting from our author, therefore, we shall briefly touch upon the account he gives of their origin. In the canonical Gospel of Matthew, Hilgenfeld recognises "an apostolical strictly Jewish-Christian and anti-Pauline original belonging to the sixth decade of the first century." He acknowledges there is much that is Pauline in it, such as the homage of the Magi, the high value set upon the centurion's faith, &c., but all of this tendency was added by a later hand, and did not belong to the original of the apostolic times. That original, he thinks, we may find in the Ebionitic but apocryphal Gospel to the Hebrews—a work strongly Jewish-Christian in character, but therefore, as it is alleged, all the more likely to be apostolical, translated and presented in fuller form in Greek, and from that Greek translation issuing under the free hand of the evangelist, whoever he was, in its present canonical form. Soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, this Gospel received its present form as the result of a pretty free redaction upon its earlier. The theory as to this Gospel is thus complicated enough. We cannot help remarking that it does seem too great a demand upon our faith, or rather credulity, to believe that the early Church should treat the Ebionitic Gospel as apocryphal, if it really contained more that is apostolical, while she received into her canon under the very name of an apostle a writing which really contained less. Mark's Gospel, "Petrine in character, and bearing marks of its origin in Rome," arose "through a harmonious gathering up" (of previous gospel records or oral traditions, we may suppose), "in the spirit of a mild conciliatory Jewish Christianity." Mark was in close relations with Peter and Paul alike, hence it suited the party whose views the second gospel specially represented to assume him as a sort of sponsor for the book. It is assigned to Domitian's reign, 81–96 A.D. Out of the Pauline writing in the two first, and other gospels, the Gospel of Luke proceeded about the year 100 A.D. Lastly, on the ground of all these works that had gone before, and when the Gnostic movement was at its height, the Gospel of John, written by a disciple of his in Asia Minor, appeared, at a date not later than 140 A.D. It is conceded that the New Testament writings were all completed by this time, an important modification of Baur's view, who would refer some of the books to a later date—the fourth gospel, for example, to about the year 180 A.D.

It is evident that with these views of the origin of the Gospels, and with views of a like kind, determining from an ideal and wholly subjective standpoint the origin of the other books of the New Testament canon as well, the Tübingen critic sets himself a more difficult task than he can ever be expected to accomplish, even to his own satisfaction. Whatever be the book of the canon he treats of, he is so fettered by his own theory that he has to sacrifice for it the organic unity and the historical and doctrinal character and value of the book. Let one follow Hilgenfeld in his treatment of book after book, and he cannot fail to observe that his criticism is dominated by his own arbitrary hypotheses and preconceptions, and that Rationalism is as arrogant in the use of its own *à priori* method of reasoning as ever Scholasticism was. With regard to the first Gospel, for example, Hilgenfeld boldly applies his fundamental principle of a direct opposition between Paulinism and primitive Christianity, and undertakes to point out, obviously in the most arbitrary way, what belonged to its apostolic original, and what was added afterwards of Pauline tendency, and incorporated in the canonical gospel. Such criticism can only be expected to yield at the best very uncertain and temporary conclusions. It can only result in unsettling everything connected with its subject matter, in turning every book and chapter and section of a chapter in the New Testament into a field for interminable polemical strife. While it professes to be free, and even boasts of its liberty, it really labours under serious self-inflicted bondage, and it is likely ere long to die by its own hands. It sets up an ideal view of the early history of Christianity as the standard by which all the canonical books are to be judged, but its direct tendency is to destroy the validity of the historic basis upon which its own ideal view rests. A kind of criticism that regards the books of the New Testament as mere *Tendenzschriften* and not *Geschichtswerke*—as merely writings exhibiting but transient and tentative passages in the Church's development towards Catholicity, and not as reliable memorials and authoritative sources of her faith from the first—leaves itself destitute of all genuine historic materials for accounting either for these alleged doctrinal tendencies or for the origin of Christianity itself. It must of necessity drift, as its representatives in the Tübingen school actually do, into mere arbitrary and groundless hypotheses, and lose itself essentially in its own labyrinth of speculation. Clearly, New Testament criticism must address itself in another spirit to its task if it is to bear substantial scientific fruit.

A. B. C.

SOME AMERICAN LITERATURE.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Vols. V. and VI. K—N. New York: Harper & Brothers.

We gladly welcome these additional volumes of this splendid work. In noticing the previous volumes, we have already described its comprehensive nature, and the able manner in which the editors were carrying forward the enterprise. Our increased acquaintance with this work has only served to heighten our estimate of its value, and warrants us again to recommend it as one of the best works of the kind in the English language. Since the death of Dr M'Clintock, Professor Workman has been associated with Dr Strong as joint editor. The plan they have followed is, by adopting all the best articles that have appeared in existing cylopædias, correcting and modifying them where necessary, and by calling in the aid of a large band of coadjutors, American, Continental, and British, in the preparation of articles on subjects which they have respectively made a special study, to secure a work complete in all its parts, and up to the present date in point of information. The writers are of different evangelical denominations, and while each is left to speak out his own convictions and views of truth, there is nothing of a sectarian character about the work. On the other hand, the articles are written from the Protestant standpoint of a believing acceptance of the inspired Word, and of adherance to the common faith of the gospel of the grace of God, so that there is nothing here of the vague or indefinite theology which characterises the productions of some modern schools. The editors are doing a great work in thus giving to the churches a cyclopædia so rich and varied in its matter, so replete with evidences of a thorough scholarship, and so reliable as we have found this to be. We hope they may be able to carry the undertaking to a satisfactory issue by the publication of the remaining two volumes which will complete the work.

The Might and Mirth of Literature. By W. V. Macbeth, Professor of Rhetoric in the University of West Virginia. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

This is a treatise on figurative language, in which upwards of 600 writers are referred to, and 220 figures illustrated. It is a survey of English and American literature, interspersed with historical notices of the progress of the language, with anecdotes of many of the authors, and with discussions of the fundamental principles of criticism and of the weapons of oratory. It is of solid value as a perfect storehouse of illustrations of figures of etymology, of syntax, and of rhetoric, and is full of practical advice to all preachers and public speakers. We know of no work of the kind that can be more serviceable to students of English literature.

The Theistic Conception of the World: An Essay in opposition to certain Tendencies of Modern Thought. By B. F. Cocker, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Michigan. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

The author, already well known for his interesting work on *Christianity and the Greek Philosophy*, here grapples with one of the greatest questions of the age. His theme is to shew, in opposition to Strauss, Spencer, and the school of physicists to which Tyndall belongs, that there is an absolute First Cause, a personal Being, "from whom, in whom, and to whom are all things." After clearly stating the problem, the author treats of God the Creator, The Creation, The Relation of God to the World in its Conservation, The Providence of God in Human History, Providence and Prayer, Moral Government: its Grounds, Nature, Condition, Method, and End. This important contribution to theological literature is characterised by close and vigorous thinking, and by force and concentration of argument, which demands, but at the same time very abundantly rewards, the sustained attention of the reader. This is just such a work as we would recommend to earnest students. The very perusal of it is a healthful mental discipline, while it is fitted to set at rest perplexing doubts, and to confirm the faith of the reader in the great doctrines it so ably discusses.

Elijah the Prophet. By the Rev. W. M. Taylor, D.D., minister of the Broadway Chapel, New York. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Dr Taylor is already well known on this side of the Atlantic by his excellent work on *David, King of Israel*, and by his recent very admirable contribution to Homiletics. The work before us consists of thirteen chapters, which appear to have been originally lectures. Dealing with a subject that has been so frequently discussed by able writers, and notably by the celebrated Krummacher, it is much to say that Dr Taylor's work is second to none in freshness, and in the power and eloquence with which it sets forth the great lessons with which the thrilling story of the Tishbite's life abounds. We are glad to see that the author so ably sustains the reputation of the Scottish pulpit in his important sphere in America.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Inductive Method of Christian Inquiry. An Essay. By PERCY STRUTT. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1877. Pp. 460.

Messiah's Kingdom in its Origin, Development, and Triumph. By the Rev. BENJAMIN MARTIN, A.M., Leslie. Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Co. 1876. Pp. 335.

On Christian Commonwealth. Translated and adapted under the direction of the Author from the German of Dr HENRY W. J. THIERSCH. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877. Pp. 272.

The Book of Church Law: being an Exposition of the Legal Rights and Duties of the Parochial Clergy and the Laity of the Church of England. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A. Revised by WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE, D.C.L. Second Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1876. Pp. 365.

This volume contains a mass of information in regard to the subject indicated in its title, and from the reputation and other works of its author and reviser may, we presume, be trusted as accurate and complete. The appendix gives the canons and other legal documents of the Church of England in a convenient and accessible form.

Lange's Commentary on the Old Testament. Vol. XIII. Ezekiel and Daniel. Edinburgh: T. &. T. Clark. Pp. 492 and 273.

The Life and Writings of St John. By JAMES MACDONALD, D.D., Princeton, New Jersey. Edited, with an introduction, by the Very Reverend J. S. HOWSON, Dean of Chester. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1877. Pp. 413.

Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai: A Biographical Sketch. By the Author of *Life of Bossuet, Life of S. Francis de Sales,* &c. Rivingtons. London. 1877. Pp. 470.

The Holy Childhood. Conversations on the Earliest Portion of the Gospel Narrative. London: Nisbet & Co. 1877.

The Training of the Twelve; or, Passages out of the Gospels exhibiting the Twelve Disciples of Jesus under discipline for the Apostleship. Second Edition, revised and improved. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877. Pp. 531.

We are glad to see a new edition published of this excellent work.

Ruling Ideas in Early Ages, and their relation to Old Testament Faith. Lectures delivered to Graduates of the University of Oxford. By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church. Rivingtons. London. 1877. Pp. 295.

This important work must be noticed at some length in a future number.

Saint Augustine: A Poem in Eight Books. By the late HENRY WARWICK COLE, Q.C. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877. Pp. 416.

The Hidden Mystery; or, The Revelations of the Word, being Thoughts Suggestive and Practical on Psalm xix. 1–6. By ROBERT BROWN. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1877.

This volume contains much Scriptural truth, brought out with a large acquaintance with the Word of God, and much practical force and earnestness; but it is pervaded with minute analogies as to the spiritual meaning of colours and other natural phenomena that seem to a large extent arbitrary and fanciful.

The True Bread of Life, and how to receive it. By JOHN HARRISON, D.D., Vicar of Fenwick, near Doncaster. 1876.

This tractate, in the form of a letter to a congregation whose minister teaches the doctrine of a real presence of our Lord's body in the Eucharist, is a vigorous polemic against that error, and a defence of the common Reformed doctrine in the Zwinglian rather than the Calvinian form.

The Divine Order of the Universe, as Interpreted by Emmanuel Swedenborg, with especial reference to Modern Astronomy. By the Rev. AUGUSTUS CLISSOLD, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1877. Pp. 121.

Sketches of Jewish Social Life in the Days of Christ. By the Rev. Dr EDERSHEIM, Vicar of Loders, Dorset. London: Religious Tract Society. Pp. 325.

Romanism, Ritualism, and Revelation. Eight Lectures delivered in Trinity Presbyterian Church, Manchester. By the Rev. WILLIAM M'CAW. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1876. Pp. 162.

The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries, in England and Ireland. By SAMUEL SMILES. A new and revised edition. London: John Murray. 1876. Pp. 630.

Bernardino Ochino, of Siena: A contribution towards the History of the Reformation. By KARL BENRATH. Translated from the German by HELEN ZIMMERN, with an introductory Preface by WILLIAM ARTHUR, M.A. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1876. Pp. 304.

A well written translation of the interesting book noticed above in the review of Church History Literature, p. 379, giving an authentic account of a very remarkable man.

The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield. By the Rev. L. TYERMAN. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876. 2 vols. Pp. 561 and 634.

The East: Being a Narrative of Personal Impressions of a Tour in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. By WILLIAM YOUNG MARTIN. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1876. Pp. 292.

An agreeable book of lively descriptions, with interesting information.

The Works of the Rev. William Jay. In eight volumes. Hodder & Stoughton. 1876.

The writings of William Jay have been too long and widely known to need any introduction or review. Making no pretension to scholarship or critical research, but guided by good sense and earnest piety, he has left discourses of such practical value and devotional worth that they continue to hold their own in the esteem of the Christian public. This new edition is sure to have a wide circulation, and will no doubt contribute to make the author known in new quarters. Of the eight volumes, one embraces a course of family prayers for six weeks, together with a number of prayers for special occasions; two consist of short discourses; four contains brief meditations for each morning and evening of the year; while the last consists of a series of lectures, entitled "The Christian Contemplated." Type, paper, binding, and general get up are handsome and elegant.

SERMONS.

Sermons for the Christian Year. Translated from the German of the late Richard Rothe, D.D., with a Preface by WILLIAM R. CLARK, M.A., Prebendary of Wells and Vicar of Taunton. From Advent to Trinity. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877. Pp. 379.

Light and Life. By the Rev. GEORGE COOK, D.D., Borgue. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1877. Pp. 271.

The Life that Now Is: and Nature and Life. Sermons by ROBERT COLLYER, Pastor of Unity Church, Chicago. With a Biographical Sketch. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1877. Pp. 179 and 162.

NOTE.—We regret that, by an oversight, in a note at p. 54 of our previous Number (January 1877), the edition of Owen's Works, and the editorial note there quoted, are ascribed to Dr Thomas Smith, instead of Dr W. H. Goold, to whom we beg to apologise for the mistake.—ED.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

JULY 1877.

ART. I.—*The Origin and Growth of Episcopacy.*

Dissertation on the Christian Ministry, appended to the Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Canon of St Paul's. Third Edition. London, 1873.

THE subject of Church Government demands from all, who attempt to understand it, acquaintance with the principles of evidence, patient and thorough investigation, candid statement of results, and resolute determination to allow prejudice and prepossession to give way before facts. Impartial inquiry and scientific exposition of the evidence have not always distinguished the scholars, who in past ages have devoted their time to this department of theology. No men of our day have, however, set a better example in this respect than Canon Lightfoot and Dr Jacob. The latter in his "Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament," and the former in his "Dissertation on the Christian Ministry," have given us admirable specimens of fair and honest discussion, standing out honourably in contrast to the productions of Mr Haddan and Bishop Wordsworth.[1] We may differ from the interpretation which these learned writers occasionally put upon their facts, and may not see our way to accept all their conclusions; but it is impossible to read their writings without feeling that they deal honestly with evidence, and that they cherish a candid and excellent spirit.

Dr Lightfoot in particular is an accomplished scholar,

[1] See article "Bishop" in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,' and "Theophilus Anglicanus."

and a very moderate Episcopalian. He has not any deep conviction of the divine institution of episcopacy. He is quite familiar with all the principal arguments used in past times on that side of the question, but some of them he does not condescend to use, and others he discards as rusty and worthless. He never mentions the old argument founded on the analogy of the Jewish orders. He is quite silent as to the seventy disciples. In the fact of the apostleship, he sees no proof for the episcopate of men who are not apostles. In the angel of the Asiatic churches, he cannot persuade himself that he finds a prelate, even in disguise. On the contrary, he recognises the identity of presbyter and bishop in the New Testament church, and proves it with irresistible force.[1] He even admits that episcopacy is no part of divine revelation, and shews that it arose after the close of the apostolic age. He thinks, however, that he detects a shadow of it in the later New Testament writings, and he discovers it in general operation so soon after the close of the apostolic age, that he infers it must have had to some extent apostolic sanction. A man who believes that episcopacy is divine in any sense, could not believe much less about it than this; and nothing would remain to us but to congratulate him on the very near approach which he has made to the truth on this subject, were it not that some might perhaps infer from what he says that episcopacy, *as it is now known to the world*, was in existence in the second century, and that some trace of such episcopacy is to be found in the New Testament. Believing as we do that these inferences are entirely erroneous, we are led to examine Dr Lightfoot's positions at more length than otherwise would be necessary.

It gives no ordinary prominence to the question of the position of James in the mother church at Jerusalem, to be told that he "alone within the period compassed by the apostolic writings can claim to be regarded as a bishop in the later and more special sense of the term."

This statement has the weight which the evidence of Scripture lends to it, but no more. Let us look at the New Testament to see what proof it affords of this alleged precedency and authority. On the night that Peter was led out

[1] "Philippians," p. 93.

of prison by the angel, that apostle told the company of Christians met for prayer in the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, in Jerusalem, "Go, shew these things unto James, and to the brethren" (Acts xii. 17). In speaking of the "pillars" of the church, Paul names James before Cephas and John (Gal. ii. 9). It is not said that he presided in the apostolic council; but he spoke and made a proposal which met the unanimous concurrence of the apostles and elders (Acts xv. 13–21). Luke states that when Paul returned from his third missionary journey, he "went in with us unto James, and all the elders were present" (Acts xxi. 18). This is the whole evidence; and on this very narrow basis is rested the broad conclusion, that James "was singled out from the rest, and placed in a position of superior responsibility," and that "the church of Jerusalem presents the earliest instance of a bishop."

Intelligent readers cannot fail to observe that James is never called a bishop by any inspired writer. Here however we are reminded that this is not a question of *names*, but a question of *things*. To this it is sufficient to answer that names represent things; and if at a time certain things did not exist, this enables us to understand why names at the same time were not forthcoming. Though some now fancy that they discover in James the "precedent and pattern of the later episcopate," he is never said in Scripture to have done any act peculiar to a prelate, or to have sustained any official character except that of an apostle. If James was not an apostle, as some suppose, it needs to be explained, how among the primitive Christians, who had not as yet learned to pay inordinate deference to birth, and who "knew no man after the flesh," one not an apostle could take rank as a "pillar" with those who filled the highest office of the church and could guide the deliberations of a body in which both Peter and Paul sat as members.[1] In that case we would be asked to believe this contradiction, that although "God hath set some in the church, *first* apostles," a man who is not an apostle takes the lead of those whom God hath set first, and that for no other reason than to supply to after ages the precedent for a prelate. But unfortunately for the theory, we are expressly

[1] Gal. ii. 9; Acts xv. 13–21; and 1 Cor. xii. 28.

informed that James was an apostle. Whatever difficulty there may be about the complicated question in regard to the brethren of the Lord, we know on the evidence of Gal. i. 19 and of 1 Cor. xv. 7 that James was an apostle of Christ. That being so, no sound argument can be drawn from the position of an apostle to determine the position of other men who are not apostles. In fact, the whole argument is surrendered when we are told, as at page 194: "It is not to the apostle that we must look for the prototype of the bishop."

The simple fact is, that the apostles, who by appointment of the Lord held the highest place in the Christian society, were in charge of all the churches, and occupied the first place in any congregation where they were present. From the fact that James is met with on four separate occasions at Jerusalem, and never at any other place, we infer that he did not go forth on missionary journeys to the same extent as the other apostles, and that he resided in the mother Church almost constantly. This being so, he would naturally occupy a higher place than the local officers, and the elders would naturally look up for advice and direction to him as an apostle of Christ. Uninspired writers living in later times, and using the language of later times, might speak of him as a bishop; but in his connection with the church at Jerusalem there is no element, except that of more constant residence, to distinguish it from Paul's connection with the church at Rome, or with any other church in which for a time he happened to be present. Permanent residence in a locality is not sufficient to turn an apostle into a bishop. The qualifications and functions of the one are widely different from those of the other. Since there is no identity of office, the position of James decides nothing. There can be no germ of episcopacy here.

In regard to Timothy and Titus, it is not obvious to us that "the position occupied by these apostolic delegates fairly represents the function of the bishop early in the second century." Unlike James, it is known that they were itinerant ministers who travelled from place to place in their efforts to diffuse the gospel, sometimes accompanying apostles, sometimes fulfilling commissions given them by apostles, and sometimes to all appearance acting independ-

ently. In the New Testament writings we find Timothy engaged in evangelistic work at Philippi, Berea, Athens, Thessalonica, Corinth, Ephesus, Troas, and Rome, visiting some of these places more than once. The history of Titus is not so fully recorded, but his name is associated with places so widely separate as Jerusalem, Corinth, Crete, Nicopolis, and Dalmatia. In their work at Ephesus and Crete they acted as delegates of the Apostle Paul, organising congregations, appointing officers, planting the gospel—doing in fact all that the apostle himself would have done had time permitted him to remain longer in these places. They were not local officers stationed permanently in a city or district; they were clothed with apostolic power and appointed to a special work, and when that special work was finished they went upon their way. Men entrusted with a temporary mission of this kind are usually needed at the introduction of the gospel to a locality, and at the first organisation of churches in a district; but they are not in ordinary cases necessary after a regular ministry has been appointed. Their office is analogous to that of the superintendents in the Church of Scotland at the Reformation, who, owing to the scarcity of Protestant ministers, were appointed to visit the towns in their respective districts to form congregations, and to select readers and teachers, but whose special duties ceased when a regular ministry was established. But evangelists specially commissioned on a temporary mission to regulate ecclesiastical affairs in a district, and to provide the churches with the regular officers, can afford no fair precedent for the permanent order of prelates who made their appearance afterwards. They had little in common with such dignitaries. They "held no local office," they acted under a commission direct from the apostles of Christ, their position was temporary; and when their work was finished in one district, they passed away to another. Some, indeed, fancy that in them they see "a link." Any nexus, however feeble, may be entitled to such a name; but no sound argument can be based on their position and functions to sustain the authority afterwards claimed by bishops. No other men since their time can present the same evidence of apostolic powers.

The next argument stated on behalf of the institution is

the alleged sanction of the apostle John. "Asia Minor," we are reminded, "was the nurse, if not the mother, of episcopacy in the Gentile churches;" and it is added that "so important an institution, developed in a Christian community of which St John was the living centre and guide, could *hardly have grown up without his sanction.*"

Here surely there is some strange defect of proof. If John ever gave the alleged sanction, it ought to be proved; but if it cannot be proved, no man is entitled to say that it was given, or that it could not have happened otherwise. From what is told us in the New Testament epistles, we are entitled to conclude that some practices existed in the Christian churches during the lifetime of the apostles which the apostles did not approve.

Certainly the sanction of an apostle of Christ is the highest authority which any religious institution requires to produce; no Christian needs any better warrant for his faith or practice. If it can be shewn from the writings of "the disciple whom Jesus loved" that he sanctioned episcopacy, we have not another word to say. That is quite sufficient. But to prove such sanction in the present case, unfortunately not a line is quoted from the New Testament, nor from any writing professing to be John's. The only thing wearing the semblance of proof is the statement to the effect that the apostle spent his last days in Asia Minor, that episcopacy developed in that district at an early period, and that "early tradition very distinctly connects his name with the appointment of bishops in these parts."

But in support of an institution which puts forward such high claims, and which has coloured so deeply the history of the Church for many centuries, we are surely entitled to receive from its ablest advocates something more solid than tradition. We prefer Scripture; but if Scripture is not forthcoming, we would accept the evidence of authentic history as to the time, place, and circumstances of its birth. Fair evidence from any source we welcome, but tradition in itself is not evidence, though sometimes it may legitimately be used to confirm what can be shewn on other grounds to be true. As in the New Testament age all presbyters were bishops, it need surprise nobody to hear that John appointed bishops. Paul did so, as all admit, in the churches

of Lycaonia and Pisidia (Acts xiv. 23); and an appointment by John of a similar kind cannot do more for the system than an appointment by Paul. But everything depends here on the kind of bishop who was appointed. Was he a congregational bishop, that is, a presbyter set apart with a number of others to teach and rule in a single congregation? Or was he a diocesan bishop, that is, a pastor presiding over a number of other pastors, and of distinct congregations? Could it be shewn that John appointed a thousand bishops of the former kind, it would prove nothing for episcopacy as known to us. It would be otherwise, however, could it be proved that John by any deed or word of his lent approval to "a presidency over the clergy and laity of a particular diocese, with a veto, and with the sole power of ordination."[1] If John sanctioned this, then diocesan episcopacy is proved. But John did not sanction this; on the contrary, he condemned it by implication when he spoke disapprovingly of a character who in every age has troubled the Church, "Diotrephes who loveth to have the pre-eminence." Such a line in his writings is proof sufficient that the venerable apostle was averse from the principle which lies at the root of diocesan episcopacy.

Though in the alleged facts now noticed Dr Lightfoot thinks that he sees the foreshadow of the episcopate which was to arise outside the apostolic age, it is evident that he attaches greater importance to the purely historical argument. That argument as he states it is substantially this: No distinct signs of episcopal government appeared in Gentile Christendom up till A.D. 70; during the historical blank which extends over half a century after the fall of Jerusalem, episcopacy was matured and the Catholic Church consolidated; early in the second century the system is found established, and more fully in Asia Minor than elsewhere; as John, the last surviving apostle, died about the year 100 A.D., it must have been in his lifetime, and presumably with his sanction, that the important change was brought about. In other words, when the sun of inspiration set in the first century, episcopacy was not in existence; when the first glimmer of history breaks through the darkness of the second century, the institution is in active

[1] Mr Haddan, article "Bishop," in Smith's "Dictionary."

operation. Dr Lightfoot would not perhaps call it a "hidden work of darkness," but he says it was matured in what he describes as a "historical blank."

The main force of the dissertation therefore is directed to prove that episcopacy commenced in Asia Minor, and prevailed through the greater part of Christendom, in the early part of the second century; or, as Mr Haddan puts it a little more broadly, that "bishops *in the later sense* are actually found in every church whatsoever, from the moment that any evidence exists at all." The proof offered in support of this statement is a series of quotations from various writers, shewing that in many churches throughout the empire there was in the second century an ecclesiastical officer called the bishop, and in every place regarding which he finds this word used he imagines that he has proved episcopacy to be a settled institution. But here again everything turns on the meaning that we are to attach to the word *bishop*. Dr Lightfoot himself, in the course of his "Dissertation," uses that word in three senses—first, as a synonym for presbyter; secondly, as "chief of the presbyters," "the president of the presbyterial council;" and thirdly, as ruler of various distinct churches under pastors of their own, that is a diocesan bishop. Now the third of these is the only sense of the word which can serve a writer who wishes to prove that the prelatic form of government existed from the days of the apostles. The presence of a bishop who is only a presbyter, or who is merely the "president of the presbyterial council," will not suit the purpose. That in fact is our case. That is the very thing for which we contend. In every use of the word by any contemporary writer whatever, the bishop of the second century was either one of several presbyters in a single congregation, or he was the first of the council of presbyters in charge of a single congregation. In no case whatever was he a diocesan, ruling a number of separate churches each presided over by its own pastor. Dr Lightfoot assumes the contrary, but in no case does he attempt to prove that the second century bishop was a diocesan.

That the bishop and the elder of the apostolic age were identical is now denied, as we understand, by nobody. That in the second half of the second century the name

bishop was given to the president of the council of presbyters, and had become his special designation, we freely admit. That the first of the presbyters was then regarded as standing a step above his colleagues there is good reason to believe. But such a state of things does not prove episcopacy. It is in fact the state of things which exists in most presbyterian congregations at present. Each of them is governed by a council of presbyters. In this council the presbyter who labours in word and doctrine is accustomed to preside. To this elder who presides over his colleagues in the eldership custom gives the name, the *minister*, for the same reason that the presiding presbyter, to distinguish him from the other presbyters in the congregation, was in the second century called the *bishop*. On Dr Lightfoot's principle, therefore, it would be easy to shew that episcopacy now prevails in every presbyterian church throughout the world, because in every one of them there is a chief presbyter, who occupies a more prominent position than the others, and to whom the special name minister is appropriated. As each church in the end of the second century had its bishop, presbyters, and deacons, so now a Presbyterian church in any district has its minister, presbyters, and deacons. This however cannot serve the advocate of modern episcopacy. To make good his historical argument, he would require to shew something more than that the chief of the presbyters is in the second century called the bishop; he would need to make it clear that this bishop is a diocesan, that is, not the pastor of a single flock, but a pastor with various flocks and various pastors under his care. The omission of a point so essential is what entirely destroys Dr Lightfoot's argument.

The question is sometimes put to those who feel unable to believe the divine origin of episcopacy — How do you account for its early origin and rapid growth? You say that it was not instituted in the New Testament age, yet you admit that in the larger cities it was in full bloom in the fourth century; how then did it originate? How did the human come to supersede the divine? Was it a usurpation, and if so, how did the presbyters, from whom it wrested power, encounter it with such a feeble resistance? And how does it come that the presbyters, who found at last a master

placed over their heads, seem all the while unconscious of their own degradation?

This question we are not bound to answer by the necessities of our position. All we have to shew is, that episcopacy as now understood was not an institution of the New Testament, or rather to shew that all the arguments, used to prove that it was, fail of their aim. If found to be a part of divine revelation, and made obligatory upon Christians, we receive it without scruple. If sanctioned by any inspired man, though not made obligatory, we give it the preference, and are ready to adapt ourselves to it as well as we can. But if we can find no authority for it in the Scriptures, and can shew that every attempt of the ablest theologians to find a basis for it there is a failure, then our work, so far as episcopacy is concerned, is done. Unscriptural institutions and practices have at all times been common in the world, and no argumentative obligation requires those, who find for them no authority in the Bible, to point out to their advocates how this or the other of them came into existence. Let those who look to them and value them find out for themselves how they have been misled, and why so many good men have come in the course of ages to prefer the human to the divine. It is not therefore in consequence of any logical obligation which the proof of Presbyterianism imposes, but simply as a matter of antiquarian and historical interest, that we proceed to shew how the mediæval and modern episcopacy grew out of the state of things which we find existing in the New Testament Church. In this point of view, but in no other, is it interesting to inquire how the humble presbyter of a village church, who mingled with poor persecuted people, and who lived often by the proceeds of his manual toil, developed in the course of time into the pompous prelate of the middle ages, and adorned with mitre, pall, and crozier, took his seat among the barons of an empire, and held his own with kings. This, as we think, can be done satisfactorily, without being under the necessity to leave for a moment the stepping-stones of historical fact.

1. In the apostolic age, and in the second century, there is no record of any public edifice being erected for Christian worship. People met for worship in large or small companies, as circumstances permitted. The Christians of a

city in every case constituted then the *ecclesia*, that is the assembly or congregation of the city. On the other hand, the Christians of a province of a district are usually called the *ecclesiai*, or churches of the district, because they were formed into separate congregations. Even in Jerusalem and in Ephesus, where the Christians were more numerous in the apostolic age than in any other city, and where no doubt there were, for the sake of convenience, many small meetings held in private houses, they all constituted the congregation or church of the city. They were all one society, under the same government, and meeting together at stated times as the one assembly. No farther proof is required of this position than the fact, obvious to every careful reader of the New Testament, that the inspired writers constantly speak of the *churches* of Asia, Macedonia, Galatia, and Syria, but never of anything except the *church* at Jerusalem, Philippi, Ephesus, and Corinth respectively. Even when there is reason to think that there were Jewish and Gentile elements among the Christians of a city, it cannot be proved that they constituted in the apostolic age two distinct churches, and therefore such a thing cannot in any case be legitimately assumed.[1]

2. In each congregation of the apostolic age there was a plurality of bishops or elders. It was so in the church at Jerusalem, at Ephesus, at Philippi, and even in the newly formed churches in Lycaonia and Pisidia.[2]

3. Each one of these was called a presbyter from his age, and a bishop from his duty. He was one of the overseers, charged with the instruction and guidance of the flock. That the same man was in New Testament times called indifferently bishop or presbyter, no man has proved with more convincing clearness than Dr Lightfoot himself.[3] This being established from Scripture, it is not lawful for us to interpret the word bishop to mean any officer different from a presbyter, down till we meet one clear occurrence of the word which cannot bear this interpretation. No such instance can be found we are persuaded in the New Testament. On the contrary, every occurrence of the word in the

[1] Lightfoot on the "Galatians," p. 323; and "Philippians," p. 219.
[2] See Acts xxi. 18, xx. 17; Phil. i. 1; Acts xiv. 23.
[3] "Philippians," p. 93.

inspired writings is an illustration of the fact that bishop is only another name for presbyter.

Not only so, but Clement of Rome, the earliest of the uninspired Christian writers, in the letter which, in the last decade of the first century, he addressed to the Church of God sojourning at Corinth, remonstrating with them on the expulsion of their presbyters, used the two words exactly in the Scriptural sense. He knows no officers in the local church except bishops and deacons; the office from which the presbyters have been driven is the episcopate; he makes no mention of a prelate in any form, and exhorts the people —not to submit to the bishop, as he would have done had there been any one in the Corinthian Church sustaining that character, but to submit to their presbyters. His words have been often cited, but they will bear to be cited again:—

"Having preached over countries and cities, they (the apostles) appointed their first converts, after having proved them by the Spirit, to be the bishops and deacons of those about to believe. . . . For our sin is not small if we thrust out of the episcopate those who in a blameless and holy manner have presented gifts. Blessed are the presbyters who have gone before, and have had a fruitful and complete release; for they are not afraid that any will remove them from the place secured by them. But we see that you have removed some well-behaved men from the ministry which they had blamelessly and honourably filled. . . . Ye therefore who have laid the foundation of the sedition, submit to the presbyters, and be educated into repentance, bending the knees of your heart."[1]

Not much is now known of Hermas, the author of "the Pastor." If credit can be given to the "Muratorian Fragment," which is believed to be a product of the second century, he was brother of Pius, said to be Roman bishop from 148 to 156 A.D. If so, "the Pastor" may be set down to the year 150, or thereabout. It also testifies to the fact that the presidents of the church were, at the time it was written, called without distinction presbyters and bishops, that their office was to give instruction, and that they needed in his time the admonition of living at peace with each other:—

"Tell, therefore," says Hermas, "those who preside over the church to direct their ways in righteousness. . . . But you will read them in this city along with the presbyters who preside over the church. . . . I say to you who preside over the church and love the first seats, be not like sorcerers. . . . How will you instruct the elect of God if you yourselves

[1] "Epist. ad Corinthios," cap. 42, 44, 57.

have not instruction? Instruct each other, and be at peace among yourselves."[1] . . .

4. The work of the presbyters in an apostolic congregation was to rule the Christian society, and to feed the flock with knowledge. Some of them, as might be expected, discharged their duty better than others; some ruled well, others not so well; while others, in addition to ruling well, laboured in word and doctrine. The people were commanded to mark their sense of the diligence of the presbyters by conferring on the worthy an increase of respect and remuneration. "Let the elders that rule well be worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in word and doctrine" (1 Tim. v. 17). This is the only passage of Scripture which warrants any distinction whatever among the presbyters of a congregation. Compliance with this injunction covered changes which arose in the most natural way, and out of which eventually the hierarchical system was developed. Eight or ten presbyters charged with the guidance and instruction of a local society of Christians would for purposes of order appoint from among themselves a chairman or president. At first the choice might probably fall on the oldest of the presbyters, but very soon the office would devolve on the most eminent for gifts, for labour, and for success. This is the first piece of honour which would come to the man who, in addition to ruling well in the congregation, should also labour in word and doctrine. Dr Lightfoot himself admits this when he remarks that "the existence of a council or college necessarily supposes a presidency of some kind, whether this presidency be assumed by each in turn or lodged in the hands of a single person."[2] The selection of one of the presbyters to preside in the meetings of the presbytery, enables us to account satisfactorily for the distinction which soon arose between the presiding presbyter and his brethren. At the beginning he was simply first among his equals; but the permanence of his position, no less than his talents and character, gave him weight, and it soon came to be believed that he was of a different rank and order. The inference in the circumstances was inevitable. A man could not take the place of honour conferred

[1] "Pastor," vis. ii. 2, 4; vis. iii. 9.
[2] "Philippians," p. 205.

upon him by his colleagues, and occupy it at every stated meeting, without gradually producing the impression on others that he filled a higher office than any of the colleagues over whom he presided. There is here no usurpation apparent on the one side, and no degradation on the other. There is, in fact, no violence, no wrench, no glaring innovation; everything moves on so naturally that one would almost think that it was always so. Still there is a change. The presiding presbyter appears to be above his brethren, although the fact is that he is only one of themselves, and possesses no authority whatever except what they have voluntarily conferred. To avoid the natural inference that the permanent president is of higher rank than those over whom he presides, the Presbyterian churches even at this day are under the necessity of changing their moderators every year. But the Christians of the second century did not possess our dear-bought experience. With them the presiding presbyter was a permanent officer in the congregation. The result was inevitable. He soon came to think himself, and to be thought by others, an officer of higher rank than the colleagues over whom he ruled.

5. A new officer requires of necessity a special name. It is impossible in the nature of things that the man who statedly occupies the chief seat in the meetings of the presbytery can continue to be known by the same name as those over whom he presides. His functions being now somewhat different from those of his colleagues, the office demands a special designation of its own. The head of a jury, though only a juror like his colleagues, is called the foreman. The presbyter who presides over his brethren in a Presbyterian court is called the moderator. The presbyter who presided over the presbyters of a congregation in in the second century was called the bishop. In other words, a name originally common to all the presbyters is henceforth applied to the first of the presbyters, who now stands out distinctly from his colleagues as the ruler and teacher of the congregation.

6. Upon the existing records of the earliest ages, scanty as they are, traces are still discernible of a time when the bishop was only the first presbyter in the congregation, and had little to distinguish him from the other presbyters except

the name. In illustration of this remark, we may refer to the case of Polycarp, the date of whose martyrdom is usually set down to 167 A.D. In regard to him, Irenæus, one of his pupils, tells us in one place that he was "by the apostles constituted in Asia a bishop in the church in Smyrna," a fact which, considering that it was the practice of the apostles to appoint bishops in every congregation (Acts xiv. 23; Acts xx. 28; Phil. i. 1 and Titus i. 5), we can well believe; while in another he designates him "that blessed and apostolic presbyter," applying both designations to the same man.[1] But what is more to our present purpose, Polycarp himself, in his "Epistle to the Philippians," written about 150 A.D., does not assume the title of bishop, yet he uses language which implies that the presiding presbyter even at that date stood out in distinction from his brethren: "Polycarp *and the presbyters that are with him* to the Church of God sojourning at Philippi." He does not call himself *the* Bishop of Smyrna; he does not drop a word to imply that there was any change in the government of the church of Philippi, to which he writes, different from what existed in the days of Paul; yet the peculiar form of address which he employs shews that he did not regard his position as being exactly the same with that of the presbyters over whom he presided.

Irenæus wrote his great work, "Against Heresies," sometime after the martyrdom of Polycarp, between 182 and 188 A.D. In him the distinction between the first of the presbyters has grown more marked, but it is not so deep as to obliterate the fact that they were originally equal in every respect. He speaks interchangeably of the succession of presbyters and of the succession of bishops; he calls the office of the presbyters an episcopate, and designates the Roman bishops before his own time as presbyters. Such language testifies to the original identity of office; but that a distinction to some extent exists in his time is shewn by the circumstances referred to by Dr Lightfoot that he never bestows on any mere presbyter the designation bishop. The following quotations illustrate these facts in regard to the standpoint of Irenæus:—

[1] Irenæus, Haer., iii. 3. 4; and "Epistle to Florinus," in Eus., H. E., v. 20.

"'But when again we refer them to that tradition which takes origin from the apostles, and which is preserved by means of successions of presbyters in the churches, they are opposed to tradition, saying,' &c.—"Hær." iii. 2. 2.

"'We can reckon those who were appointed bishops by the apostles and their successors till our own time.'—"Hær." iii. 3. 1.

"'We must therefore obey the presbyters who are in the church, those who, as I have shewn, possess the succession from the apostles; who, along with the succession of the episcopate, have received the sure gift of truth according to the will of the Father.'—"Hær." iv. 26. 2.

"'We must adhere to those who, as I have said before, preserve the doctrine of the apostles, and who, with the rank of the presbytery, exhibit sound speech and conversation without offence for the confirmation and the reproof of others.'—"Hær." iv. 26. 4.

"'Those presbyters, before Soter, who stood at the head of the church of which you are now leader, I mean Anicetus and Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, and Xystus, neither themselves observed [that time of keeping Easter] nor enjoined it on their people.'"—"Letter to Victor," in Eusebius "H. E.," v. 24.

These passages bear witness to the fact that in the most important churches the bishop was regarded late in the second century simply as a presbyter, and that it was but gradually it came to be believed there was any distinction between them. When talents and labour came to be taken into account, the distinction became in every way more marked than when the bishop succeeded to his presidency simply in virtue of his seniority. "The first presbyters," says a Latin commentator of the fourth century, "were called bishops, so that when one would die, the next should succeed, him. . . . But when the next presbyters were found unworthy to hold the primacy, the plan was altered, the council providing that not the order of time but merit should make the bishop."[1] Jerome, the most learned of the Latin fathers, was equally persuaded that the superiority of the bishop to the presbyter was the result of a mere human arrangement, not of any appointment of God. In one of his epistles, after shewing from the New Testament that the same persons are called without distinction presbyters and bishops, he adds—"But afterwards one was chosen to preside over the others

[1] "Primi presbyteri episcopi appellabantur, ut recedente eo, sequens ei succederet. . . . Sed quia coeperunt sequentes presbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatus tenendos, immutata est ratio, prospiciente concilio ut non ordo sed meritum crearet episcopum."—Hilary the Deacon on Eph. iv. 12. Migne, xvii., c. 388.

as a remedy for division, lest each man drawing towards himself should break up the Church of Christ."[1] And then he goes on to make a remark which shews that late in the fourth century there was only one ministerial act which the presbyter had lost his right to perform—"For what does a bishop do, with the exception of ordination, that a presbyter cannot perform?" Another writer of the same century asks the significant question: "What is a bishop but the first presbyter, that is, the highest priest?"[2] These passages shew that two hundred years after the bishop stood out distinctly from the presbyter, and when in most of the larger cities he had developed into a full-blown prelate, the best instructed members of the church had not yet forgotten the story of his humble origin.

7. At what point, we may next inquire, did the presiding presbyter come to be recognised as an officer distinct from those over whom he presided? The nearest approach that we can make to the answer, is to ascertain from contemporary evidence the point at which he was known by a special name. When we find that one of the presbyters in a church is marked out by the special designation of *the* bishop, we may feel assured that in the age when the writer lived there was some man who thus stood out distinctly from others in the various churches. In describing the past, every author uses the language of his own time. When was this title applied? Eusebius cannot guide us here, for he lived in the fourth century, and wrote in the language of his own age. Nothing but contemporary evidence can avail for the decision of this point. If the extant literature of the second century was more abundant, we might be able to make a closer approximation to the truth; but as it is not, we can be guided only by such evidence as we possess.

Commencing at a late point in the second century, and travelling upwards, we find Irenæus, who wrote between 182 and 188 A.D., stating in regard to the church at Rome: "The blessed apostles who founded and built up that church entrusted the ministry of the episcopate to Linus. . . . But Anacletus succeeded him; and after him, in the third place

[1] "Epistola, cxlvi.," "Ad Evangelum," Migne, vol. xxii. c. 1194.

[2] Pseudo-Augustine, probably Hilary, "Quæstiones," ci., Migne, vol. xxxv., c. 2302.

from the apostles, Clement is allotted the episcopate."[1] This statement is in some points very inaccurate, and we must not accept without hesitation the words of a man who speaks about obscure matters which occurred in a distant city more than a hundred years before the time when he wrote, and certainly not in opposition to the already cited statement of Clement himself; but the language of Irenæus is decisive, that at the time when he wrote (182–188), one man in a congregation held an office, named the episcopate, which no other in the congregation held at the same time as himself.

The "Muratorian Fragment on the Canon," usually assigned to A.D. 170, takes us back to a point a little earlier than Irenæus. It speaks of Pius occupying the chair of the church in Rome—"Very lately, and in our own times, Hermas in Rome wrote 'The Pastor,' while the bishop, Pius, his brother, sat in the chair of the church in that city."[2] Pius was bishop in the Roman Church from 143–156 A.D., and the "Fragment," written about twenty years later, speaks of him as "the bishop," and "sitting in the chair." The evidence shew that about 170 there was one man who was regarded as marked off from the Roman presbytery by certain special distinctions.

Perhaps still earlier in the century than the author of the "Muratorian Fragment," we may place Dionysius of Corinth. He addressed an epistle to the Roman Christians, in which he speaks of Soter, who stands twelfth on the list of Roman bishops, and who occupied that position from 168–176 A.D., as "your blessed bishop," and praises his liberality to the poor and to strangers.[3] In the same chapter Eusebius represents Dionysius as saying that his letters are very much corrupted; but inasmuch as the application of the epithet before us is corroborated by other evidence, we may regard it as an authentic part of his letter where he speaks to the Romans of *their* bishop. This shews that in the ordinary speech used in Corinth about 170 A.D. there was one man in a church known as the bishop. There are several other similar statements in the same chapter, but as Eusebius does not profess to give his very words, we

[1] Haer. iii. 3. 3.
[2] "Westcott on the Canon," p. 562.
[3] Eusebius, Hist. Ecc., iv. 23.

cannot argue from them as to the application of the word bishop in the second century.

Hegesippus, who wrote about the year 150 A.D., carries us up to a still earlier point in the century. He is the first known writer who speaks of any person as the *bishop* of a place. His testimony cannot be admitted in evidence of the meaning attached to the word a century before his time, more especially when it is found to be in contradiction to what are both inspired and contemporary statements; but it is proof unimpeachable as to the arrangements of his own time, the middle of the second century. Eusebius[1] represents him as saying:—

"The church of the Corinthians remained in the right faith even until Primus acted as bishop in Corinth, with whom I made acquaintance when sailing to Rome, and spent some days at Corinth."

In the same chapter Eusebius represents Hegesippus as saying also:—

"And after James the Just had been put to death for the same reason as the Lord had been, again Simeon, the son of Cleophas, the Lord's uncle, was appointed bishop, whom they all put forward as second, because he was the cousin of the Lord."

The account which Hegesippus gives of James, both here and elsewhere,[2] is so traditional and untrustworthy, that we are entitled to give him very little credit when he speaks of the position occupied either by him or by Simeon; but the use which he makes of the designation *bishop* shews that in *the time of the writer*, that is 150 A.D., that officer was regarded as filling a post a degree higher than the presbyters of the congregation. The name *bishop* had then ceased to be the appropriate designation of the presbyters; it is about 150 A.D. limited to one of their number, who presides in the meetings of the church.

If we are correct in ascribing "The Pastor" of Hermas to the year 150, although it must be allowed that in most of these dates there is only an approach to accuracy, we can carry the inquiry no higher up. In one of his Similitudes,[3] Hermas has occasion to speak of bishops, but as if supposing that his meaning might be misunderstood, he adds immediately, as if by way of explanation, "that is, the presidents

[1] Hist. Ecc., iv. 22. [2] Eusebius, H. E., ii. 23.

[3] "Pastor," Sim. iii. 9. 27—"Episcopi, id est præsides ecclesiarum."

of churches." This is the earliest instance in extant ecclesiastical literature where the word bishop is used to convey the idea of superiority to a presbyter. This is found in a work which Neander sets down to the year 156, but which could not with any degree of probability be assigned to any earlier date than 140 A.D. The fact that the author finds it necessary to interpret his own application of the word, shews that the public had not previously been accustomed to attach to it the idea which afterwards it was used to convey—superiority to a presbyter.[1]

8. In conducting this inquiry, it may be observed that we make no use either of the Ignatian or Clementine forgeries, both of which count for much with the advocates of episcopacy. That Ignatius is a forgery first and last, in the shortest as well as the longest recension, Dr Killen has conclusively shewn,[2] and with testimonies of that class it is not necessary for us to trouble ourselves. Acquaintance with the genuine literature of the time very much deepens the impression produced by the other arguments, and convinces unprejudiced minds that the state of things described by the Pseudo-Ignatius could not have existed very long before the end of the second century, nor very long after the beginning of the third. The forger, by putting his sentiments into the mouth of a venerable Christian pastor who was put to death early in the second century, wishes to give the stamp of antiquity to a state of things which existed at the beginning of the third century; and in this point of view these celebrated forgeries are valuable as shewing the state of things which existed at the time when they were actually composed.

But who and what is the bishop, let us inquire, whom the Ignatian epistles do so much to exalt? He stands out, no doubt, in vivid distinctness from his presbyters, but he is the pastor of a single congregation, not a prelate ruling over various pastors and many congregations; his see is a parish, not a diocese; and his presbyters are the colleagues over whom he presides in the church committed to their

[1] Dr Killen has urged this consideration with his usual vigour. (See "Ancient Church," p. 549.) Some MSS., however, omit the clause, "id est præsides ecclesiarum."

[2] "Ancient Church," p. 387.

joint care. The episcopacy of the end of the second century is only congregational episcopacy. The exhortations given are quite inconsistent with the circumstances of a prelate, ruling an extensive territory containing many pastors and many churches. One of his maxims is: "If a man become known apart from the bishop he has destroyed himself,"[1] a statement made with the view of discouraging self-assertion on the part of the laity, and encouraging them to co-operation with the bishop; but the sphere of the bishop's rule must be very limited indeed, if every man can possibly act along with him, and if to act independently of him in any circumstances is to commit moral suicide. In a diocese multitudes cannot possibly avoid being known apart from the bishop; they have not the bishop always at their elbow to take counsel with before they act. Again, in the same chapter men and women who marry are advised to "marry with the counsel of the bishop," which might be done with ease if the bishop is the pastor of a single church, but not very conveniently if he is the head pastor of all the churches of a diocese. The design of the forger is quite evident; it is to elevate the episcopate by representing that nothing is to be done in the congregation without the presence and concurrence of the pastor; he never contemplates the case of many churches under one ruler. This could be shewn still more clearly were we to pass outside the Syriac recension, and cite the seven epistles, which prior to the time of Dr Cureton were generally accepted as genuine. But enough has been said to prove that the only bishop known to the Pseudo-Ignatius is the pastor, who with his presbyters and deacons presides over a single congregation; the forger evidently spoke of matters as he found them, and in his wildest fancies did not dream of a diocesan.

The superiority of the bishop to the presbyter in the end of the second century is analogous to that of the minister over the elder in a Presbyterian congregation at present. The first presbyter in a congregation, on whom the responsibility of providing for the instruction of the people is thrown, is now called the minister; in the end of the second century he would have been called the bishop. The superiority of one man over other men of the same order in the church,

[1] Ignatius (Syriac Recension) Epistle to Polycarp, ch. 5.

results now as it resulted then, partly from convenience and partly from the desire to confer double honour upon that presbyter, who, in addition to ruling well, labours in word and doctrine (1 Tim. v. 17). Had matters stopped at this point in primitive times, no great evil could have been the consequence. Combined with the councils which began to meet in the provinces from the middle of the second century, and which formed a tribunal of reference and appeal, the congregational episcopacy of that time would have supplied a form of government, not perhaps perfect nor even highly organised, but adapted to the times, and enough to serve all reasonable uses. No Presbyterian could take just exception to such a state of things, for the congregational episcopacy of the second century is substantially the mode of government that exists before his eyes in the Christian congregation of which he is a member. But unfortunately the development still went forward at a rapid race, until out of congregational episcopacy there emerged both the diocesan prelate and the full blown hierarchy of later times.

9. So soon as the idea was well established that the bishop was of a different order and superior in rank to the presbyter, a systematic effort was made to increase the distance between them. Everything henceforth was made to depend on the bishop, the main ruler and teacher of the congregation. Irenæus spoke of the succession of bishops as an evidence and guarantee for the transmission of apostolic truth, an innocent fancy which, like many another, time has blown into air. The Pseudo-Ignatius laboured to represent the bishop as the centre of unity in the congregation, around which presbyters, deacons, and people were to gather, and who by his powerful influence was to control them all. Tertullian taught that while presbyters, deacons, and laymen might all under certain circumstances baptise, none of them was to do so without the authority of the bishop.[1] Cyprian took higher ground still, for he asserted that the bishop was the representative of Christ; that he was the channel of divine grace to the congregation, and that the church is by divine right founded on the bishops.[2]

These opinions, so much at variance with the teaching of the New Testament and with the authentic writings of the

[1] De Baptismo, ch. 17. [2] Epistola, xxvi.

early part of the second century, but now sedulously inculcated by the higher minds, did much to pervade the public sentiment with a superstitious veneration for the episcopal office. The sacerdotal notion which is found to exist in the second century, and to grow stronger in the third, contributed to the same result. The bishop, as Tertullian calls him in the passage referred to a moment ago, is now the *summus sacerdos*, the highest priest. But what did most to alter his position was the division of the one city congregation and the establishment of several congregations in the same place. In the second half of the third century, in the interval between the Decian and Diocletian persecutions, government had grown so tolerant, and Christians so powerful and rich, that then for the first time edifices were erected for public worship. In the larger cities no edifice was large enough to hold the congregation, and this led to the establishment in the suburbs of new congregations, and these came in time to build edifices of their own. The first hint of this is given in the case of Alexandria in Egypt, between 254 and 260; but soon afterwards traces of it are found in other places as well. The original idea was that these suburban and village churches were only outlying parts of the bishop's parish, and presbyters were sent forth by him to conduct public worship in them.[1] One result of this was, that the bishop, instead of one large congregation, had now in every great city a number of separate congregations, each supplied with a presbyter directed by him. From the beginning of the fourth century the congregational bishop had become in the most natural way possible a diocesan, and henceforth, in all the great centres of population at least, episcopacy in its prelatic form was virtually established. The alliance between Church and State, which may be said to date from the year 324, added much to the power as well as dignity of the prelates. The edicts of the emperor invested them with a civil jurisdiction. They forthwith entered on a new career of ambition. They extended their sees into rural districts and remote villages, they swept the country bishops out of their way, they multiplied their churches and their presbyters, they began to attend at

[1] See on this subject Eusebius, E. H., vii. 11 and 24, viii. 1; Council of Elvira (305 A.D.), canon 77; Council of Neocesarea, canon 13.

court and to whisper into the ear of court favourites and of queens. The lordly bishop of the fifth century had little in common with the humble bishop of the second, except the name. The latter was one of those feeble folk who "make their houses in the rocks," but the latter belonged to the class who take hold with their hand, and are in king's palaces.

10. Long after the bishop had reached a recognised position as the superior of the presbyter it must have been a difficult matter to shew cause for his existence, and to point out any work reserved for him which presbyters were incapable of doing. There was ordination, it might be said; but then the prophets and teachers of Antioch had laid their hands on Saul and Barnabas, and the gift of the ministry was given to Timothy "with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;"[1] while Firmilian, Bishop of Cappadocia, in his letter to Cyprian, states that "all power and grace are established in the church where the elders preside, who possess the power both of baptising, and of imposition of hands, and of ordaining."[2] Then there was the anointing with oil; but this too, so far as it is in accordance with the Scriptures, was the prerogative and duty of the elders of the church (James v. 14). In either of these directions there was no peculiar work for the bishop, without wresting from the presbyters what was theirs by divine appointment and by ancient practice. The difficulty however was gradually got over. The imposition of a bishop's hands became the essence of ordination. He was to supply the presbyters with the consecrated oil. He was to dedicate edifices for public worship. He was to lay on hands in confirmation. After the city church was divided he was to visit the various congregations of his diocese. Some of these episcopal acts were once the duties of presbyters, some of them were unnecessary until the new circumstances of the third century called for new arrangements, and some of them were acts without any divine authority whatever. But they served a purpose; they supplied the new-born prelate with

[1] Acts xiii. 1–3, and 1 Tim iv. 14.

[2] See Migne, vol. iii. c. 1161: "Omnis potestas et gratia in ecclesia constituta sit, ubi præsident majores natu qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem."

work that presbyters were forbidden to do, and widened the distinction between him and his former colleagues. Yet in spite of forged epistles and the canons of councils, the tradition of the old identity was long of dying out; and Jerome, towards the end of the fourth century, asked, in words already quoted, "What does a bishop do, ordination excepted, that a presbyter cannot perform?" And in his comment on Titus i. 5 he inserted the memorable words, which shew that the long catalogues of bishops found in Eusebius and in other writers did not and could not impose upon him: "As the presbyters therefore know that they are by *the custom of the church* made subject to him who is set over them, so let the bishops know that they are superior to presbyters *more by custom than by any real appointment of the Lord.*" The monk of Bethlehem submitted to episcopacy, as many a man has done since then, but all the while no man knew better the rock out of which it was hewn.

11. The provincial synods did much to develop the episcopal system further. These synods usually met in the chief town of the province, and as a matter of course the bishop, in whose church they met, would naturally preside. He came to be regarded as the first bishop, the primate of his province; and thus even before Constantine gave the church the repose and honour and influence of an established religion, the metropolitan system was in preparation. The Council of Nice in its fourth canon made the ratification of the metropolitan necessary, when other bishops ordained a bishop without his presence. Other councils also recognised the right of the bishop of the chief city to take the head of the other bishops of the province. This was the origin of the archbishop, or metropolitan bishop. Had the development stopped at this point, throughout the Western as well as Eastern Church, we would have had some such episcopal system universally prevalent as is now presented in the Anglican communion. But the end had not yet come.

12. In the fifth century, five of these metropolitan sees stood out in grand importance—importance derived mainly from numbers, wealth, education, and political considerations—above all the others. These were Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The bishop of each of these cities thought that he had special claims

of his own to rank and position. In the fourth century the name patriarch was a title of respect given to any bishop, but in the fifth century it was limited to the bishops of these five great cities to distinguish them from metropolitans of a lower rank. This ended the hierarchical development, so far as the Eastern Church is concerned; and its highest prelates are known at this day by the name patriarchs.

13. The temporalities bestowed upon the hierarchy by the kings and princes of Europe did much to increase the consequence of Christian prelates. In the New Testament church better men than bishops were menders of nets and makers of tents. For many a day presidents of churches lived by the profits of a trade, or by the oblations of the poor. But everything was altered now. Riches and honours flowed in upon the clergy in copious streams. By the favour of Pepin and Charlemagne, as well as by the weakness of the Byzantine Empire, the Roman Bishop became king of Central Italy. Emperors and princes bestowed rich endowments on the Church, and over the face of Europe they converted bishops into barons and counts; secular rank was counted so precious that the clergy fought for it, as kings and pretenders fought for crowns, until at last, in the throned ecclesiastic, arrayed in gorgeous apparel, with the mitre on his head and the crozier in his hand, it was hard even for imagination to discover the lineal representative of the New Testament presbyter, who earned any little honour which he had by ruling the Christian society of his native town with diligence, and by labouring among its members in word and doctrine.

14. Though the title was sometimes given him by others, the Roman bishop never himself assumed the name of patriarch. That in his opinion would have been to descend to the level of at least four other prelates, each of whom he regarded as his inferior. He was smitten with a still higher and more daring ambition. He aimed at being Head of the Church, Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, the father and teacher of all Christians. Special circumstances favoured his claim, and by a long and patient course of action he came at last to have his claim recognised in all the churches of the West. This is the papacy. The episcopal idea had at last developed into a system, in which one

bishop claims to be the divinely-appointed head of all the bishops of the world, and has his claim to supremacy acknowledged by the better half of them. In the Pope, Western Christendom had reached at last the centre of unity, the guardian of truth, and the vicegerent of God, which the Pseudo-Ignatius, Irenæus, and Cyprian had sought for in vain in the congregational bishop, and to him, as the climax of ecclesiastical development, it was found that their principles naturally and consistently led up. Thus it remained through all the mediæval period, until at the Reformation the invention of printing set the Bible free, and the scales droped from men's eyes.

15. Another development has reached its consummation in our own day. For several centuries vague claims to infallibility had been occasionally put forward, but men did not appear to agree as to where this attribute is lodged. Some said it was vested in the Church; others said it was lodged in the Church's Head. These divergent statements have in our own day taken bodily shape and form. A great council, representing all the different parts of the Roman Catholic world, has met lately, and affirmed that infallibility is deposited in the Roman bishop, as head and representative of Christendom. Every devout Roman Catholic is now bound to see in the Pope a teacher who, when he speaks from his chair on a question of faith and morals, cannot possibly fall into error. At the same time the ordinary prelates have been depressed by the council, and no longer execute their duties on the ground of a divine commission, but simply as the delegates of the reigning pontiff of the day.

Have we at last reached the end? In the course of eighteen centuries, by slow and on some occasions by imperceptible steps, the Church has changed its government from a Christian democracy up to an ecclesiastical autocracy, lodged in the hands of a single individual. What is to follow? Fancy feels helpless in the effort to picture any further development in the same direction. Is the present posture of the ecclesiastical world to be permanent? Or, is the Church now to reverse its course, disencumber itself of the additions and of the spoil it has gathered, and under the pressure of circumstances to travel slowly back to the point from which it started? Nothing is more easy than to misread the signs

of the times; but it would certainly seem as if at present Christians were thinking of going back to the early ages. At all events the Pontiff has lost his crown. The bishop in some countries has ceased to be a peer. The title "My Lord," as applied to an ecclesiastic professing to be the successor of Peter and Paul, is something of which Christians begin to feel ashamed. It may be that in the revolutions of ages men will return to primitive simplicity and truth, that the prelate will take his departure, and that in his room there will come once more the second century bishop, whose characteristic was, that he was, "chief of the presbyters, but not chief over the presbyters;" and that the world will yet discover a meaning in the long-forgotten words, "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them, but IT SHALL NOT BE SO AMONG YOU." THOMAS WITHEROW.

ART. II.—*Baptism for the Dead.*

THE obscurities in the New Testament do not arise, as is the case with many of the obscurities in classical writings, from any uncertainty as to the original text; at least this is not a prominent cause of obscurity; for, notwithstanding the extraordinary number of various readings, thanks to the labours of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, we now possess a text which to all intents and purposes is restored to its original purity. Nor do many of these obscurities arise from a defective knowledge of the language in which the New Testament was written; for, although there are but few remains of that particular dialect of the Greek used by the sacred writers, yet such is the accuracy of scholars that in general there is little reason to doubt that the true meaning of the words has been ascertained. But, among other reasons, three may be especially assigned for our difficulty in understanding certain scriptural passages. First, there is undeniably a certain obscurity in the style of many of the sacred writers. This is obviously the case in the epistles of St Paul. That great apostle was careless about style; his impetuous spirit hurried him along; he often deserts the subject in which he is engaged, and introduces a

long digression, as if some new thought had struck him, and then without any notice returns to his original subject. This creates a difficulty in following his train of thought, and of course in understanding his meaning. Instances of such Pauline digressions are numerous, and must suggest themselves to every critical reader. A second cause of obscurity is our ignorance of the customs and modes of thought prevalent among the early converts. In order thoroughly to understand the epistles, we must put ourselves in the position of those to whom the apostles wrote, understand their views, and be acquainted with their practices. But we are lamentably ignorant of the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles. A period of nearly forty years intervenes between the writings of the New Testament and the writings of the early Fathers, with the solitary exception of the short epistle of St Clement. Hence the sacred writers may often allude to customs which have left no trace in the history of the church, and to modes of thought of which we are entirely ignorant. But the chief cause of obscurity is the novelty and sublimity of the truths revealed. The apostles advert to truths formerly unthought of in the heathen world, and which had never entered into the minds of men to conceive, and hence the Greek terms which the sacred writers were forced to employ must have been often inadequate to express the sentiments they intended to convey. And, besides, there are other revealed truths of so sublime a nature as to lie beyond the sphere of human intelligence, and the statement and elucidation of these must often be difficult of comprehension.

We have selected as the subject of this article one of those obscure statements of Scripture. It occurs in 1 Cor. xv. 29: "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?" What does the apostle mean by being baptized for the dead? What is the nature of this baptism? And how are we to interpret the word *dead?* Are we to give to these terms a natural or a metaphorical signification? These questions naturally arise, and accordingly there are few passages in the New Testament which have given rise to so great a variety of explanations. More than twenty interpretations might be mentioned, each having the authority of some distinguished divine, and each defended by plausible reasons. Indeed, some of

these interpretations are so plausible, that although only one can be correct, it is difficult to give a preference to one more than to another. Hence great caution, as well as great candour, are requisite in our endeavours to ascertain the true interpretation.

The first thing to be done in the way of interpretation is to discover the true connection of the passage. Now, when attentively read, it is seen to be wholly unconnected with what immediately precedes. We have here one of those digressions of St Paul which so frequently occur in his epistles, and which, as we have already observed, form one great cause of obscurity in his writings. He is reasoning concerning the reality of the resurrection, but he interrupts his argument by a digression on the order of the resurrection, and now he goes back in the passage under discussion, and resumes his reasoning. We would connect this twenty-ninth verse with the twentieth, and consider the whole intervening passage from verse 21 to verse 28 as a parenthesis, which according to the style of modern writing would have been attached as a note. The apostle has been speaking of the vanity of the Christian life apart from the resurrection: "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept;" and then, after a digression on the order of the resurrection, suggested by the word *first-fruits*, he resumes his argument: "Else," if Christ be not risen, "what shall they do which are baptized for the dead?" Dean Stanley strangely imagines that "the confusion may possibly have arisen from some actual interruption in the writing or the material of the letter." But whilst the passage is thus disconnected with what immediately precedes, it is directly connected with what follows: "And why stand we in jeopardy every hour?" If Christ be not risen, what is the use of enduring sufferings for our profession of faith in Him?

The next point in the interpretation is to ascertain the train of thought in the apostle's reasoning in favour of the resurrection. There were some among his Corinthian converts who called in question the resurrection of the dead, either affirming that it was already past, assigning to it a spiritual meaning—a resurrection from dead works; or maintaining that it would never occur—that it was an impossibility. Now, the apostle adduces three arguments in

proof of the resurrection. His first and chief argument, upon which he puts the greatest stress, is that derived from the resurrection of Christ. "If there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen." And if this be the case, Christianity rests on a false foundation; "your faith is vain; you are yet in your sins." In testifying to the resurrection of Christ, "we are found false witnesses of God." But we have the most convincing proofs, from numerous and unquestionable witnesses, that Christ has risen from the dead; and this his resurrection is a proof and pledge of ours. His second argument is, that if there be no resurrection and no future state, then those believers who have died are annihilated. "Then they also which have fallen asleep in Christ are perished;" their Christianity has done them no good; or rather, as it is inseparably connected with self-denial and suffering, it has augmented the misery of human existence: "if in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable." But this is a consequence which cannot be admitted: "Christ is risen from the dead, and is become the first-fruits of them that slept." And, analogous to this, the apostle adduces a third argument, that if there be no resurrection, all the trials and sufferings of believers are useless; not the practice of the Christians, but the maxim of the Epicureans is correct: "Why stand we in jeopardy every hour? If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me if the dead rise not? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die"—an inference which is certainly to be rejected with horror. "Be not deceived; evil communications corrupt good manners." Now, it is evident that it is to this third argument that the passage under consideration belongs, namely, the uselessness of the sufferings of believers if there be no resurrection. Hence then we consider that a preference is to be given to that interpretation which suits the above argument: baptism for the dead must be connected with the sufferings of believers.

There is not much variety in the readings of the passage. The only point of any importance is, that instead of "for the dead" in the second clause, the true reading is "for them:" "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead if the dead rise not at all? why are they baptized for them?"—an alteration which occasions no difference in the sense. So also

the translation given in our version is tolerably accurate. The conjunction ἐπεί, translated "else," might be more properly rendered "since:" this being the case, οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι, "they who are baptized," denotes a particular class of Christians. The word *dead* is in the plural, τῶν νεκρῶν; not a dead person, but dead persons. But the chief thing to be attended to is the force of the preposition ὑπὲρ. Its primary meaning when it governs the genitive is *over* or *above;* but, unless our passage be an exception, it is never used in this local sense in the New Testament; it is always used figuratively. In this sense it almost always denotes "for the sake of," "on behalf of." More rarely, but still closely connected with the above meaning, it signifies "instead of;" as, for instance, in 2 Cor. v. 20: "We pray you in Christ's stead (ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ), be ye reconciled to God;" and in Philemon 13: "Whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead (ὑπὲρ σοῦ), he might have ministered unto me." Hence then the verse most literally translated is: "Since what shall the baptized for the sake of (instead of) the dead do? If the dead rise not at all, why are they baptized for the sake of (instead of) them?

Nor is there any difficulty in ascertaining the meaning of the words taken separately. "What shall they do?" evidently imports: What is the object or use of their doing? What profit or advantage will result from it? What shall they gain? It is also evident that the baptism here spoken of is to be taken in its literal sense; not figuratively a baptism of fire, but literally the Christian baptism—baptism into the faith of Christ—into a belief of his religion. Some expositors suppose that the word *dead* is here to be taken figuratively for the spiritually dead. But this would involve the grievous anomaly that the same word is to be taken figuratively in one part of the passage and literally in another; for it is evident that in the clause, "If the dead rise not at all?" the word must be taken literally to denote those who are actually dead. Thus then in themselves the words are plain and evident; it is in their combination, "baptised for the dead," that the real difficulty occurs.

In adverting to the different interpretations which have been given to "baptism for the dead," we may discard at once and without further examination all those which give a figurative sense, either to the word *baptized*, or to the word *dead*,

as being wholly inadmissible. As, for instance, those which regard the word *baptized* in the sense of afflicted, the interpretation adopted by Dr Macknight, "What shall they do to repair their loss who are immersed in suffering for the resurrection of the dead, if the dead rise not at all? And what inducement can they have to suffer death for believing the resurrection of the dead?" And those interpretations which consider the word *dead* to denote either the spiritually dead, "What shall they gain who are baptized in order to convert those who are dead in sin?" or dead works, "What shall they gain who are baptized for the removal of their dead works?" So also there are several other interpretations which are in themselves so evidently improbable or so manifestly erroneous that the mention and consideration of them need not detain us. We shall examine seven interpretations which appear plausible, reserving what we consider the correct interpretation as the last.

A very common and approved interpretation is that which considers Christ as here referred to under the designation *dead*. What shall they do which are baptized for the dead, that is for Christ? This is the meaning which is usually adopted by uncritical readers; nor does it want the weight of critical authority, for it is the view taken by Whitby in his learned commentary. It assumes two forms. What shall they do who are baptized unto the dead, that is, unto Christ? If there be no resurrection, if the dead rise not at all, then is Christ not risen; He is dead, He is still in the grave; those who are baptized into his name are baptized into the name of a dead Christ. He cannot help Himself, and therefore He cannot help us. Or, as this interpretation has been otherwise considered, those who are baptized unto Christ are, as the apostle elsewhere expresses it, "baptized unto his death," as being the great sacrifice for sin; but if Christ be not risen, what shall they gain who are thus baptized unto his death? His death is without efficacy; no possible merit can arise from it.

Either of these views of this interpretation, referring the term *dead* to Christ, affords a good sense, one which well agrees with the argument of the apostle, and is not altogether at variance with the connection; either of them shews the

uselessness of a profession of Christianity made by baptism into Christ if there be no resurrection. But the fatal objection to applying the term *dead* to Christ is, that the word is not in the singular—the dead one, namely, Christ,—but in the plural, dead persons—those who are dead. Also the preposition ὑπὲρ cannot possibly mean *unto*, as the above interpretation requires; but "for the sake of," or more rarely "instead of." To admit of the above interpretation, the words would require to be εἰς τὸν νεκρόν. For these reasons, then, we can have no hesitation in concluding that the above interpretation, which refers the term *dead* to Christ, is completely inadmissible.

A second and more plausible interpretation is to refer the word *dead* to the resurrection of the dead, and to read the clause thus: "What shall they gain who are baptized for the hope of the resurrection of the dead, if the dead rise not at all?" Baptism, it is argued, is not only a declaration of our belief in the resurrection, but a figurative or symbolical representation of it. "We are," says the apostle, "buried with Christ by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also shall walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall also be in the likeness of his resurrection." And the same idea is expressed in the Epistle to the Colossians: "Buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with Him, through faith of the operation of God who hath raised Him from the dead." But if there be no resurrection of the dead, to what purpose our baptism? It has lost its significance. This interpretation was adopted by St Chrysostom, and is expressed by him in the following eloquent terms:—

"When we have instructed the catechumen in the divine mysteries of the gospel, and are about to baptize him, we command him to say, 'I believe in the resurrection of the body.' And he is baptized in this faith. This is what St Paul recalls to their memory. If there is no resurrection of the body, why are you baptized for the dead? Why are you baptized in the profession that they will rise from the grave? You, on your part, proclaim their resurrection; and the priest, on his side, represents it. For your immersion into the water at baptism, and your emersion from it, is a figure of the resurrection of the dead. God raises you from the grave of sin by the laver of regeneration in baptism, and thus gives you a pledge of the resurrection which you profess. If then there is no resurrection of the body, all that is done in

baptism on behalf of the dead is a mere theatrical show. What then shall they do who are baptized for the dead, and in the profession on their behalf that they will arise from the grave? They will have been cheated by an idle delusion."

Now, certainly this interpretation gives a very good meaning, suited to the argument of the apostle; for if there be no resurrection of the dead, baptism into the belief and as a representation of it is a useless ceremony. Nor does the preposition here entirely lose its meaning; for, as Bishop Wordsworth observes, "Baptism was a practical argument ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν for the dead. Believers were baptized in behalf of the dead, and in their vindication. They justified them from the charge of folly in grounding their hopes on a vain and false foundation." But the great objection to this interpretation is, that it gives a somewhat figurative meaning to the term *dead;* it introduces the word resurrection, so that, according to this view, the words are not simply, "What shall they do who are baptized for the dead?" but "What shall they do who are baptized for the resurrection of the dead?" that is, in the hope of its occurrence. And therefore for this reason we hold that the above interpretation is also inadmissible.

A third interpretation is to refer the act of baptism with a view to death, and to consider that the reference here is to the practice among the early Christians of deferring baptism until death. Accordingly the passage is thus paraphrased: What shall they gain who are baptized at the moment of death, with a view to their state when dead? This meaning is adopted and defended by Calvin. "Those," he observes, "are baptized for the dead who are looked upon as already dead, and who have altogether despaired of life. Paul's repeating it a second time gives it greater emphasis. Not only are those baptized who think that they are to live longer; but those too who have death before their eyes, and that in order that they may in death reap the fruit of their baptism." Now, it is certain that baptism on a death-bed was practised in early Christianity. Many deferred their baptism and their open avowal of Christianity until near death, either from conscientious motives, because they were afraid that they would not be able to live up to the holy profession made at baptism; or from superstitious views, because they thought there was

some efficacy in baptism to remove or wash away their past sins, so that if they were baptized immediately before death they would enter pure into the presence of God. We need only refer to the notable example of Constantine, who delayed his baptism until his last illness. The practice certainly degenerated into gross superstition, and was the occasion of much abuse, leading men to continue in sin, supposing that if baptized in the moment of death their sins would be forgiven them. But it is argued that at first, in the time of the apostle, the practice was not superstitious. It arose from conscientious motives, from scruples of conscience which were to be respected, from a salutary dread of the instability of one's resolutions, from a fear of bringing dishonour on the name of Christ; and perhaps also from the jealousy of the office-bearers of the church, who would not confer baptism until the character of the catechumens was thoroughly tested and their knowledge advanced. If then the baptism of a catechumen had for some conscientious reasons, either on his own part or on the part of the church, been deferred, and if his last sickness overtook him, it was evidently his duty to be baptized at death; he himself would receive the comforts which arise from that holy ordinance, and he would edify the church by the declaration of his faith at the hour of death, and in being thus baptized, he was baptized for the sake of the dead—with a view to death.

Here also no fault can be found with the appropriateness of the above interpretation. Although the practice of baptism at death soon degenerated into superstition, yet we can easily imagine that there was at first nothing wrong or superstitious about it, and it is not permitted us to argue against a practice from its abuse. Certainly some might in the apostolic church be baptized with a view to death. It is also evident that this meaning suits the apostle's argument, for such a baptism at death would have been a useless ceremony if there were no resurrection from the dead. But the great objection to this interpretation is, that the word *dead* is modified; it is used in the sense of death, and it denotes, not those who are already dead, which is its evident meaning, but those who are about to die. For this reason the above interpretation does not come up to the full sense of the passage.

A fourth and very ingenious interpretation is that advanced

in a sermon by Dr Somerville, of Jedburgh,[1] an interpretation which we have not found elsewhere, and which he himself observes is "unsupported by the authority of any ancient or modern expositor." He interprets the phrase, "baptism for the dead," "in the view or expectation of receiving their dead friends again;" in other words, baptized with a view to re-union with the dead. "What shall they do who are baptized for the sake of the dead?" that is, who have become Christians from a desire to rejoin their dear and departed friends in another and better world. Dr Somerville supposes that several of the early converts may have been induced to become Christians on account of the consolation which the gospel afforded to those mourning over the loss of near relatives. The death of friends was to the heathen a calamity without any mitigation, and hence we read on their tombstones the most desponding sentiments. Now, suppose a heathen family mourning over the loss of some beloved one; they can derive no comfort from their own dark religion; no ray of hope penetrates through the darkness of heathenism beyond the grave; death is to them an eternal separation. But they hear the message of the gospel; they listen to these words, "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth on Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live;" they are told that death is not an eternal separation—that friends separated by death will be re-united in a better world. This comforting assurance is like oil poured into their breaking hearts; the desire of meeting their departed friends induces them to embrace Christianity; they are baptized for the sake of the dead. The motive indeed may not be a very high one, but it leads to something better—to a confession of faith in Christ.

Now, as we have already observed, such an explanation is very ingenious. It is in full accordance with the argument of the apostle. It gives the preposition ὑπὲρ its full meaning, "for the sake of." And, so far as it appears, there is no strain put on the apostle's statement, "What shall they do who are baptized," who become Christians, "for the sake of the dead"—out of affection to them, and with the hope of rejoining them—"if the dead rise not? Why are they baptized for the sake of

[1] Dr Somerville was in his day a noted minister. He wrote the history of the reign of Queen Anne. His memoirs are edited by Professor Lee, of Glasgow. He was the father-in-law of the celebrated Mrs Somerville.

the dead?" But this interpretation is far-fetched; it is not one which would naturally suggest itself; indeed, it did not before suggest itself to any of the numerous expositors who have attempted to explain these words of the apostle; its very ingenuity is a presumption against it. Besides, there must have been few among the heathen who became Christians from the above motive. Nor does this meaning suit well the connection, as there is no reference in such an interpretation to the sufferings of believers.

A fifth interpretation is to suppose a reference to a custom among the early Christians of baptizing their converts over the graves of the martyrs. Accordingly, the passage is thus rendered: "What shall they do who are baptized over the dead?" This is the translation which Luther adopts: "Was machen sonst, die sich taufen lassen über den Todten?" The full force of the preposition ὑπὲρ is here given; it is rendered according to its primary meaning, *over*. It is no argument to say with Meyer that such an interpretation is inadmissible, because ὑπὲρ nowhere else occurs in the New Testament in this local signification; this passage may be an exception. But the great objection is, that this meaning rests on a custom which is elsewhere completely unknown in the Christian church; and although it may be asserted that such a custom might have existed, though all traces of it are lost, yet it was a gross superstition, and we cannot suppose that the apostle would have employed it as an argument in favour of the resurrection.

A sixth interpretation, and the one which has the preponderance of learned critics in its favour, is that which supposes that the apostle here alludes to the custom of vicarious baptism; that in the Corinthian church there was the practice of believers submitting to baptism as substitutes on behalf of believing friends who had died without baptism. What shall they do who are baptized on behalf of the dead, as their substitutes? What is the use of such a custom? This opinion is adopted by Billroth, Rückert, Meyer, De Wette, Alford, Conybeare, and Stanley. There are traces of such a practice in early Christianity, although it was always regarded by the Fathers as a superstition, and adopted only by certain heretical sects. Thus Tertullian ("De Resurr.," 48) alludes to it when he says: "They adopted this practice (of being bap-

tized in the room of the dead) with such a presumption as made them suppose that the vicarious baptism would be beneficial to the flesh of another in anticipation of the resurrection." Chrysostom, in a curious passage quoted by Dean Stanley, informs us that, "after a catechumen was dead, they hid a living man under the bed of the deceased; then coming to the dead man, they spoke to him, and asked him whether he would receive baptism; and he making no answer, the other replied in his stead, and so they baptised the living for the dead." And Epiphanius tells us that among the heretics in Asia and Galatia there was the practice, that when some were prevented by death from receiving baptism, others were baptized in their names. It is asserted that this is the only meaning that the Greek will admit; it gives the full force of the preposition, "for the sake of." The custom was undoubtedly a gross superstition, as if one could be baptized for another, or undertake to be a Christian for another. But it is affirmed that the apostle mentions it without any note of approbation; he merely alludes to it as an argument personal to themselves, *argumentum ad homines.* If there be no resurrection of the dead, what is the use of that custom practised by some of you of being baptized for the sake of your deceased relatives? Just, in a somewhat similar manner, as our Saviour, when accused by the Pharisees of casting out devils through Beelzebub, the prince of the devils, says: "And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges." So here, without any note of approval: If there be no resurrection, why do you suffer yourselves to be baptized for the sake of the dead? Out of your own mouths do I judge you.

It is admitted that the above interpretation correctly represents the meaning of the words, and is perhaps that which would at first suggest itself, namely, that if a convert to Christianity happened to die unbaptized, a Christian might volunteer to be his substitute and representative, and so might have the baptismal rite administered to him on behalf of his deceased friend. But the great objection against this view is, that it is no argument at all; this baptism for the sake of the dead was itself erroneous, and what is itself false cannot be adduced as an argument in favour of a truth. Besides, there does not appear to be any mark of disapprobation of such a

superstition on the part of the apostle. Dean Alford indeed asserts that in the words τί ποιήσουσιν there is a tacit reprehension; yet this is far from evident. On the other hand, Dean Stanley admits the want of any disapproval, and attempts to justify the apostle's language as "an instance of accommodation to the feelings and opinions of those addressed, without any expression of condemnation on his part." But it would rather appear that the apostle, by adopting this custom as an argument, so far from disapproving of it, gives countenance to it, and admits that if there were a resurrection from the dead, those who were thus baptized for the sake of the dead would profit by it: If the dead rise, it would be a gain to be baptized for the dead. And certainly, especially in this Epistle to the Corinthians, it was Paul's custom to mention the abuses which prevailed in the Corinthian church only with a view sharply to rebuke and correct them. For these reasons, then, the above interpretation, notwithstanding the high authority by which it is supported, does not satisfy us as the correct explanation.

A seventh interpretation, and the one to which we are inclined to give the preference, is to adopt the explanation of baptism in the room of the dead—baptized to fill the place of the dead. "What shall they do who are baptized instead of the dead?" This opinion is adopted by Hammond, Doddridge, Olshausen, and others. The apostle represents one set of Christians succeeding another; when their ranks were thinned by death, others rushed in to supply their place. The hardships and sufferings, to which their deceased friends had been exposed, did not deter others from taking their place, and exposing themselves to the same hardships and sufferings. But, asks the apostle, if there be no resurrection of the dead, why do the baptized take the places of the dead? Why do they voluntarily submit to like sufferings for their faith? Why are they baptized in the room of the dead? Such an interpretation well agrees with what directly follows: "And why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by your (our) rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus the Lord, I die daily. If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me if the dead rise not? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Indeed, this is the only interpretation which fully agrees with the immediate context; it connects the baptism for the dead with the suffer-

ings of believers, and therefore this is a strong presumption in favour of its correctness.

But before we can adopt this explanation, there are several objections to be disposed of. 1. It is objected that "the question of the apostle would thus be irrelevant, because, the place of the dead being supplied by their successors, it would be no matter to them, whether the dead rose or not." But the answer to this objection is obvious. The apostle has in view the sufferings which are necessarily involved in supplying the place of the dead, and which suffering would be useless if the dead rose not; whereas, if there be a resurrection of the dead, these sufferings will be amply recompensed in another world. 2. It is objected that the preposition ὑπὲρ is not used in its true signification; it is used in the sense of ἀντί, and made to denote "instead of," "in the room of," whereas its true meaning is "for the sake of." But we have seen from examples that ὑπὲρ has occasionally the meaning "instead of" (2 Cor. v. 20; Philemon 13). Besides, these two meanings run into one another; Christians who are baptized instead of the dead may also be said to be baptized for the sake of the dead, or on their account, seeing that they take their place. 3. It is further objected that οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι denotes a particular class of Christians, whereas according to the above interpretation it refers to all. It is admitted that the reference is to Christians generally; but, in answer to the objection, it may be observed that Christians are here, as it were, particularized; they are represented as those who supply the place of the dead, who succeed to them.

And what a truly noble idea does this interpretation give us of Christians! They are baptized in the room of the dead. They are their successors, their followers; they step into their places; they occupy their ground; they fill up their ranks; they fight in the battle in which their companions have fallen. And especially, in the season of persecution, what a touching scene it must have been to see the baptized rushing into the ranks of those who have fallen, nobly enduring the same sufferings, meeting the same doom, like soldiers occupying the breach which death had made in their ranks, thus verifying the observation of the Fathers, that "the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the Church."

And so also this interpretation gives us a striking view of

the nature of baptism. "Baptized in the room of the dead." Baptism thus unites the baptized living with the baptized dead; it constitutes us the successors of those who have gone before us; it is the ceremony of our enrolment into the great army of the living God; it ensures the perpetuity of the Church, and supplies it with a constant succession of those who bear the name of Jesus. Baptism also binds us to do the work of those holy men and women who have died in the Lord; it is a solemn consecration to the service of Christ; it puts us in the place of the dead; it imposes upon us those duties which they in their life performed, and enables us to look forward with hope to those rewards which they now enjoy.

PATON J. GLOAG.

ART. III.—*Universal Restoration: Is it deducible from the Teaching of St Paul in Colossians i.* 19, 20?

THE discussions of which this passage has been the fruitful theme among commentators have mainly turned, as is well known, on the question as to what we are to understand by the statement that "it pleased the Father by Christ to reconcile all things unto himself, whether they be things on earth or things in heaven." And the determination of this question, again, must obviously depend on the sense which legitimate criticism requires us to assign in this place to the word "reconcile," and to the phrase "all things." If the word "reconcile" is to be here taken in its ordinary acceptation of restoring to friendship parties who have been at variance, and if the phrase "all things" is to be understood in its most absolute and unrestricted sense, then, beyond all question, this passage proclaims the doctrine of the ultimate salvation, not only of the whole human race, but of the entire fallen creation. Hence the investigation of its real significance, as bearing on the catholic doctrine of eternal punishment, acquires a very special importance at the present time, when that doctrine is being so widely controverted among earnest and thoughtful men. Those who are at all aware of the questions now agitating the theological world, must feel that its relinquishment in favour of either Universalism or

Annihilationism *is in the air;* and it is surely not a little ominous of this that we should find so pre-eminent a biblical scholar and generally sound interpreter as Canon Lightfoot, in his recent work on the Epistle to the Colossians, apparently accepting the universalist doctrine as the undoubted teaching of St Paul in the passage we are now to consider. I say *apparently*, for he does not directly impugn the opposite doctrine, but simply ignores it, though his doing so seems strange and unaccountable if he really holds by it. At all events I cannot conceive how any other conclusion can be drawn from the following paraphrase which he gives of the two verses at the head of this article :—

"And this absolute supremacy is Christ's, because it was the Father's good pleasure that in him all the plenitude of Deity should have its home; because he willed through him to reconcile the universe once more to himself. It was God's purpose to effect peace and harmony through the blood of Christ's cross, and so to *restore all things whatsoever and wheresoever they be, whether on the earth or in the heavens.*"

Still more explicit, if possible, is this sentence in his note on ver. 20: "The apostle speaks of an *absolute and complete* reconciliation of universal nature to God, effected through the mediation of the Incarnate Word;" and this comment on the phrase τὰ πάντα in the same verse: "*The whole universe of things*, material as well as spiritual, shall be restored to harmony with God."[1]

Similarly we find Bishop Ellicott, in his note on this verse, saying :—

"Without presuming to dilute, or to assign any improper 'elasticity,' (Mey.) to the significant ἀποκατ. (*e.g.* 'reunionem creaturarum inter se invicem,' Dallaeus), or to limit the comprehensive and unrestricted τὰ

[1] The author seems to intend some kind of qualification or caveat when to the above sentence he adds the following :—

"How far this restoration of universal nature may be subjective, as involved in the changed perceptions of man thus brought into harmony with God, and how far it may have an objective and independent existence, it were vain to speculate."

But whatever this may mean—and that is certainly far from obvious—the *restoration to harmony with God*, in any legitimate sense of these words, of the whole universe of spiritual being is surely incompatible with the continuance of any portion of it *out of harmony* with God, or under His wrath and curse, and *must* therefore involve the fact of an universal objective reconciliation to God of his intelligent creatures altogether independent of the subjective perceptions of man or angel regarding it.

πάντα (*e.g.* 'universam Ecclesiam,' Beza; 'omnes homines,' Corn. a Lap., we must guard against the irreverence of far-reaching speculations on the reconciliation of the finite and the infinite, to which this mighty declaration has been supposed to allude. This, and no less than this, it *does* say, that the eternal and incarnate Son is the 'causa medians' by which *the absolute totality of created things shall be restored into its primal harmony with its Creator*—a declaration more specifically unfolded in the following clause: More than this it *does not* say, and where God is silent it is not for man to speak."—(P. 133.)

Very good; but if the declaration of the apostle says *this much*, it enunciates in the most unambiguous terms the doctrine of the ultimate salvation of the entire fallen creation, human and angelic. For what else, or what less, can be meant by the restoration of "*the absolute totality* of created things into its primal harmony with its Creator"? or how can such restoration to primal harmony with Him of the entire creation be consistent with the consignment of any portion of it to eternal punishment? No doubt, in his comments on the words τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ.τ.λ., in Eph. i. 10, Bishop Ellicott remarks:—

"Any reference [in these words] to the redemption or restoration of those spirits for whom our Lord himself said τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον (the everlasting fire) is prepared (Matt. xxv. 41) must be pronounced fundamentally impossible."

But the pronouncing of this as "fundamentally impossible" we can only regard as in flat contradiction to the above declaration of "the restoration of the absolute totality of created things into its primal harmony with its Creator," which could not be if these fallen spirits and the finally impenitent of mankind are consigned to never-ending woe.

How welcome to all our hearts the belief that no such doom were in reserve for any of God's creatures would be, *if true*, I need not say. But assuredly on a subject like this it is not for our finite understandings or deceitful hearts to pronounce on what an infinitely wise and holy God may deem indispensable for the upholding of His moral government in his treatment of sin and sinners. The nature and duration of future punishment can only be ascertained by a humble and prayerful examination of what God has seen meet to reveal in His Word; and it is in that spirit that I would desire to enter on the discussion of the meaning of the passage before us. Assuming, on the grounds I have stated, that it is the uni-

versalist interpretation of it that has been the most recently put forth, and under sanction of such high exegetical authority, I shall proceed to state some of the arguments which appear to me, if not absolutely conclusive against this interpretation, at least sufficient to justify the adoption of an alternative one that would harmonise the passage with the still generally received doctrine on the duration of future punishment.

And *first*, as to the meaning of the word "reconcile," I think I may safely say that the Greek verb ἀποκαταλλάσσω, for which it here stands, when applied to a change of relation between any two parties, never signifies anything else nor anything less than a change from alienation or enmity to former peace or friendship. Such is unmistakably its *sole* meaning in every other passage of the New Testament where it occurs. Even Lightfoot remarks on its meaning in this place: "The word ἀποκαταλλάσσειν corresponds to ἀπηλλοτριωμένους (alienated) here and in Eph. ii. 16, implying a *restitution to a state from which they had fallen*, or which was potentially theirs, or for which they were destined;" and Bishop Ellicott observes in his note on this place: "Not 'prorsus reconciliare,' Mey., but, with the natural force of ἀπό in similar compounds (ἀποκαθίστάνειν, ἀπευθύνειν), 'in pristinam conditionem reconciliando reducere' (see Winer, *de Verb. Comp.* iv. pp. 7, 8)." Thus it would appear to be utterly inapplicable to any change in the relations to God of the unfallen angels that may have resulted from Christ's redemptive work in behalf of our fallen race. Dean Alford and Dr Eadie both contend for such an application of the word in the passage under consideration, on the assumption that τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, of which reconciliation is here predicated, can only mean, or at all events must include, the higher intelligences who have never sinned nor incurred the divine displeasure. They argue that the fuller knowledge of and closer communion with God, which the angels may be supposed to have gained in consequence of Christ's atonement for human guilt, may, in a quite legitimate though looser sense, be spoken of as a *reconciliation*. Alford says on this passage:—

"Our interpretation may be thus summed up: All creation subsists in Christ; all creation therefore is affected by his act of propitiation; sinful creation is, in the strictest sense, *reconciled* from being at enmity; sinless creation, ever at a distance from His unapproachable purity, is lifted into

nearer participation and higher glorification of Him, and is thus *reconciled*, though not in the strictest, yet in a very intelligible and allowable sense."

But surely to be intelligible it would need to be explained, and this just because it is a sense *not* allowable, and certainly not known to Samuel Johnson. "Reconciliation," as used among ourselves, invariably presupposes some degree of *opposition;* and if any one were to speak of a faithful servant who, as an expression of his master's confidence, had been promoted to a higher office in the household, as having been *reconciled* to his master, it would, to a certainty, be inferred that there had been more or less of a quarrel between them. I have said that the word in the original, which in our version is rendered "reconcile," has no such wide signification in New Testament Greek as Alford and Eadie would here assign to it, nor do either of them adduce from any classical author a single instance of its use in this, to say the least, most unusual sense. But even were it otherwise, it would seem to be at variance with the most obvious principles of interpretation to give to one and the same word, in one and the same place, two such widely different meanings as *a change from enmity to friendship* and *a mere advancement from one degree of friendship to another.* Had the apostle meant to employ a term that would fittingly describe that which is common to both the fallen and the unfallen, he would surely have used some word or phrase that would convey the simple idea of being *brought near*, as when he speaks of the Ephesians as "made nigh (ἐγγὺς ἐγενήθητε) by the blood of Christ." To nothing short of a restoration to a previous state of mutual goodwill and confidence that had been interrupted can the word "reconcile" or its Greek equivalent, ἀποκαταλλάσσω, be legitimately applied. And if this be the case, as I can hardly doubt, then it of course follows that the words τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, in this place, cannot refer to the unfallen angels, or to any sinless portion of God's intelligent creation. What they do refer to shall be considered hereafter.

So much, then, for the meaning of the word "reconcile," as applied to intelligent beings. As applied to irrational creatures or to inanimate objects, it may be, and not unseldom is used to denote, by a poetical figure, the removal of that disorder, both in animate and inanimate nature, which has

been caused by the entrance of sin. And in so far as this earth, having shared in the original curse, participates also in the redemption from it, this may fittingly enough be called a "reconciliation," as being the rectification of a derangement—the restoration to a previous harmony that had been disturbed. As the ground was cursed for Adam's sake, so shall it be restored for Christ's sake to more than its pristine order and beauty in that "new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness," and "the whole creation groaning and travailing in pain together until now shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God." In this sense irrational and inanimate creation may be figuratively said to be *reconciled*, because it implies a restoration to a previous condition which had been lost. But never can that word be rightly applied, literally or figuratively, to a mere advance from one condition to another that had not before been experienced. We cannot, therefore, but regard as futile the attempt to make out from the passage before us a *reconciliation* for unfallen and sinless beings whose circumstances preclude the very idea of it.

And now, as to the meaning of the phrase "all things" in ver. 20. There seems to be a very general agreement among modern commentators in regarding it as having precisely the same significance here that it has in vers. 16 and 17, and therefore as denoting the whole universe of created things. Meyer, on this passage, holds τὰ πάντα to mean the universe of created being, including men, angels, and nature, all of which have been troubled by sin and need reconciliation to God—man by his fall; nature as made thereby subject to vanity and corruption; and angels, or the heavenly world, by the rebellion of a part of their order. All these portions of the universe, according to him, are restored in Christ, virtually by his first coming and cross, effectually and finally at his future appearance and coming; for at that latter restitution of all things the unbelieving part of men and the demon part of the angel world will be sent away into Gehenna, and the whole creation will become a new heaven and new earth. "Thereafter," he adds, "there will be nothing alien or hostile in the whole creation of God, but all will be in harmony and reconciled with him." This we can understand, if impenitent men and devils, on being cast into Gehenna, are then and

there *annihilated.* But if they are to exist there for ever in unmitigated torment and continuous sin, then, beyond question, there will still be something "alien and hostile in the creation of God," and all will *not* have been reconciled to him. Ellicott, as we have already shewn, considers the phrase τὰ πάντα as here denoting "the *absolute* totality of created things," than which it is hardly possible to conceive a more unqualified interpretation of the phrase, which he also speaks of as "the comprehensive and *unrestricted* τὰ πάντα." Dean Alford maintains that it is here "equivalent to the universe; not to be limited to 'all intelligent beings,' or 'all men,' or 'the whole Church.'" Dr Eadie remarks on its meaning in ver. 20:—

"The phrase τὰ πάντα in this verse must be identical in meaing with τὰ πάντα in the 16th verse, created by Jesus, and for him; and τὰ πάντα in the 17th verse, preserved by him. The meaning is further developed and specified in the last clause, εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς, γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, all things, 'whether they be things on earth or things in heaven.' The apostle seems thus to refer to the universe, especially the intelligent universe."

But with less consistency than Canon Lightfoot, and apparently unconscious of the self-contradiction implied, he says in the very next page:—

"It is going beyond the record to base upon the words the dogma of universal restoration. Evil spirits and finally impenitent men are left in unrelieved gloom. Those who reject this reconciliation, and depart from the world in unbelief, fall into the hands of a God 'who is clear when he judges.'"

But it is obviously an *effected* reconciliation that the apostle is here speaking of, and not the mere making of an *overture* of peace. This is clear from the apostle's immediately adding (ver. 21.), "And you that were *sometime* alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet *now hath he reconciled* in the body of his flesh through death," implying that Christ's death had now, but *not till now*, availed for the perfecting the mutual reconciliation between God and them, through their having by faith *ceased to be* "alienated and enemies in their mind by wicked works." God the Father having already made peace, through the blood of Christ's cross, to the extent of removing every obstacle to reconciliation on *His* part, purposed in so doing to remove every obstacle to

reconciliation on *their* part by *overcoming through grace their natural will to reject it.* But even had the Divine purpose not extended to *ensuring the acceptance* of the reconciliation offered in Christ, we know as matter of fact that it cannot be said to have been *rejected* by the millions upon millions of the heathen who have "departed from the world" without ever hearing "the joyful sound," and that revelation gives not the slightest hint of any such offer being made to the devil and his angels, all of whom *must* be included in the statement of ver. 20 if, as Dr Eadie maintains, the τὰ πάντα of that verse be identical in meaning with the τὰ πάντα of vers. 16 and 17, *i.e.* co-extensive with creation. Lightfoot, while assuming this identity, consistently deduces from it "the dogma of universal restoration." Alford, Ellicott, and Eadie, on the other hand, while apparently adopting Lightfoot's premisses, with strange inconsistency, as it seems to me, repudiate his universalist conclusion. But if, as is evident, it be an *effected* reconciliation, and not a mere advance towards it that the apostle here refers to; and if the τὰ πάντα of ver. 20 be indeed co-extensive with the created universe; that conclusion is clearly *inevitable.* The only possible way of avoiding it is by restricting the sense in this place of the phrase τὰ πάντα; and such restriction appears to me to be not only justified, but *required* by the construction of the whole passage from the 15th to the 20th verse inclusive.

Canon Lightfoot has made a most valuable contribution towards the right understanding of this epistle in his introductory chapter on "The Colossian Heresy," with a special view to which this epistle was obviously written, and which he shews to have been a curious compound of Judaism and Gnosticism. It is well known to have been one of the prominent doctrines of this latter system that the universe had been created by a multitude of intermediate beings between God and man, a series of successive emanations from the divine essence called æons, spirits, or angels, who acted also as mediators between God and the intelligent creation in his government of the world. The bearing upon this wild speculation of the teaching of this epistle is thus traced by Canon Lightfoot:—

"And here too the affinities of gnosticism reveal themselves in the Colossian heresy. We cannot fail to observe that the apostle has in

view the doctrine of intermediate agencies, regarded as instruments in the creation and government of the world. Though this tenet is not distinctly mentioned, it is tacitly assumed in the teaching which St Paul opposes to it. Against the philosophy of successive evolution from the divine nature, angelic mediators forming the successive links in the chain which binds the finite to the infinite, he sets the doctrine of the one Eternal Son, the Word of God begotten before the worlds. The angelology of the heretics has a twofold bearing—it was intimately connected at once with cosmogony and with religion. Correspondingly St Paul represents the mediatorial function of Christ as twofold—it is exercised in the natural creation, and it is exercised in the spiritual creation. In both these spheres His initiative is absolute, His control is universal, His action is complete. By His agency the world of matter was created and is sustained. He is at once the beginning and the end of the material universe. 'All things have been created through Him and unto Him.' Nor is His office in the spiritual world less complete. In the church, as in the universe, He is sole, absolute, supreme; the primary source from which all life proceeds, and the ultimate arbiter in whom all feuds are reconciled" (pp. 101, 102).

Admirable, in many respects, though this paragraph be, there is surely a confusion or want of precision in the terms employed which seems to have prevented the author from perceiving the real bearing of the twofold aspect of Christ's mediation, to which he so pointedly refers, on the interpretation of the phrase "all things" in the passage before us. It will be observed that he uses the phrases "spiritual creation" and "spiritual world" in antithesis to "the natural creation" and "the material universe," and at the same time as synonymous with "the Church," thus making the spiritual creation or spiritual world identical with the Church, and therefore the Church identical with the whole intelligent universe, including fallen and unfallen spirits alike! A strange oversight this on the part of so careful and lucid a writer. Yet there it unmistakably is; the confounding of the two senses of the word "spiritual," that in which it is opposed to *material*, and that in which it is opposed to *natural*. As opposed to *material*, it applies to all created spirits, good or evil, and in this sense the spiritual is a *part of* the natural world. But as opposed to *natural*, the term "spiritual" applies exclusively to the supernatural regenerative work of the Holy Spirit in human souls, by which the church is separated and distinguished from the natural world in its spiritual domain. The twofold aspect, therefore, of Christ's mediatorial function,

which the apostle presents to the Colossians, is not His work in the material and His work in the immaterial world; but His work in the entire universe of creation, material and immaterial, visible and invisible, and His work in the sphere of redemption, in that re-creation by which He builds up for Himself a church of saints glorified in spirit and body from the ruins of our fallen humanity. Thus we find the apostle, from the 15th to the 17th verses inclusive, setting forth Christ as the first-born or head, because Creator of the whole universe of things, visible and invisible, whether in heaven or in earth; and then, from the 18th to the 20th verses inclusive, speaking of Him *in quite a different relation* as the head, because origin (ἀρχή) of the church, the redeemed and re-created portion of the spiritual universe.

Unless, then, we are to maintain that redemption is commensurate with the entire creation, and therefore the church identical with a regenerated universe, we must restrict the meaning of τὰ πάντα in ver. 20, and cannot take the phrase in a sense identical with what it bears in vers. 16, 17. It is a recognised principle of interpretation that the extent of the application of such terms as "all," "every," "the whole," must be determined more or less by the prominent idea in the sentence where they occur, or the nature of the subject to which they relate. For example, take the sentence, "the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it." As a matter of fact we know that every man does *not* press into it. But the governing idea, which our Lord evidently intended his words to express, was not the *number* of those who enter the kingdom of God, but the *manner in which* alone they can gain entrance, viz., by *pressing* into it. This appears from Matthew's report of the substance of the same saying, "the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force" (Matt. xi. 12). Our Lord's meaning, therefore, is not that every man, absolutely and without exception, gains entrance into the kingdom of God, but that every man of *those who do*, effects his entrance in this way of *pressing*. Now, suppose that this statement had been preceded by another to this effect, "The kingdom of Satan prevails in the earth, and every man is born into it." This would not *necessitate* our interpreting the phrase "every man" in as absolute and unrestricted a sense in the latter

statement as in the former one: the intended affirmation in the former being, that all men without exception are naturally subjects of Satan's kingdom; and the intended affirmation in the latter, that entrance into God's kingdom is only to be gained by pressing into it. And so here, the leading idea in the Apostle's mind, with the Colossian heresy of angelic creators and mediators full in his view, is evidently not the extent of either the creation or the reconciliation, but *the person of the Creator and the Reconciler.* This is manifest from his emphatic repetition in ver. 20, "by *him*, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven." His object in vers. 15, 16, 17 is to affirm, in opposition to the heresy respecting creation, what the Apostle John in the beginning of his gospel affirms in opposition to the same heresy, that "without Christ was not anything made *that was made;*" and in vers. 19, 20, to affirm, in opposition to the heresy respecting reconciliation, that only through Christ's blood is anything reconciled of *that which has been or shall be reconciled.* That Christ is the only Creator and the only Reconciler—*that*, and not the extent of either the creation or the reconciliation, is what the apostle in this place is dealing with. Had it been otherwise, then it might have been urged with more plausibility that we must understand the phrase "all things" in the same absolute and unrestricted sense in both sections of the passage.

But in truth a limitation of its meaning in ver. 20 is clearly and necessarily implied in the word "reconcile," and in the word "church." The statement that "it pleased the Father, through the blood of Christ's cross, to *reconcile* all things to himself" must, according to what we have seen to be the only legitimate meaning of the word "reconcile," be at least limited to that portion of the intelligent universe that *needs* and is *capable of* reconciliation, viz., the fallen and sinful portion of it. The τὰ πάντα τῆς καταλλαγῆς cannot be taken as identical in meaning with the τὰ πάντα τῆς κτίσεως.

Then the word "church," as denoting the sphere of this reconciliation (and it is of Christ's relation to the Church that the apostle is *alone* speaking in this place), implies a still further limitation of the meaning of "all things" in ver. 20 to all things *pertaining to the church*, that redeemed and regenerated portion of humanity which by faith are united to him as their living Head. Still less, therefore, can the τὰ πάντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας

or τοῦ σώματος (ver. 18) be identified in meaning with τὰ πάντα τῆς κτίσεως.[1] It seems an altogether insufficient reason which Dean Alford urges against this limitation of the τὰ πάντα of ver. 20 to the church when he says that "these πάντα are broken up below into terms which will admit of no such limitation," referring, of course, to the words εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Can he have meant to affirm that the latter phrase could only refer to the unfallen angels? Are not "the spirits of the just made perfect," ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, as well as they?—taking that phrase in the sense which it bears throughout the whole of this passage as indicating generally all that lies beyond this earthly sphere. True it is that it was on earth and not in heaven that they were *reconciled*—as τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and not as τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. But seeing that, in point of fact, the church during the present dispensation is partly on earth and partly in heaven, what could have been more natural than that the apostle should so speak of it here in his anxiety to leave no room for the idea that *any*, whosoever or wheresoever they were—even the Old Testament saints, who had departed this life centuries before the Redeemer's advent—had obtained reconciliation otherwise than through the blood

[1] Bishop Ellicott, notwithstanding his repea ted and emphatic protest against any limitations on the phrase τὰ πάντα in this place or in Eph. i. 10, yet, in his remarks on the latter passage, in his "Destiny of the Creature," pp. 89, 90, seems shut up to some such conclusion as we have advocated in the text when he says: "This last text dwells, with most noticeable emphasis, on the '*in Him*'—on incorporation in Him—an emphasis which the repetition of the words 'even in Him' seems especially designed to enhance. Yea, it would not seem presumptuous to say, that it is as if the design of the Holy Ghost were to make us feel distinctly, that to what lies *out* of Him and *apart* from Him—be it mortal or immortal, human or angelical—no efficacies of consummating love can be properly conceived to extend. Surely there is an implied limitation in the very statement of the universality that cannot be gainsaid; surely the possibility remains that there may be a *without Him*. Surely there may be manifold states of confirmed sinfulness, frightful attitudes of enduring hostility against divine love, petrifactions of ingratitude, embodiments of sin against the Holy Ghost, to which the attractive energies that sum up all things in Christ may prove, owing to the dread mystery of the freedom of the will, wholly inoperative. There is the *without;* and the individuals that belong to the outer darkness of that fearful realm must remain the subjects, indeed, of the power of the Eternal Son, but from their appalling antagonisms, the monuments of His omnipotent justice." Can it be maintained that it was the *purpose* of God the Father, through the blood of his Son's cross, to reconcile to Himself those whose determined and "appalling antagonisms" He must have infallibly foreknown?

of his cross? If, then, the spirits of departed saints be now with Christ, and with him as *reconciled* through faith in his blood, it does seem a groundless assertion on the part of Dean Alford that the "things on earth and things in heaven" will not admit of being restricted to the Church, seeing that it is Christ's relation *to the church*—that body of which He is the Head as the sole Redeemer and Reconciler—that the apostle is in this place speaking of.[1]

On the whole, therefore, I cannot but conclude that if the church be, as Scripture seems so plainly to teach, but a redeemed portion of the fallen race of mankind, the dogma of universal restoration finds no support from the passage we have been examining; and that the apostle's words can only be made to yield such support by identifying the church with a regenerated universe—an identification which is precluded by the very etymology of the Greek word for church, Ἐκκλησία.

I feel as if this paper would be incomplete without at least a passing reference to the seemingly kindred passage in Eph. i. 10: "That, in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him." But without entering into a full discussion of the passage, or expressing any opinion as to whether the τὰ πάντα of this verse refers to the universe or to the church, I would merely observe that, in the former case, it could afford no conclusive evidence for universal salvation, seeing that the governing verb, ἀνακεφαλαιόω (to sum up), does not necessarily imply, like ἀποκαταλλάσσω, a restoration to peace or friendship, or anything beyond the uniting of all orders of beings under Christ in their various distinctive relations to him. Ellicott seems to lay undue stress on the fact of this *summing up* being spoken of as *in* and not *under* Christ, and in the meaning of the compound verb, ἀνακεφαλαιόω, as implying *re-union* to Christ, and that "to a state of previous and primal unity." For surely subjugation under Christ may be regarded as *in so far* a re-union to him of those who had been in active hostility and

[1] Is there not a seeming confirmation of the view taken above of the import of "things in heaven" in ver. 20, in their being mentioned *after*, and not, as in ver. 16, *before* "things on earth"? Possibly this reversal in the order of the phrases may have been purely accidental. But neither is it improbable that it was designed thereby to indicate that *these* "things in heaven" had formerly been "things on earth."

revolt against him, though far short of a re-union to him in their "previous and primal unity" of willing and loving service. If "all things are put under him," after having ceased to be under him, this is surely re-union of a kind, though not a re-union in the original harmony of heart and will. Alford seems, in the following remarks on the passage, to express all that the words necessarily imply:—

"All creation is summed up in Christ; it was all the result of the love of the Father for the Son, and in the Son it is all regarded by the Father. The vastly different relation to Christ of the different parts of creation is no objection to this union in him; it affects, as Beng. on Rom. viii. 19, 'pro suo quodque genus captu.' The church, of which the apostle here mainly treats, is subordinated to him in the highest degree of conscious and joyful union: those who are not his spiritually, in mere subjugation, yet consciously; the inferior tribes of creation unconsciously; but objectively all are summed up in him."

I would now bring these observations to a close by submitting, with all diffidence, the following paraphrase of the passage in Colossians as an amendment on that of Canon Lightfoot. And this absolute supremacy over both creation and redemption—the universe and the church—is Christ's, because it was the Father's good pleasure that in Him all the fulness of Deity should abide, and because He willed through Him to reconcile from the revolted portion of His dominions an ἐκκλησία or church for Himself. It was the Father's purpose to effect this reconciliation through the blood of His incarnate Son in the case "of all that He had given Him" to redeem, so that of all *these*, whether still in the body or in the world of spirits, on earth or in heaven, He "should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day," when all His elect shall be gathered in "a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing." JOHN MACKENZIE.

ART. IV.—*Michael Bruce and the Authorship of the "Ode to the Cuckoo."*

1. *Poems on Several Occasions.* By MICHAEL BRUCE. [Edited by John Logan.] Edinburgh, 1770.
2. *Poems.* By the Rev. Mr LOGAN, one of the ministers of Leith. London, 1781.

3. *Poems on Several Occasions.* By MICHAEL BRUCE. A new edition. [Edited by the Rev. Principal Baird.] Edinburgh, 1796.
4. *Lochleven, and other Poems.* By MICHAEL BRUCE. With a Life of the Author from original sources. By the Rev. WILLIAM MACKELVIE, Balgedie, Kinross-shire. Edinburgh, 1837.
5. *The Works of Michael Bruce.* Edited, with memoir and notes, by the Rev. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, Kinross. Edinburgh, 1865.
6. *Ode to the Cuckoo.* Edinburgh, 1770. With remarks on its authorship. In a letter to John Campbell Shairp, Esq., LL.D., Principal of the United College, University of St Andrews. By DAVID LAING. Edinburgh, 1873.
7. *Michael Bruce and the Ode to the Cuckoo.* A Paper by Principal SHAIRP, in "Good Words," vol. for 1873.
8. *Baird MSS.*, in the possession of Professor Balfour, University of Edinburgh.

THE story of the life of Michael Bruce, the poet of Lochleven, a youth of great genius, who died in 1767, at the early age of twenty-one, is well known, and is one of the most touching chapters in the literary history of Scotland. His poems, although few in number, are of a tender and pathetic description; and his "Elegy written in Spring," in which he anticipated his own demise—"his dying song in undying strains"—is a felicitous effort of his muse; and one of his biographers remarks, "there is only another English elegy to be placed beside it."

After Bruce's early death, his poems were handed over to one of his college friends, John Logan, then tutor in the family of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, afterwards minister of South Leith, himself a votary of the muses, who in 1770 published a volume of poems by Bruce. In this he inserted others, without any explanation by which these could be distinguished. In this little volume was contained the "Ode to the Cuckoo," afterwards so celebrated, of which Mr Disraeli remarks that it is "one of the most lovely poems in our language—magical stanzas of picture, melody, and sentiment." The authorship of this ode, which has created among the lovers of Scottish poetry almost as much interest as Homer's birthplace did among the ancient Greeks, has long been a matter of controversy; and in the following remarks we shall endeavour to state succinctly how the matter at present stands, and bring to light a few papers from the correspondence of the late Principal Baird bearing on this interesting subject.

This poem undoubtedly first appeared in a volume with the following title: "Poems on Several Occasions. By Michael

Bruce. Sine me, liber, ibis in urbem.—Ovid. Edinburgh: printed by J. Robertson. MDCCLXX. (12°. pp. x. 117.)" The contents of this little volume were as follow: "The Eagle, Crow, and Shepherd: a Fable. Alexis: a Pastoral. Damon, Menalcas, and Melibœus: an Eclogue. Pastoral Song: to the tune of 'The Yellow-hair'd Laddie.' Eclogue in the manner of Ossian. Daphnis: a Monody. Sir James the Ross: an Historical Ballad. Vernal Ode. Ode to a Fountain. Danish Ode. Danish Ode. Anacreontic to a Wasp. The Musiad: a Minor Epic Poem. A Fragment: in the manner of Homer. Lochleven: a Poem. Ode to Paoli. Ode to the Cuckoo. Elegy: to Spring."

In this volume the "Ode to the Cuckoo" was printed as follows:—

"Hail, beauteous stranger of the wood,
Attendant on the spring!
Now heav'n repairs thy rural seat,
And woods thy welcome ring.

"Soon as the daisy decks the green,
Thy certain voice we hear;
Hast thou a star to guide thy path,
Or mark the rolling year?

"Delightful visitant! with thee
I hail the time of flowers;
When heav'n is filled with music sweet,
Of birds among the bowers.

"The schoolboy, wand'ring in the wood
To pull the flow'rs so gay,
Starts thy curious voice to hear,
And imitates thy lay.

"Soon as the pea puts on the bloom,
Thou fliest thy vocal vale;
An annual guest in other lands,
Another spring to hail.

"Sweet bird! thy bow'r is ever green,
Thy sky is ever clear;
Thou hast no sorrow in thy song,
No winter in thy year!

"Oh, could I fly, I'd fly with thee!
We'd make, with social wing,
Our annual visit o'er the globe,
Companions of the spring."

In his preface to this volume Logan stated that "to make up a miscellany, some poems wrote by different authors are inserted, all of them original, and none of them destitute of

merit. The reader of taste will easily distinguish them from those of Mr Bruce without their being particularised by any mark. Several of these poems have been approved by persons of the first taste in the kingdom, and the editor publishes them to that small circle for whom they are intended, not with solicitude and anxiety, but with the pleasurable reflection that he is furnishing out a classical entertainment to every reader of refined taste."

Eleven years after the publication of this little work there appeared a volume entitled, "Poems. By the Rev. Mr Logan, one of the ministers of Leith. London: Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand. MDCCLXXXI." In this volume the first poem is "Ode to the Cuckoo," the same, with the exception of a few verbal alterations, as that which had appeared in the volume issued in 1770. These alterations will be easily noticed in the following copy, where they are printed in italics.

"Hail, beauteous stranger of *the grove!*
Thou messenger of spring!
Now heaven repairs thy rural seat,
And woods thy welcome ring.

"*What time* the daisy decks the green,
Thy certain voice we hear;
Hast thou a star to guide thy path,
Or mark the rolling year?

"Delightful visitant! with thee
I hail the time of flowers,
And hear the sound of music sweet
From birds among the bowers.

"The schoolboy, wandering *thro'* the wood
To pull the *primrose* gay,
Starts *the new* voice *of spring* to hear,
And imitates thy lay.

"*What time* the pea puts on the bloom
Thou fliest thy vocal vale;
An annual guest in other lands,
Another spring to hail.

"Sweet bird! thy bower is ever green,
Thy sky is ever clear;
Thou hast no sorrow in thy song,
No winter in thy year!

"Oh, could I fly, I'd fly with thee!
We'd make with *joyful* wing
Our annual visit o'er the globe,
Companions of the spring."

This volume of poems issued by Logan consisted of odes, songs, a poem called "The Lovers," and "A Tale" in verse, twenty-three pages long, to which were added nine Hymns, the whole forming a volume of 118 pages. With the exception of the "Ode to the Cuckoo," none of the poems in his publication of 1770 were included; and his biographer remarks: "He probably thought the poems which he contributed anonymously to the work of another had too little merit to appear in a work professedly his own." On the publication of this volume the "Ode to the Cuckoo" attracted the attention of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, who, when on a visit to Edinburgh, sought out Logan, and complimented him as the author of the most beautiful lyric in our language.

In 1795 Dr Anderson, who was then editing his extensive edition of the "British Poets," inserted in the eleventh volume the works both of Bruce and Logan. He believed the "Ode to the Cuckoo" to be Logan's, and inserted it among the poems of that author.

In 1796 the Rev. Dr Baird, afterwards Principal of the University of Edinburgh, taking a warm interest in the aged mother of Michael Bruce, then in indigent circumstances, published an edition of her son's poems by subscription, the profits of which were handed over for her behoof. Several years before this edition appeared, Dr Baird, who was then tutor in the family of the Duke of Athole at Dunkeld, happening to pass through Kinross, went into a bookseller's shop and made inquiries relative to the parentage and other circumstances in the history of Michael Bruce. Hearing of the destitute condition of the poet's mother, and the intention of Mr Hervey, merchant, and Mr Telford, banker in Stirling, along with some other gentlemen, to publish a new edition of Bruce's poems for her benefit, he entered warmly into the scheme. He obtained from Mr John Birrell, parchment-maker, Kinnesswood, some MSS. of the poet which the friends of the poet still retained, and he corresponded with several persons between 1791 and 1796, in which latter year his volume appeared with the following title:—"Poems on Several Occasions. By Michael Bruce. A new edition. 'Sine me, liber, ibis in urbem.'—Ovid. Edinburgh: Printed by John Paterson, and sold by all the booksellers. 1796."

In this volume the preface of Logan's edition of 1770 is inserted, followed by another, dated 1st February 1796, in which it is stated that it includes all the poems written by Bruce and others which were inserted in the first edition. To these, however, were annexed several additional poems "taken from the manuscripts of the author furnished by his mother. The MSS. appear to contain the first sketch only which he had written of these, and hence some passages are found in them which are deficient in that smoothness, accuracy, and vigour which on revision he could have given to them."

These additions were—"The Last Day: a Poem." "Philocles: an Elegy on the Death of Mr William Dryburgh." "The Vanity of our Desire of Immortality here: a Story in the Eastern Manner" (prose). "Verses on hearing an Æolian Harp at Midnight, by Mr C., a young gentleman who died of a consumption a few days after writing them."[1] There was also prefixed—"Verses addressed to the Mother of Michael Bruce, by a Lady."

In order to increase the sale of this publication, Dr Baird seems to have wished to make it even more of a miscellany than it was at first, and he entered into a correspondence with Robert Burns with the view of obtaining from him some poems which might also be inserted. Writing to Burns from London, where he was with the Duke of Athole in February 1791, he mentions that he wished to bring out a volume at half-a-crown or three shillings, the profits to be handed over to the poet's mother, a woman of eighty years of age, poor and helpless; and he would be glad if Burns would peruse the MSS. he had got from her, and would add a few lines to the volume. He added: "You have already paid an honourable tribute to kindred genius in Fergusson. I fondly hope that the mother of Bruce will experience your patronage."

Burns' reply was so characteristic that we give it as it is printed in Dr Currie's edition of his works:—

"Why did you, my dear sir, write to me in such a hesitating style on the business of poor Bruce? Don't I know, and have I not felt, the many

[1] In a letter from Lord Craig to Principal Baird, enclosing a subscription for Mrs Bruce, his lordship states: "Lord Craig has been much struck with some things in this volume, particularly with a few verses at the end, which he knows to have been written by an elegant and unfortunate young man, his own brother."—Baird MSS.

ills—the peculiar ills—that poetic flesh is heir to? You shall have your choice of all the unpublished poems I have; and had your letter had my direction so as to have reached me sooner (it only came to my hand this moment) I should have directly put you out of suspense on the subject. I only ask that some prefatory advertisement in the book, as well as the subscription bills, may bear that the publication is solely for the benefit of Bruce's mother. I would not put it in the power of ignorance to surmise or malice to insinuate that I clubbed a share in the work from mercenary motives. Nor need you give me credit for any remarkable generosity in my part of the business. I have such a host of peccadilloes, failings, follies, and backslidings (anybody but myself might perhaps give some of them a worse appellation) that, by way of some balance, however trifling, in the account, I am fain to do any good that occurs in my very limited power to a fellow-creature just for the selfish purpose of sharing a little the vista of retrospection."

After getting this reply, Dr Baird issued his "Prospectus" as follows:—

"By Subscription. Speedily will be published, price three shillings, by J. Forbes, Covent Garden, London—A new edition of Poems by the late Michael Bruce, to which will be subjoined a few select pieces by Robert Burns. The profits which may arise from this publication are to be employed solely for the support of Michael Bruce's mother."

In consequence, however, of the opposition of Dr Blair and Dr Moore (father of the distinguished hero of Corunna, Sir John Moore), who thought that, from the moral tendency of Bruce's poetry, the insertion of Burns' "Alloway Kirk" would be as great a violation of propriety as the exhibition of a farce after a tragedy, that and other poems which it was arranged should then appear were not accepted.

Dr Baird, being no doubt anxious to ascertain how much of the publication of 1770 was by Bruce and how much by Logan, wrote to the Rev. Dr Thomas Robertson, minister of Dalmeny, author of a history of Mary Queen of Scots, and other works, and who also edited Logan's sermons, for the desired information, and received the following interesting letter:—

"Dear Sir,—I beg pardon for not writing you sooner, having been particularly busied for some days past. I shall now with pleasure answer all your inquiries.

"Bruce was my class-fellow at college, and very particular acquaintance. He shewed me all his pieces himself. After his death, Mr Logan and I looked over all his MSS., and selected those which are published. The rest we judged not in a state to be seen by the public, and I believe they were all destroyed, among which I remember to have seen the poem on the 'Last Day,' a long work, and very unequal. I have none of his pieces in my own hands, and never had.

"As to what are Bruce's in the published volume I can give you a more exact account, I suppose, than anybody. They consist of the Fable, p. 1; of the Pastoral, p. 3; the Monody, p. 24; the Anacreontic, p. 53 (the Chorus, p. 55, is Logan's); the Musiad, p. 56; Lochleven, p. 63 (but Levina: a Tale, beginning at 'Low by the lake,' &c., p. 69, and ending at 'Sorrow to the grave,' p. 85, consisting of 278 lines, is Logan's); and Elegy, p. 110. All the rest is Logan's, except Vernal Ode, p. 43, which is the late Sir James Foulis's. The poem Sir James the Ross, p. 30, to whom it belongs I have forgot. It may have been furbished up between Bruce and Logan.

"Bruce's poems have great merit; they are chaste, classical, and often exhibit the highest beauties of poetry. The 'Elegy' which concludes the volume was written when he was a-dying, and is a masterpiece. Almost every part of it will bear a comparison with Gray's 'Elegy,' and there are some stanzas in it which surpass in beauty any that are to be found in that famed performance.

"I wish you success in your project, but little is to be expected in general from *poems*. They hardly have ever subsisted the poet himself, much less the poet and his mother. There is a paper in the 'Mirror,' I think, giving an account of Bruce and his poems, written by H. Mackenzie. I would suggest to you to prefix that to your intended publication, if Mr Mackenzie has no objection. If you are not acquainted with him, or do not choose to write him, I shall speak with him about it, first time I go to town.

"I thank you for your politeness in offering to do any commissions for me in London, but have none at present to trouble you with.—I remain always, dear sir, your very obedient and humble servant,

"*Dalmeny, 22d February*, 1791." "THOS. ROBERTSON.'

Pursuing his inquiries, Dr Baird wrote to Mr John Birrell, David Pearson, and Mr Hervey, from whom he received the following letters, the first of which, from Mr Birrell, is dated 13th April 1791:—

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Yours to Mrs Bruce, with the guinea from Mr Inches, and your letter of March 5th to me, came duly to hand. I would have written you sooner had I not been in daily expectation of the subscription papers. If they are not already on the way, please send me four or six of them, as several gentlemen have signified their desire to have a copy, being earnest to promote the sale of the poems each among their friends. I sent lately to our friends in Stirling several letters written by Mr Bruce; they have taken extracts from them to send to you, as I wished, knowing they were corresponding with you at that time. I have got a few more written by our poet to David Arnot of Portmoak, the Agricola of Lochleven, which I send to-morrow to Stirling, with a desire to remit to you what they shall think proper for publication; but, though excellent, I apprehend they will not do for the public. Mr Grant, minister of this parish, says that he is informed certainly that

' Baird MSS.

Mr Logan's poetic MSS. went to Mr M'Kenzie, minister of Port-Patrick, so if Mr Bruce's performances, which he transcribed from the volume you have and put his finishing hand to, are still in existence, I think they will be there, for our poet's father never recovered the last writ copies of the poems from Mr Logan.

"James Bruce and David Pearson, the first Mr Bruce's brother, the last his particular friend, both say you should publish the poem entitled the 'Cuckoo,' which Mr Logan's book claims, as they both aver that Mr Bruce composed it.

"I have been rendered very uneasy yesterday and this day, being informed that a person has been traversing the country a few miles from this seeking subscribers for Mr Bruce's poems, to be published in Edinburgh. I wrote yesterday to Dr Cochrane, physician there, being an old schoolfellow of Mr Bruce's and mine, stating the case, and sent him a few lines to be published in the 'Edinburgh Advertiser,' that this scheme might be crushed in the bud. I am very concerned to see a stroke aimed, I shall not say intentionally, to defeat your benevolent labours and design, and to injure the old woman's interest. I hope you will take a method, if mine prove ineffectual, to quash this baleful scheme. Would it not be proper to publish the proposals speedily, though it should be a considerable time before the book itself issue from the press.

"Messrs Telford and Hervey write me that you have received their copy of the 'Last Day.' I long much to see it in print. To be composed in the eighteenth year of his age, it is admirably well done. I would have troubled you with this at this time, though it had been no more than to vent my vexation, but I thought it proper to apprise you of the above design. It has very much vexed the old woman who, as I wrote you before, had been badly for a considerable time last winter, and thereby some additional expense has been incurred, her money coming near to an end. I have given her one pound in your name, agreeable to an idea in your last to me. And this too for another reason, that I might safely say in my letter to Dr Cochrane that the worthy editor in London was supporting the poet's aged mother before the money for his poems becomes due, independent of your bounty to her on her son's birthday. She desires me to tell you that you have her most hearty thanks for your great kindness to her.—May this find you well, &c.,

"*Kinneswood, 13th April* 1791. "J. BIRRELL.[1]

"*P.S.*—The notes which I gave the old woman yesterday in your name, partly to console her under the vexation at the above rumour, and partly for the reasons above, she has brought me again since the above was written, earnestly desiring me not to write a word about money to Mr Baird, who, she adds, has given her too much already, and 'he will think I am,' she says, 'a clean waster, and will do no more for me; and what I have is no done.'"

The following joint letter from Messrs Telford and Hervey is interesting:—

[1] Baird MSS.

"STIRLING, 16*th February* 1791.

"REV. SIR,—Inclosed you will receive our copy of the 'Last Day.' It was transcribed by a lady, and the punctuation is frequently erroneous; in other respects it is in general faithful to the manuscript. A few defects are marked on the other side. You may keep it as long as it can be of any service, and then return it, as we have not had leisure to write another copy. We entirely agree with you that the intended publication should be conducted with the most sacred regard to the memory of the amiable author. Were there any danger of injuring it, we are persuaded that a subscription might be raised among those who have seen his poems for the support of the mother. It was perhaps an excessive delicacy on this head which induced the first publisher to suppress the 'Last Day,' for it is certainly not unworthy of the public. Something considerable may be reasonably expected to arise from the sale of an edition so enlarged, and it will be less painful to the feelings of the old woman and her relations that assistance should come through this channel; for, neglected as she appears to have been, we are aware that she has some connections of considerable rank and spirit.

"Your residence for some months in London is a happy circumstance. We hope your success will correspond with the benevolence of your design. Some persons acquainted with the ways of booksellers have recommended the sale of the copyright as the safest mode of publication, but of this and other matters you are best qualified to judge. We will do what we can to promote the sale. You will determine also concerning the propriety of retaining the original preface, or of leaving out one or two of the smaller poems by other hands. The 'Anacreontic' (allowing it its own merit) is written in a strain dissimilar from the rest. The 'Cuckoo' appeared in Mr Logan's poems in 1782. J. Birrel hinted that you had some design of soliciting a recommendatory preface from Dr Blair. If this cannot be obtained, some allusion might be made to the thirty-sixth number of 'The Mirror.' Any concern which we have taken in this affair has been mutual, and have taken the liberty of writing you in concert. You may continue the same address, and write as soon as convenient.
—We are, &c.

"WILLIAM TELFORD.
"JOHN HERVEY."[1]

Although Dr Baird's preparations were begun in 1791, his edition did not eventually appear till 1796, and this may have been owing to the expected publication of the volume of Dr Anderson's collected edition of the British poets, which was to contain the works both of Bruce and Logan. The following letter from Dr Anderson to Dr Baird, dated 26th March 1795, refers to his sketch of the life of Bruce published with his poems in the eleventh volume of his "British Poets."

"HERIOT'S GREEN, 26*th March* 1795.

"REV. SIR,—I was favoured with your card yesterday, in consequence of which I called upon you this morning, but missed you.

[1] Baird MSS.

"It is with great pleasure, you may be sure, that I find you will be able to send me a copy of some of Bruce's MS. poems in the course of the day. It is probable they will be inserted in their proper place; as the greatest part of the eleventh volume of the 'British Poets' has been destroyed, it must be reprinted. If that cannot be done on account of the pages, I shall recommend them to be inserted with blind pages, or as an appendix to the volume.

"I take this opportunity of returning Bruce's papers, with my best acknowledgments for the readiness with which you communicated them to me. Without them and the additional information with which you obligingly furnished me, my account of Bruce, imperfect as it is, must have been much more so. I shall have an opportunity of correcting some typographical errors when it is reprinted; and if there are any facts misstated, I will thank you to point them out for correction.

"You have acquired an indisputable right to make use of my account in any way you think best adapted to your edition. If you give me leave, I could easily disencumber the narrative from the unwieldy quotations, &c.; but you must, after all, make your own selection. I am afraid, for the reason above mentioned, I shall not have room for any observations on the poems you send.—I am, &c., "R. ANDERSON."[1]

The publication of this volume of the "British Poets," in which the works of Bruce and Logan appeared, with a biographical sketch of each prefixed, and in which the "Ode to the Cuckoo" is attributed to Logan, did not give much satisfaction to the friends of Michael Bruce. Writing to Dr Baird, Mr Birrell states as follows:—

"REV. DOCTOR,—A number of the subscribers for Bruce's poems have seen his life. It is in general satisfactory. The writer has done himself much credit by the judicious arrangement and selection of the quotations, and by the picture of our poet, which is perfectly just. But it appears by the size and pages that this work is not for binding with the poems, which alarms me much lest his poems should be printed in another form, which may tend to injure the sale of the edition you have had the great goodness to patronise. It is the earnest wish of many that no time should now be lost in giving his poems to the long-expecting world, and to his very poor and feeble mother that consolation your benevolence has long designed for her. The baseness and the indolence of men will be equally inimical to your kind undertaking, and are not to be overcome by delay. The writer of Bruce's life imputes too much to Logan; he was a fine scholar and a good poet, but his conduct with reference to Michael's finished MSS. was quite indefensible. The small volume now in your possession was the first poem. Our poet re-touched and transcribed his productions in a larger volume, which Mr Logan took away, with all his own letters and several letters sent to David Pearson. None of them were ever returned. Alexander Bruce went over to Edinburgh purposely to recover them. Mr Logan desired him

[1] Baird MSS.

to call again, and if he was out when the call was made, the papers were to be all ready. Alexander called again; Mr Logan was not in, nor any books left out. The poor mourning father afterwards met with Mr Logan, who expressed his surprise that he did not get his son's papers, for they were left out, and was apprehensive they would never be seen more, for the servants possibly had singed fowls with them. I have often heard A. Bruce tell this with great concern. By the loss of these MSS. the evidence lies all upon one side with regard to the additions and embellishments ascribed to Logan. It is humbly presumed that Mr Bruce would not content himself with the first draught of his pieces, especially as he had time and inclination to transcribe them, which he actually did, many of them two or three years after the first writing.

"With regard to the 'Cuckoo,' I am disposed to think that any person of taste who has read both poets will not hesitate to ascribe it to Michael. It was ever reckoned his by his friends and correspondents; his brother James and David Pearson maintain it. David cannot be more positive about anything than that this ode was Mr Bruce's, having heard it long before his death. This beautiful ode was printed in 'Ruddiman's Magazine,' with initials different from those of any of our poet's, and was esteemed a robbery of Michael's fame then. Auld Annie has been sickly for ten days past, but is no worse this day. She does not know that I am writing to you, else these pages would not contain all the effusions of her grateful heart for the numerous favours you have conferred upon her. You will excuse the trouble of the above remarks. My most respectful compliments to Mrs Baird; and am, &c.,

"*Kinneswood, 24th March* 1795." "Jo. BIRRELL."[1]

Dr Baird seems to have made some collections with the view of prefixing a biography of Bruce to his edition; but, as he probably thought that the public would be familiar with the life of the poet given in Anderson's "British Poets," published in the previous year, he contented himself with putting in his preface a copy of a paper on Bruce by Lord Craig, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, which had appeared in 1779 in the thirty-sixth number of the "Mirror," and which had greatly contributed to make the poems of Bruce known in the country. Among Dr Baird's papers is the following

[1] Mr Birrell, in this letter, is more positive about the authorship of the Ode than he was in 1791, and his statement about the robbery of the fame of Michael Bruce in 1774 is easily disposed of. The imposition that was practised upon the editor of the "Weekly Magazine or Edinburgh Amusement," 5th May 1774, by some one with the initials "R. D.," who published the Ode as his, called forth in the next number the following note from the editor:—"To our Correspondents.—We little imagined our good friend 'B. M.' was capable of imposition. The little poem he sent us under the signature 'R. D.,' inserted p. 178, proves a literary theft, and is the production of a gentleman in this neighbourhood already in print. He ought to challenge and chastise the thief."—P. 224. As Bruce died in 1767, Logan must have been the person expected to inflict the castigation.

sketch by Bruce's old friend David Pearson, which, though written in a homely style, seems to have been drawn up with great care :—

"A Few Memorials of the Life of Mr Michael Bruce.

"Michael Bruce was born 27th March 1746. His early love of learning, and the curious and intricate questions he would have asked, manifested the child's superior abilities, and seemed to predict his future celebrity. Besides this, his childhood was distinguished by his undergoing much distress, at times seemingly overwhelming. In the year 1748 he had four sore fevers; and afterwards the progress of his studies was retarded by the delicacy of his constitution. Before he was four years of age he could read the Bible. In the month of May 1750, his father led him down to the annual market of the town, to a travelling bookseller, and inquired if he had Sir David Lindsay's book. The merchant, looking for it, said, 'What would you do with it?' His father said, 'This young man was wishing to read it.' The merchant, surprised, upon looking at the child, expressed his doubts of his ability to read it; but looking out a little volume, called 'A Key to the Gates of Heaven,' said if that child could read that, he would give it him for his own. Michael with avidity seized the book, and thoroughly won it, to the astonishment of all that heard him. That year he went to school with his Bible; our worthy teacher upon hearing him read so accurately, desired him at noon to take home his Bible, and tell his father if he was to learn nothing else he need not return. It was a considerable time after this before he began his Latin studies. His own delicate constitution and his father's narrow circumstances induced his parents to engage him to herd sheep or cattle for six or seven summers, in the hopes that free exercise in the open air might improve his constitution. Hereby he became familiarly acquainted with the most wild romantic scenes in our country—the ruins of Arnot, the rocks of Kinneston, the deserts of Carmore. The friends he contracted in his pastoral life cherish his memory still with the greatest pleasure. In every place he distinguished himself by the mildness of his temper, humanity to his flocks, and little pleasantries. When he returned to his father's, he resumed the reading, trying not only to read, but understand every book he could lay his hands on, but especially the Bible, which upon Sabbaths was his constant companion. His father often found upon coming home from church that the boy had read no less a portion than the whole book of Job or Isaiah, by the very uncommon deep questions he would have asked. His disposition was so uncommonly religious and amiable, that about the ninth year of his age, if his father had been from home, he did perform family worship in all its parts. Those of the family who yet survive do bear witness how proper and apposite his expressions were. Surrounded by his brothers and sisters, all young children, he always mentioned that well-known text, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not,' as a warrant and encouragement for their exercise. After he had the Latin, and proceeded a considerable way in mathematical studies, he was earnest to proceed further; but knowing full well how hard it would be for his parents to procure a sufficiency to support their family and him at the college, he was not a little troubled. Hearing

one day that the Anti-Burgher clergy had a number of young men taught philosophy, &c., at a Hall upheld at the expense of the body, with which they stood connected, and being informed they were to have a presbytery at Perth, unknown to his parents he set out on a journey there, and offered himself for examination in views to be sent to their Hall. After some conversation they dismissed him, with saying he might attend them some time afterwards. For this he had not patience, but encouraged by David Arnot, of Portmoak, and some others in the place, famous in their day for piety and learning, he then set out for the University of Edinburgh. About that time an uncle of his died and left a small legacy to the family, which was employed, and soon exhaused, in equipping our friend and supporting him at the University, to which he entered in the year 1762; and though his hardships were many, through the diminutive funds he had for his sole support, his own sobriety, and his parents' frugality, especially the extraordinary exertions of his mother, overcame difficulties as they occurred. The promptitude of her conduct and the liveliness of her invention were wonderfully manifested through the whole course of his education. After all he found himself greatly cramped by the low state of his finances. Once he sold a part of his scanty wardrobe and a small telescope to purchase some favourite authors. His abilities as a scholar were early and all along so manifested when at college, that he had an ardent wish to find some employment during the vacations in teaching a school. This was at length gratified about May 1765, when he opened a school at Gairney Bridge. There his memory is much honoured by some of his pupils, who survive to this day. The account from others, as well as my own knowledge, authorises me to say that his attention to the morals of his scholars was exemplary. He ingratiated himself into their affections; he never used the rod; he could be familiar without making himself little, and was grave without being morose. A certain person said that he was God's blessing to the place. A respectable farmer, John Grieve, of Claslochie, took him home with him to lodge, where he had a comfortable room, his evening fire, his table and candle. Mrs Grieve would have put boards beneath his feet to keep his feet from being hurt by the earthen floor when employed at his studies. From this place and from the University he wrote many letters to his friends, particularly Mr Arnot, of Portmoak, to Mrs Dryburgh, Henderson, Lawson, Logan, and to myself, which I shall for ever esteem. I reckon them a part of my treasure. Alas! from the excess of my veneration for them, I carried them about with me till they were sore wasted and some of them lost, besides what I lost by Mr Logan, who never returned those he received, nor yet the finished copy of his poems, which he got at the same time from his father. As an epistolary writer he was truly excellent; and here allow me to insert the sentiments of a learned lady, Mrs Keir, upon this very thing. In a letter to Mr Hervey, she says: 'One feature of the amiable person they (viz., the letters) exhibit I contemplated with peculiar delight. I mean the delicacy which originates from a pure heart, a correct taste, and a regulated imagination; even in the most careless moments of youthful gaiety, and boundless confidence, he never betrays a spark of that levity which too often mark the productions of early years,

debases the poet, and scandalises the Christian, and from exuberant merriment degenerates into licentiousness. This is the more admirable, that his path lay not alone through the sequestered vale of life, but the thorny and barren desert is commonly fruitful in such noisome weeds.' He wrote also at times to his brother James. Among his first compositions in the poetical line he sent him 'Weaving Spiritualised.' After some gentle reprimand for bad spelling, he concludes thus: 'But, after all it is infinitely better to be a good man than a learned man.' Here he composed a great number of excellent poems, many of them well known and highly esteemed. His 'Last Day' was the longest, and read in a Society near the West Port in the winter of the year 1765. (This poem being lost by Mr L[oga]n, would have been in perpetual oblivion had not our worthy friend, Mr John Birrell, with great care, gathered together its detached parts and made it appear in its present form.) It was here that his delicate constitution began to give way. He told me on a visit that I made, that he was seized with a pain in his breast, but so averse was he to grieve his parents, that he enjoined me not to tell his mother, nor anybody that would inform her. He left Gairney Bridge for a school at Forrest Mill, where he hoped to have less fatigue; but his health declined, and his disorder was considerably strengthened by a fall; his horse stumbled and threw him as he was passing a stream in rainy and cold weather, and at a distance from home. At Forrest Mill he carried on his epistolary correspondence, and composed a variety of poems. His letters became more and more serious and important; in one of them he says, 'Let us moderate our hopes and fears, and resign ourselves to the will of Him who doth all things well, and who hath assured us that he careth for us; and let us rejoice in that hope of the glory that is to be revealed, which will surpass our greatest expectation.' Mr Dryburgh says in a letter to him, 'All the pleasures some boast themselves the enjoyment of end sorrowfully, and even in the time of possession are interrupted with many woes; nevertheless, I make the same exception you made, viz., the pleasure of true piety;' and this pleasure supported him under his increasing infirmities. He began to study divinity under the Rev. Mr John Swanston, in Kinross, 1766, and delivered a sermon from John iii. 5, which I have seen, being wrote with his own hand, containing seven leaves quarto; he had an exercise assigned him from Gal. iii. 19 which he nearly perfected, wrote upon a number of pages in octavo; upon the title of this his father writes, 'Before this was finished the author was called home to the joy of his Lord.' He wrote also a pretty exordium to another sermon from a text in Proverbs, which I have seen, but is now lost; he also wrote twenty-eight pages of octavo, being Watts' Logic turned into question and answer, besides many letters that he sent to Portmoak, myself, and others. There is also a number of poems wrote from Milton, Young, and other authors, before he went to the college, and a small volume of poems which was sent to Dr Baird, besides his finished book, which Logan received, in which were wrote several famous poems, all religious, that never appeared in public view; but there are some of them published of which he doth not receive the due honour, particularly the 'Cuckoo,' a poem which I am perfectly sure was Michael's own production.

At Forrest Mill he had a very solitary life; there is some romantic sequestered spot in the neighbourhood, whither he retired for devotion and study, which he visited so often that he formed a path to it through the glen or wilderness. A person now residing in Alloa, with whose father he lodged, gives a very pleasing account of his manner among them. In the month of August 1766, he was so delicate that Mr Swanston advised him to give over his studies; the advice, though seconded by his dear friend Mr Dryburgh, was not complied with; his love to study could not yet be overcome. However, he was obliged to leave Forrest Mill in February 1767, and return to his father's in Kinnesswood, having some time before this received a most severe shock by the death of his dear Dryburgh. After he came home he gradually declined, but he endured his distress and the prospect of his approaching exit with admirable composure and serenity of soul. During the time of his distress, his worthy professor and many of his fellow-students paid him frequent visits, which were highly consolatory, especially Mr Lawson's visits greatly refreshed him, he received him with open arms. After finishing his 'Elegy on the Spring,' he entirely resigned his poetical studies for the Bible, which was ever in his hand or within his reach, whether in or out of bed. He lay in such a posture in his bed so as to have the light shining upon his Bible, so that he could read most easily. Thus he continued as long as he had ability, constantly perusing and praying over the sacred pages; and after the soul fled to that lightsome land whither he had for twenty years been aspiring, when the lovely remains were dressing for the grave, that narrow house, the Bible was found lying at his head, with a number of leaves folded down with their points to that word 'Weep not for the dead.' Upon this sacred little volume he had written:

> 'Tis very vain for me to boast
> How small a sum my Bible cost;
> The day of judgment will make clear,
> 'Twas very cheap or very dear.'

His worthy friend and teacher, Mr Swanston, died after a short illness at Perth, 12th June 1767. This was was heavy tidings to many, especially to Michael; his parents were willing to conceal it from him, but they could not. Upon hearing of the loss, he exclaimed, 'My dear master and friend, and shall I never see his face again in the land of the living!' He was never seen to smile any more, but declined more rapidly every day. That day before his death he expressed his hopes of happiness in words to this purpose: I shall go, supported by God, through fire and water to the wealthy place. He gently fell asleep 6th July 1767, aged twenty-one years. I who knew him well, and now after twenty-seven long years can mourn his loss, can say he was a most affectionate, upright, and useful friend to me at all times, and most loving when I was most afflicted. I have seen elegies made upon his death by four different hands, but none of them did justice to his merits, though they were all respectful. I have attempted the same theme again and again; neither do I think that I have sufficiently rehearsed his excellencies and amiable qualities. He was the man, the scholar, and the saint. "DAVID PEARSON."[1]

[1] Baird MSS.

In 1837, the Rev. William M'Kelvie published an edition of the works of Michael Bruce, to which he prefixed a very elaborate life of the author. He instituted inquiries among persons belonging to Kinross-shire who had known the family of the poet, and collected what letters and papers were still in existence throwing light on Bruce's writings. In a letter from David Pearson to Dr Anderson, he found it stated that several passages in the hymns published by Logan were altered copies of hymns which had been written by Bruce, and sung by the youths of the village of Kinnesswood when practising church music. As to the "Ode to the Cuckoo," he attributes it to Bruce, on the testimony of Dr Davidson, of Aberdeen, who had stated that his father, Dr Davidson, of Kinross, had seen a letter from Michael Bruce, in which he said, "You will think me ill employed, for I am writing a poem about a gowk." He further quotes a letter from Mr Hervey (of which he does not give the date) to Mr J. Birrell, in which this passage occurs: "He (Dr Baird) has found the 'Cuckoo' to be Michael Bruce's, and has the original in his own handwriting." Dr M'Kelvie also, from internal evidence, claimed for Bruce the episode of Levina in the poem of "Lochleven," the "Ode to Paoli," and the "Eclogue after the manner of Ossian." After examining Logan's prose works, he states that he found that there were passages in his published sermons taken from Dr Seed, Dr Blair, Bishop Sherlock, and Tooke's translation of Zollikofer.

In 1865, an edition of the works of Michael Bruce was published by the Rev. A. B. Grosart, in which Dr M'Kelvie's statements are reiterated with much abuse of Logan, and many trifling circumstances are brought forward, which he thinks conclusively shew that Bruce was the author of all the poems published in the volume issued in 1770, with only one exception. He also states that two of Logan's Hymns contain verses nearly identical with two inserted in a collection of Paraphrases of Scripture, drawn up for the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1751, when Logan was but an infant, and he claims for Bruce the verbal changes and improvements on these two old hymns, with the exclusive authorship of the other seven, printed in "Logan's Poems."[1] He repeats Dr M'Kelvie's statement that Dr Baird had a copy of the "Ode to the Cuckoo" in Bruce's handwriting, and he expresses

[1] "Works," p. 101.

the hope that the Baird family papers should yield up this prize.[1]

In 1873, David Laing, LL.D., printed, privately, a letter to Principal Shairp, of St Andrews, in which he offered some remarks on the authorship of the "Ode to the Cuckoo," with the view of removing the obloquy cast upon Logan's memory in connection with Bruce's poems. He states that the authorship of the several pieces in the 1770 volume was certainly known at the time; and, in a copy of that edition in his possession Logan's name, in a contemporary hand, is added to the Preface, to the "Ode to Paoli," and to the "Cuckoo." Mr Laing states that another copy, also in his possession, has the name of the author added in MS. to the several poems, and from a long note on the back of the title it seems to have belonged to a friend of Logan's, who had known all the particulars:—"The Eagle, Crow, and Shepherd: a Fable" —*By Mr Bruce.* "Alexis; a Pastoral—*By Mr Bruce.* "Damon, Menalcas, and Melibœus: an Eclogue"—*Logan.* "Pastoral Song," to the tune of the "Yellow-hair'd Laddie" —*Logan.* "Eclogue in the manner of Ossian"—*Logan.* "Daphnis: a Monody"—*Bruce.* "Sir James the Ross: an Historical Ballad"—No name. "Vernal Ode"—*Sir James Foulis.* "Ode to a Fountain"—*Logan.* "Danish Ode"—*Logan.* "Danish Ode"—*Logan.* "Anacreontic to a Wasp" —*Bruce;* the Chorus, *Logan.* "The Musiad: a Minor Epic Poem, in the manner of Homer, a Fragment"—*Bruce.* "Lochleven: a Poem"—*Bruce and Logan.* "Ode to Paoli"—*Logan.* "Ode to the Cuckoo"—*Logan.* "Elegy: to Spring"—*Bruce.*

In his interesting *brochure*, Mr Laing states that he found among the papers of Dr Grant (who was the executor of Logan), the following verse written by Logan, which he had intended to form the penultimate stanza of the "Ode to the Cuckoo":—

> "Alas, sweet bird! not so my fate;
> Dark scowling skies I see
> Fast gathering round, and fraught with woe,
> And wintry years to me."

This was supposed by Dr Grant to be written in too solemn a tone for the rest of the poem, and expressive of the predictive melancholy which was constitutional with the author, from which causes it had not been inserted by him in the poem as published. Mr Laing remarks generally with reference to Mr

[1] Works by Grosart, p. 77.

M'Kelvie's statements, that no proofs are adduced to warrant them, and that "when the accusations are analysed, consisting of traditions and recollections of persons in Bruce's neighbourhood, of what had occurred at a distance of from twenty to forty years and upwards, it is not difficult to see that they rest on a very tottering foundation."

Principal Shairp, in his paper in "Good Words," also published in 1873, carefully goes over the arguments brought forward by Dr M'Kelvie and Mr Grosart in favour of Bruce, and those of Mr Laing for Logan; and he gives it as his opinion that the testimonies in favour of Bruce seem considerably to preponderate.

From the papers of Dr Baird, now for the first time printed, it will be observed—that in 1791 Dr Baird applied to Dr Robertson, of Dalmeny, for information as to what pieces in the edition of 1770 were by Logan and what were by Bruce —that Dr Robertson assured him he had examined Bruce's MSS. along with Logan, and was able to give a more exact account of their contents than any one alive at that period; his letter is therefore very valuable in regard to this matter.

In 1795, Dr Baird supplied all the information he possessed with reference to Bruce's MSS. to Dr Anderson; and on the publication that year of the eleventh volume of the "Works of the British Poets," the "Ode to the Cuckoo" appeared in the works of Logan, and was omitted in those of Bruce.

Messrs Telford and Hervey, in their joint letter of 16th February 1791,[1] do not assert that Bruce was the author of the "Ode to the Cuckoo." They say to Dr Baird: "You will also determine concerning the propriety of retaining the original preface, or, of leaving out one or two of the smaller poems by other hands. The 'Anacreontic' (allowing it its own merit) is written in a strain dissimilar from the rest. The 'Cuckoo' appeared in Mr Logan's poems in 1782." It is therefore unlikely that there is any foundation for the statement made by Dr M'Kelvie, in 1837, on the authority of Mr Hervey, that Dr Baird "has found the 'Cuckoo' to be Michael Bruce's, and has the original in his own handwriting." Indeed, Dr M'Kelvie himself states that he had addressed a letter to Dr Baird, requesting him to give an account of "how he came to insert the 'Ode to the Cuckoo' in his edition of Bruce's poems, but received no reply"[2]

Mr John Birrell, who was the most active and intelligent of

[1] *Ante*, p. 466. [2] Works by M'Kelvie, p. 152.

Dr Baird's Kinross-shire correspondents, states, in his letter of 13th April 1791: "James Bruce and David Pearson, the first Mr Bruce's brother, the last his particular friend, both say you should publish the poem entitled the 'Cuckoo,' which Mr Logan's book claims, as they both aver that Mr Bruce composed it." [1]

Mr David Pearson, in his "Few Memorials," says of Bruce's MS. poems: "There are also a number of poems wrote from Milton, Young, and others, before he went to the college, and a small volume of poems which was sent to Dr Baird, besides his finished book, which Logan received, in which were wrote several famous poems, *all religious*." [2]

From these statements it would appear that Birrell only spoke from the testimony of James Bruce and David Pearson, and that from Pearson's statement it is very unlikely that the "Ode to the Cuckoo" was contained in the volume of Bruce's MSS. lent to Logan, and the loss of which is so much deplored in the biographies of M'Kelvie and Grosart.

In conclusion, the direct evidence lies between the statements of Dr Robertson, and Messrs James Bruce and Pearson, and it will be for those who wish to form a decided opinion on the matter to judge for themselves. As to the internal evidence, it has been remarked on one side that the whole tone of the "Ode to the Cuckoo" is in a strain of joyous anticipation, quite in contrast to the "Elegy in Spring;" while, on the other hand, it has been stated that the omitted stanza of the former poem, discovered by Mr Laing among Logan's papers, is very strikingly characteristic of the melancholy career of Michael Bruce, and adds to the probability of the whole being his.

Whether Bruce or Logan be the author of the "Ode to the Cuckoo," it will always be a matter of deep interest to know that the remarkable little volume issued in 1770, containing two such gems as this Ode and the "Elegy written in Spring," was the work of two young Scotsmen [3] who had just completed their course at the University of Edinburgh, and whose poetical works, though not voluminous, are of such excellence as have led to their authors being ranked among the British poets.

JOHN SMALL.

[1] See *Ante*, p. 465. [2] *Ibid.* p. 471.

[3] As before remarked, Bruce was only twenty-one years of age when he died in 1767; and when Logan edited his poems in 1770 he was only twenty-two, having been born in 1748.

Art. V.—*The Philistines.*

A LITTLE more than thirty years ago the learned Hitzig, who died so recently, sent from Zurich to the Leipzig press his "Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philistäer." As far as I am aware, it was the first complete work ever devoted to the history of the Philistine people. Before the time of the Zurich professor, many writers on biblical subjects had investigated the relations of the Philistines with Egypt and Colchis, Cappadocia, Cyprus, and Crete, whence they supposed them to have emigrated to Palestine. Such, leaving out the patristic commentators, were Bochart and Calmet, Swinton and Michaelis, and the authors of the "Universal History." More important and later than these, however, was Movers' famous work on the Phœnicians; and from it Hitzig gleaned much important information. Ewald also had commenced his "History of Israel," and Gesenius had published valuable treatises on Hebrew antiquities. Knobel, Stark, and others, have followed up Hitzig's researches; and the *status quæstionis* regarding the Philistines may be found well put in Ritter's "Comparative Geography of Palestine," and in the article "Philistines," in "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible." [1]

Hitzig's great discovery is thus stated by him: "Ich habe gefunden: die Philistäer sind keine Semiten, sondern Pelasgischen Stammes; und ihre Sprache war, wie deren spärliche Ueberreste, meist Eigennamen, darthun, mit dem Sanskrit und dem Griechischen verwandt." [2] Long before the publication of "Die Philistäer" the Pelasgian origin of the Philistines, or their identity with the Pelasgi of the

[1] Bochart, "Phaleg;" Calmet, "Dissertation sur l'origine et sur les divinités des Philistines," in his "Commentary on Kings;" Michaelis, "Spicilegium;" Swinton, "Inscriptiones Citicae;" "Universal History," London, 1747–65; Movers "Die Phœnizier;" Ewald, "Geschichte des Volkes Israel;" Gesenius, "Monumenta," &c.; Knobel, "Die Völkertafel der Genesis;" Stark, "Forschungen zur Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Hellenistischen Orients." Ritter's "Comparative Geography of Palestine," vol. iii. p. 259; Smith's Bible Dictionary, Philistines.

[2] Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philistaer, Vorrede." "I have made a discovery; the Philistines are no Shemites, but of a Pelasgian stock, and their language, as its few remains, mostly proper names, prove, was related to the Sanskrit and the Greek."

classical historians, had been asserted; but philology had not arrived at the scientific stage which involved the separation of the Semitic and Indo-European languages by broad lines of division. Few modern writers agree with him in making the Philistines purely Indo-European, yet there seems to be unanimity in deriving them from Crete, which was the ultimate but not the first conclusion of Calmet. Ewald and Knobel have given up the idea of a migration prior to the time of Abraham which Hitzig held, and ignore the Scripture statements regarding the Philistine kingdom of Gerar, or explain them away. On the connection of the Philistines with the Hyksos of Egypt, which is a cardinal doctrine of Movers, Hitzig does not dwell; and recent writers like Lenormant have denied it, maintaining that the Cretan emigrants did not arrive in the neighbourhood of Egypt and Palestine till long after the settlement of Israel in Canaan, when Rameses III. placed them in the land which afterwards bore their name.[1]

Before proceeding to consider Hitzig's assertion of the Pelasgian and Indo-European character of the Philistines, which, with Lenormant, I am prepared to maintain by solid arguments, I may direct attention to three errors of which recent writers on the history of this people have been guilty. These are—1. Confounding three different peoples, the Philistines, Cherethites, and Caphtorim; 2. Deriving any of these peoples from Crete or other countries in the West; 3. Placing the commencement of Philistine history in Palestine at a period later than the Exodus of Israel.

I. From the number of those who assert the identity of Philistines, Cherethites, and Caphtorim I must except Ritter, who contends indeed for the unity of the two latter, but carefully distinguishes them from the former.[2] The language of Genesis x. can only refer to the peoples that came out of Egypt, the Philistines, namely, and the Caphtorim, and not to one people under different names. It is no argument against this conclusion of Ritter's that the Philistines are said to have come from Caphtor, for it has been already stated that both Philistine and Caphtorim came from the same

[1] *Vide* note 1, p. 477, and Lenormant and Chevalier's "Manual of the Ancient History of the East," vol. i. pp. 113, 123.

[2] Comp. Geog. of Pal., vol. iii. p. 264.

region. In an article on "The Hornets of Scripture," I have claimed the Caphtorim as the Amorite rulers of Southern Palestine at the time of Israel's entry into the land of promise.[1] There is no evidence that either they or the Avim whom they expelled were a maritime people, while the language employed regarding the Cherethites in Zeph. ii. 5 is most decided on this point: "Woe unto the inhabitants of the sea-coast, the nation of the Cherethites." The western border of the Avim was Gaza, and their territory extended in the south-east to Hazereth in Arabia Petrea.[2] It was in this very region that the Amorites smote the children of Israel, when they presumptuously advanced against them in opposition to the Divine command.[3] The Cherethites must, therefore, have dwelt between the south of Philistia and Egypt. There the Egyptian monuments place the Khairetana or Shairetana, who were sometimes the allies or mercenaries of the Pharaohs of the new monarchy, and at other times their enemies, and these Mr Poole has identified with the Cherethim or Cretans.[4] I have not the least doubt that Mr Poole is right in his rendering of this name, and that the so-called Sardinians, who are made the invaders of Egypt in the reign of Menephtah in company with the Libyans, were the same people.[5] So far from being immigrants from Crete, the mythology of that island most clearly indicates that the oldest national life of the Cretans is to be found in the neighbourhood of Egypt. Minos is but a reflection of Menes, and the Cretan labyrinth a reminiscence of the Egyptian. The Memphian Dædalus fitly connects with it, and Rhadamanthus, for whom an Egypthian origin has long been claimed, is the lord of Amenti or Hades. The relation of Crete with Phœnicia in

[1] "Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review," Oct. 1875, p. 677.

[2] Deut. ii. 23. [3] Numb. xiv. 44; Deut. i. 44.

[4] "The Political Condition of Egypt before the reign of Rameses III.," by Dr August Eisenlohr; "Transactions, Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. i. p. 2; Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App. Bk. II. ch. viii.; Kenrick's "Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. ii. p. 278—New York; Poole, "Horæ Ægyptiacæ." The termination *ana* is common in Palestine as in Askelon, Ekron, and Paltite and Pelonite are convertible terms (com. 2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Chron. xi. 27). So are Zeredatha and Zarthian (comp. 2 Chron. iv. 17; 1 Kings vii. 46).

[5] "Invasion of Egypt by the Greeks in the reign of Menephtah," translated by Dr Birch, "Records of the Past," vol. iv.

Europa and Asterius are thus easily explained, and many features in the geographical nomenclature of the island, such as Lebena, Rithymna, &c., are rendered intelligible by reference to the map of Southern Palestine.[1] The Khairetana were essentially a maritime people, and figure in the only representation of naval warfare found on the Egyptian monuments.[2] The Kurds are a branch of the same family, and so were the ancient Dardanians, whose relation is indicated in the mythological statement that Dardanus was a son of Corythus. Associated with the Khairetana were the Takkaro, whom it is impossible to dissociate from the Cretan Teucri, the predecessors of the Dardanians in the Troad. Tanchira in Cyrene was one of their western colonies; and in the east they appear still as the Tochari of Asiatic Scythia. Like Kurds they lost by their eastern migration their maritime character. Were another argument wanting to prove the identity of the Khairetana and Cherethites, it would be found in the fact that both appear as mercenary soldiers, the former of the Pharaohs, the later of the kings of Israel. The Cardachi or Kurds retained the same warlike character, and it is no mere coincidence that links the Assyrian "karadi," denoting the warlike youth of a nation, with the Celtic "curaidh," a warrior.[3] The military pre-eminence of these ancient mercenaries united their name with warlike deeds at a period prior to the colonisation of Europe by the Japhetic families. There is no evidence that the Cherethites were ever merged in the Philistine nation, or that they adopted the name of Caphtorim; nor does any portion of Scripture epresent them as immigrants from Caphtor, like the Philistines and Caphtorim.

II. What I have stated under the first head is so far an argument against the Cretan origin of any of the peoples under consideration. The testimony of the Bible is, that out of Egypt, but not necessarily as members of any Mizraite family, the Philistines and Caphtorim came to Palestine. The fact that names bearing a distant resemblance to

[1] Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App. Bk. II. ch. viii.; Diod. Sic., i. 60; Plinii H. N. xxxvi. 13; Zoega, de Obeliscorum origine, p. 286; Numb. xxxiii. 18–20.

[2] Kenrick, vol. i. p. 195.

[3] The Curetes of the Greek writers were these same mercenary warriors whose Oriental origin is unquestioned.

Caphtor have been found in Cappadocia, Cyprus, Crete, and other places, is no more evidence for derivation than the existence of places in the United States called Memphis and Troy, Utica and Syracuse, would be for deriving the Egyptians and Trojans, Carthaginians and Sicilians from that American republic; or, keeping in view the fact of actual colonisation by the same race, than the presence in Canada of London and Hamilton, Cornwall and Glengarry would be for making the Canadians the ancestors of the British people. The course of empire has ever been westward, not eastward, and there is no evidence that the Japhetic tribes passed over bodily into Europe without leaving their traces in the east. Mr Ryde Clarke has rendered valuable service to ethnological research in shewing the identity of the geographical nomenclature of Palestine with that of Europe; and until we know more of the non-Canaanitic tribes of Palestine, such as the Rephaim, Zuzim, Emim, Avim, Horim, Kenites, Kenizzites, Kadmonites, Geshurites, Jerahmeelites, and others, we are far from justified in concluding that the Japhetic families overlooked that fertile and historic land.[1] Mr Poole and the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson, who took a kindly interest in my researches in this field, have settled the question regarding Caphtor. According to these eminent authorities it is Kebt-hor, the name of Coptos; and the prefixed כ of Jeremiah xlvii. 4, which does not necessarily denote an island, is the very particle out of which with Coptos the Greeks made their Aegyptus.[2] From Egypt therefore and not from Crete, or any other island or country, Philistines and Caphtorim came into Palestine. I have already stated that these tribes or nationalities are not said to be members of any Mizraite family. In Amos ix. 7, i. 5. the Philistine migration from Caphtor is placed upon the same footing as that of Israel from Egypt and of the Syrian captives from Kir. As Israel and the Syrians went or were carried to these regions from an earlier dwelling-place, so it was in the case of the Philistines. Egypt was not the native country of the Philis-

[1] The Præ-Israelite Population of Palestine, Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, April 1871. The Relations of Canaanite Exploration to Præ-historic Classic Archæology, Oct. 1871.

[2] Horæ Ægyptiacæ, Rawlinson's Herodotus, ii. 15, note 5.

tines in the same sense as that in which it may have been termed the home of Mizraim. The book of Genesis introduces us, in the days of Abraham, to what was doubtless the first beginning of Philistine monarchy.[1] Nothing but the strongest preconceptions adverse to the existence of a Philistine state at this time could have led Ewald, Lenormant, and other recent writers, to explain away the definite statements of the Bible regarding this kingdom, and to cause it to appear that the author of Genesis was guilty of historical anticipation. Three things refute such a view —the fact that the people of Gerar are called Philistines; that the region inhabited by them lay to the south of what afterwards became Philistia; that Abimelech, the name of their king, answers to that of later Philistine monarchs.[2] The Philistines were a warlike people from the beginning. Chedorlaomer appears not to have meddled with them, and in the days of Abraham, as well as in those of Isaac, we learn that the Abimelechs were ever accompanied by their Phichol, the chief captain of their host. I cannot but regard this warlike kingdom of the Philistines with its organised army, standing almost upon the Egyptian frontier, and strengthening itself by Canaanitic alliances, as the leader in the so-called shepherd invasion of the land of the Pharaohs. This is the opinion of Movers, Ritter, and many of the Egyptologists.[3] Hittites, Moabites, Ammonites, and other tribes no doubt accompanied them, but the Philistines were the soul of the confederacy. They made themselves masters of Sin, which received from their occupation the name Pelusium, a name, according to Lepsius, equivalent to Philistine town.[4] Plutarch preserved their name as Palæstinus, with whom Isis, the representative of old Egyptian monarchy, was much displeased.[5] Herodotus heard of them as Philitis, the shepherd in whose time the pyramids were supposed to have been built.[6] Diodorus Siculus, telling the story of their expulsion from Egypt, calls them Allophyli, the name by which the Philistines are

[1] Gen. xx., xxi., xxvi. [2] *Ibid.* (comp. 1 Sam. xxi. 10; Psa. xxxiv. title).

[3] Movers, "Die Phœnizier," vol. i. p. 35; Ritter, Comp. Geog., vol. iii. p. 273; Sir J. G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus; Sharpe, "History of Egypt," vol. i. p. 31; Lepsius, "Chronologie der Ægypter."

[4] "Chronologie der Ægypter," vol. i. p. 341.

[5] "De Iside et Osiride." [6] Herodot. ii. 128.

designated in the Septuagint.[1] But a better notice appears in 1 Chron. vii. 21, where we read that certain descendants of Ephraim, who himself was a native of Egypt, were slain by the men of Gath *that were born in that land*, because they came down to take away their cattle. It would have been superfluous to state that the men of Gath were born in Gath, but the contrary to mention the fact that, although of Philistine descent, Egypt was their birthplace. The Philistines then were the leaders of the Hyksos; and when the shepherd invaders were expelled from Egypt, they of course returned to their Canaanitic home. All authorities are agreed in placing Joseph under the shepherd king Apophis, whose character at once recalls the enlightened disposition of the Abimelechs with whom Abraham and Isaac had dealings.[2] To the old alliances of these patriarchs with the Philistine kings was added the friendship of more than a hundred years in Egypt that subsisted between their descendants; and we do not wonder that, when Israel victoriously entered the land of promise, and put Amorites and Canaanitic tribes to the sword, they respected the memory of past treaties made and favours received, and left their Philistine friends in peaceful possession of their recently-acquired territory. Not until the Philistines themselves, forgetful of the past, acted the part of oppressors did Israel regard them with feelings of enmity. David's alliance with Achish of Gath, and that of Ekron with Hezekiah, mentioned in an inscription of Sennacherib, doubtless represent later phases of the same original amity.[3]

III. We are told that in the reign of Rameses III., about 1300 B.C., the Philistines leaving Crete invaded Egypt, together with the Takkaro, Sardinians (Khairetana), Sicilians, and other peoples of Europe, and that, being defeated before Rameses encountered their confederates, they surrendered, and were by that monarch settled as Egyptian colonists in Philistia.[4] That Rameses fought

[1] Diod. Sic., xl.

[2] Lepsius, "Letters from Egypt," p. 480; (Osburn's) "Monumental History of Egypt," vol. ii. p. 48.

[3] 1 Sam. xxi. 10, xxvii.; "Records of the Past," vol. i. p. 36.

[4] Lenormant and Chevalier, vol. i. pp. 266, 267.

with the Philistines I cannot doubt, but that they came from Crete, "accompanied by their wives and children, riding in rough cars drawn by oxen," would require a more lively imagination to believe than even a disciple of Manetho should expect.[1] As for Rameses III. making campaigns in Palestine during any part of the fourteenth century, it is simply inconceivable, if the Bible record be true; and I unhesitatingly reject the system of chronology which places his invasion any later than the first half of the fifteenth century.[2] Then he may have foiled the Philistines, not yet thoroughly settled in their new home, in an attempt to regain the fertile Nile valley from which they had been driven. But the Philistines were in occupation of at least a part of what afterwards became their domain at the time of the Exodus; for, looking forward to the invasion of Canaan, Moses and the children of Israel sang by the waters of the Red Sea: "The people shall hear and be afraid: sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Philistia (Palestina). Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed; the mighty men of Moab, trembling shall take hold upon them; all the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away."[3] A still more significant statement is made in an earlier passage of the book of Exodus: "And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, *although that was near;* for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt."[4] Also, when Israel took possession of Canaan, we learn that God left the five lords of the Philistines to try the people.[5] It is true that Judah took for a time Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron; but neither Gath nor Ashdod, which I believe represented the Philistine nation proper, fell before the arms of Israel. It is evident, however, that the Philistines were then in the land.

The numerous Greek traditions referring to Egypt as the source of Hellenic culture and the birth-place of many

[1] Lenormant and Chevalier, vol. i. p. 266.

[2] The whole scheme of Egyptian chronology depends upon the accurate reckoning of the Sothic cycle, which Censorinus says expired 139 A.D. "De Die Natali," xxi. It is, to say the least, unwise to set aside the trustworthy chronology of the Scriptures for such an uncertain guide.

[3] Exod. xv. 14, 15. [4] Exod. xiii. 17. [5] Judg. iii. 3.

heroic ancestors, together with other manifest evidences of an original connection of the Egyptian and Greek peoples, have led various writers to the belief that the expulsion of the Hyksos and their subsequent dispersion were the means of introducing the civilisation of the Nile valley into Europe.[1] According to Movers the same people rendered a similar service along the northern coast of Africa, from Libya to Mauretania.[2] I am disposed, not as a matter of theory, but from inductive reasoning upon a large collection of facts, to go further; and to find among the Hyksos, not only a few isolated leaders such as Cecrops, Danaus, &c., who as strangers imposed Egyptian culture upon indigenous Pelasgic or Hellenic tribes, but the germs of the actual Greek tribes and nationalities that afterwards flourished in Hellas. We have no remains of Greek art that we can positively assign to an earlier date than the ninth century B.C.;[3] yet Greek culture existed long before that date. The Greek states were then found in Asia Minor, or farther back in Syria and Palestine, or, at the remotest period, in Egypt and perhaps in Babylonia and the neighbouring countries of the East. Already Cretans, or so-called Sardinians, have been before us, who never saw Crete or Sardinia. So the Persian and Indian traditions tell us of Ionians, when Ionia was in the distant East.[4] Carrying their ancient historic traditions with them, it is natural that, when they arrived at their final settlement, these tribes or nations should connect such traditions with the localities that bore the same names as those, although far distant, in which the persons lived or the facts occurred which they commemorate. In regard to the Philistines, I hold with Hitzig and other writers that they were largely, if not altogether Pelasgian; and further that, as Pelasgian, they were to a great extent Ionian; and further that, as Ionian, they intimately connect with the Athenians.

[1] Fréret, "Recueil de l'Académie des Inscriptions," vol. xlvii.; Raoul Rochette, "Histoire de l'Etablissement des Colonies Grecques," vol. i. ch. iv. p. 60.

[2] Die Phönizier, vol. i. p. 28, seq.

[3] The Reviewer of Dr Schliemann's "Trojan Antiquities," "Edinburgh Review," No. cclxxxiv., makes B.C. 700 the earliest date.

[4] They appear in the "Institutes of Manu," the "Ramayana," and other Oriental Scriptures.

The Indo-European character of the Philistine language, which Hitzig asserted, has been called in question, and it has been regarded as a Semitic tongue allied to the Hebrew and Phœnician.[1] Such names as Abimelech, Beth-Dagon, and even Ashdod, are cited as thoroughly Semitic. This may be granted; but the same cannot be said of the names Phichol, Achish, Maoch, Goliath; of the Sarnim or lords of the Philistines, of the word Philistine itself, of Ziklag, and many other names of places. Yet, even supposing that all Philistine terms were capable of translation by the Hebrew or other Semitic languages, the result would not be fatal to Hitzig's theory. There was a time when the division between Semitic and Indo-European tongues did not exist; and many roots may still be found common to both families of language. Take, for instance, the name of the friend of Abimelech. It is Achuzzath, and is almost identical in form with Achuzam, another Bible name. The root of these words is the Hebrew אָחַז, the Chaldee אֲחַז, to possess. It is impossible not to recognise the Ionic κτέο μαι, ἴκτη-μαι, bearing the same signification. The name Achuzam, which denotes possession, is the Greek κτῆμα; and Achuzzath, the friend of Abimelech, has a name purely Greek, being of the same character as that of the Homeric Ctesius, or of the historian, Ctesias. Shadad, the root of Ashdod, means "to be strong," and is the same word as the Celtic Seadh, "strong." Ziklag is a word which has no Semitic affinities, but which is at once recognisable in the Italian Scyllacium. In the sequel, however, I will set forth more fully the European connections of Philistine names. Some of them are as void of meaning in Greek and Latin as in Hebrew, and may therefore, if the Pelasgian hypothesis be the true one, help to furnish us with an ancient Pelasgian vocabulary, which would be of incalculable benefit to the science of comparative philology.

The relations of Greece, or rather of the Greek people, with Egypt and Palestine form an extensive subject, and I can but mention a few of them by way of introduction to the missing link which Hitzig found in the Philistines. Herodotus informs us that almost all the names of the gods came into Greece from Egypt, whence Diodorus Siculus

[1] Movers, Ritter, and other authorities quoted in note 1 on p. 477.

derives the early Greek mysteries; and many ancient writers have placed on record the debt which Hellas owed to the land of the Pharaohs.[1] Egypt's oldest name, we are told, was Ogygia, the same as that of Bœotia, whose Thebes challenges comparison with the hundred-gated city from which Cadmus went to Phœnicia and thence to Greece.[2] Peloponnesus was the Apian land, and, according to Varro and Augustine, was colonised by the Egyptian Apis, whom Herodotus identifies with the Argive Epaphus, no other than Apophis, the shepherd king.[3] Pausanias remarks that Orus, the name of the first king of Troezen, is Egyptian.[4] In the Argive line, in which Epaphus appears, we meet with Io and Libya, together with Aegyptus and Danaus, Lynceus, and Perseus, all natives of Chemmis.[5] Laconia and Megaris were colonised by the Egyptian Lelex.[6] On or Heliopolis was founded by the Rhodian Heliad Actis.[7] Egyptian priestesses established the oracle of Dodona.[8] As for Attica, not only do many writers concur in bringing Cecrops from Sais to supersede the Ogygian dynasty, but Erechtheus, Petes, and even Menestheus, who led the Athenians in the Trojan war, are called Egyptians; while Sais, with its tutelary divinity Neith, is made the abode of the original Athene, whose worship is associated also with the Tritonian region of Libya.[9] Several of the exploits of Hercules are placed in the land which numbered Archles

[1] Herodot., ii. 50; Diod. Sic., i. 60; Rawlinson's Herodotus, ii. 50, note.

[2] The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 580) also mentions Aeria as an ancient designation common to Egypt and Thessaly, Guigniant, "Religions de l'Antiquité," iii. 88; Conon ap. Photium, 37; Banier, "Mythology and Fables of the Ancients explained from History," iii. 404.

[3] Pausanias, ii. 5; Varro, Antiquitatum Rerum Divinarum, lib. incert. frag.; August. Civ. Dei., xviii. 5; Herodot., ii. 153, iii. 27; Rawlinson's Herodotus; Sir J. G. Wilkinson's Notes *in loc.*

[4] Pausanias, ii. 30.

[5] Apollodorus, ii.; Herodot., ii. 91, vi. 53; Diod. Sic., i. 16.

[6] Pausanias, i. 39, iii. 1.

[7] Diod. Sic., v. 35.

[8] Herodot., ii. 54, seq.

[9] Theopompus, ap. Euseb. Præp. Evan., x. 10; Proclus in Tim. Plat. Com.; Diod. Sic., i. 16. For other authorities *vide* Guigniant, ii. 719, seq., and Russell's "Connection of Sacred and Profane History," ii. 109, where Cedrenus, the Scholiast in Aristophanes' Plutus, J. Tzetzes; Suidas, the Scholiast in Lycophron, and others, are cited to the same effect.

among its shepherd rulers.[1] Diodorus finds the myth of Prometheus in relation to the Egyptian Pharmuthi.[2] No better connection for the Tyndaridæ can be found than Tentyra; and Abydos is Egyptian as well as Greek. The sphinx of Œdipus cannot be altogether dissociated from that of Schafra. While Il or Ra, Neith, Thmei, Anouke, Hacte, are identical with Helius, Athene, Themis, Onka, Hecate; other Egyptian gods appear as eponyms, Ammon and Phthius (Phtah) in the Thessalian line, Athamus (Atmos) in the Bœotian, and so forth.

Nor is Palestine omitted in the Greek mythological stories. I do not dwell upon the similarity of Agag and Ogyges, which have long been associated by students of mythology.[3] Gaza and Antioch, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, were both named Ione, and were Argive colonies.[4] Ascalon owes its name to Ascalus, the brother of Tantalus, and, as we shall see, has important Lydian connections.[5] Joppa, by almost unanimous testimony, was the scene of the conflict between Perseus and the Ceto, when he went to rescue Andromeda.[6] Ovid's story of Philemon and Baucis, which probably came from Greek sources, is that of Lot's flight from Sodom.[7] Pausanias informs us that the tomb of Silenus was among the Hebrews.[8] Bacchus, who was born at Nyssa, between Palestine and Egypt (Jenysus), buried his nurse at Beth-shan.[9] At Accho, Hercules was bitten by a serpent.[10] From Dora or Dor, Mazocchi brings the Dorian line, as Latham derives his Danai from the tribe of Dan.[11] Ritter does not doubt that Tabor is the original of the Rhodian Atabyris, the Greek form of the Palestinian mountain being Atabyrion.[12] This

[1] Apollodorus, Diod. Sic., Manetho, &c.

[2] Diod. Sic., i. 9. [3] Banier, iii. 369.

[4] Steph. Byzant, Gaza, Ione Minoa; Dion. Perieg., i. 92; Stephanus attributes the foundation of Gaza to the Greek Ion.

[5] Steph. Byzant, Ascalon.

[6] Strab., i. 2, 36; Pomp. Mela, i. 11; Pliny, ix. 5; Solinus, vol. xxxiv. p. 1.

[7] Ovid, Metam., viii. 620. [8] Pausanias, vi. 24, 6.

[9] Diod. Sic., iv. 2; Pliny, v. 16; Guigniant, iii. 917.

[10] Steph. Byzant, Ptolemais.

[11] Ap. Anthon, Classical Dictionary, Pæstum; Latham's Ethnology of Europe, p. 137; Hitzig, p. 135.

[12] "Die Vorhalle Europäischer Völkergeschichten," p. 339, seq.

is confirmed by what Diodorus tells us of Rhodian migration. Leaving out of sight the foundation of Heliopolis, which I have already mentioned, we find Cydippe or Cyrbie in the region of Atabyris as the mother of Lindus, Jalyssus and Camirus. Camirus gave his name to a port, which was undoubtedly Carmel, for above it lies Achzib the Greek Ecdippa, the only word which can connect with the rare name Cydippe, and not far off the surviving form Ghierbee. The change of Carmel to Camirus is illustrated by the geography of Lycia, where Carmylenus is a Chimæran region, but still better in that of Picenum in Italy. There we not only discover an Asculum, which seems to have escaped the notice of Hitzig, and which is undoubtedly a reminiscence of Askelon, but, much further to the north, an Ancona, which he does not scruple to associate with Accho to the north of Carmel and south of Achzib, inasmuch as the Cumerian promontory above it is to him a reproduction of Carmel.[2] A promontory named Chimerium also appears in Epirus in the vicinity of many Palestinian names. The god Carmelus, mentioned by Tacitus and Suetonius, and who must be the same as the Cataonian Apollo worshipped at the river Carmalas in Cappadocia, Hitzig identifies, through the form Cumerium, with the Indian war-god Cumara, whose name survives in the Comaria promontory (Comorin) and probably in Coromandel.[3] The Lycian Solymi have been associated from time immemorial with Salem, and it is natural, therefore, to connect the Chimæra of Carmylessus in their country with the Palestinian mountain.[4] It is also to be remembered that the whole of the coast on which Carmel lies was left to the possession of its inhabitants by Israel, for Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, nor Asher, those Accho, Achzib, &c.[5] According to Pliny, Ancona in Picenum was founded by the Siculi, and, according to Strabo, by Syracusans of Sicily.[6] As the Siculi also left in Picenum the town of Asculum, I have no hesitation in seeking the original

[1] Diod. Sic., v. 55.

[2] "Die Philistäer," p. 141.

[3] Tacitus, Hist., ii. 78; Suetonius, Vespasian, 5; Hitzig, 257.

[4] Josephus, Cont. Apion, i. 22; Rawlinson's Herodotus, App. bk. i., Essay xi.

[5] Judges i. 27, 31.

[6] Pliny, H. N. iii. 18; Strab., v. 4, 2.

Sicilians and Syracusans in Askelon and the neighbouring Sorek.

The Egyptian monuments inform us that there were Greeks in Palestine who fought with the Pharaohs on the very borders of Egypt.[1] I unhesitatingly accept the statements of these inscriptions, and believe that Pelasgians, Ionians, Cretans, Achæans, Dorians, as well as Sicilians, invaded the Delta. But they did not come from Greece. The Pelasgians were Philistines; the Ionians came from Gaza, Ono, and many places that are still called Khan Ionnes, and which have improperly been regarded as connected with the prophet Jonah; the Cretans, also called Sardinians and Dardanians, were the Cherethites; the Achæans were the people of Accho, Achzib, Achshaph, and similarly named places; the Dorians, as Mazocchi rightly conjectured, the inhabitants of Dor and her towns. The Sicilians also were Askelonites; the Lycians came from Lachish; and the Lydians from Lod or Lydda. The whole of the sea coast of Palestine was Japhetic or Aryan, and, as we shall see in part, received its population, not from any of the historic Western countries, but in a natural way from the East. This runs counter to most received ideas of the population of Palestine; but received ideas are continually being shocked and afterwards modified by the discovery of the truth. Such a change the Egyptian inscriptions themselves caused, and such also the result of Hitzig's researches. We shall read the history of Israel with a more sympathetic spirit when we find their supposed Canaanite neighbours replaced by the great peoples of antiquity, and from the clear record of the Hebrews much light may be thrown on early chronology, philology, and ethnology.

The gods of the Philistines in connection with the names of the Philistine cities will be found useful in tracing the ancestry and the posterity of this people. Marnas of Gaza I only notice in passing as establishing a link between Crete and Palestine. Minois also was situated near this Philistine city, although Ione was its own name.[2] The

[1] Tablet of Ththmes III.; Third Sallier Papyrus (Rameses II.); Invasion of Egypt by the Greeks in the reign of Menephtah; Bas-reliefs and Inscriptions of Rameses III., at Medinet Abu, and of Seti at Karnak.

[2] Steph. Byzant., Ione, Minoa.

great god of the Philistines, and in particular of Gaza and Ashdod, was Dagon. There were also two places, one in Philistia and the other in the region of Carmel, named Beth-Dagon.[1] This Philistine god, who is mentioned in the Phœnician history of Sanchoniatho, and who is there also called Sitou, is supposed to have borne in part the figure of a fish, and is related to Derceto or Atargatis, the fish-goddess of Askelon.[2] The fish-god first appears in Babylonia, the Oannes and Odacon of Berosus, the Dagon of the inscriptions, who is always united with Anu, and whose name forms part of that of a Babylonian monarch, Ismi-Dagon, who, according to the late Mr George Smith, flourished about 1850 B.C.[3] With Oannes or Anu, the Ione of Gaza and Ono of Northern Philistia, not far from Beth-Dagon, have intimate connections. A learned lady writer has identified the Chaldean Oannes, the Philistine Dagon, and the Egyptian On.[4] The Palestinian town Ono has the same form as On in Egypt, אן, אונו, and both answer admirably to Oannes. Methodius mentions an Ionichus, whom he calls a son of Noah; and the industrious Bryant has collated passages from ancient writers, preserved in the "Fasciculus Temporum" and the "Nuremberg Chronicle," relating to him. These agree in stating that Ionichus, leaving the East, went into the land of Etham and founded a kingdom, the chief city of which was Heliopolis or On.[5] Atmos or Athom, the eponymous god of Etham, was also the chief deity in Heliopolis.[6] But Etham, with the prefix of the Coptic article, became Pithom and the Greek Patumos; and, strange to say, the Athenian Ion is reported to have been buried in Potamus of Attica, Potamus itself deriving its name from Potamon, the son of Ægyptus.[7] It would be hard to find in such an undesigned coincidence any trace of the forgery of

[1] Josh. xv. 41, xix. 27.

[2] Sanchoniatho's "Phœnician History," by Cumberland. The author of this book connects Dagon with the Egyptian Arveris.

[3] "The Chaldean Account of Genesis."

[4] Miss Fanny Corbeaux, ap. Bonomi's "Nineveh and its Palaces," p. 330.

[5] "Analysis of Ancient Mythology," vol. v. p. 10. The modern Arabs refer the Pyramids to Ian ebn Ian or Ionians, vol. iv. p. 311.

[6] Sharpe's "History of Egypt," vol. i. p. 113; Inscriptions—An, the city of Tum.

[7] Pausanias, i. 31; Apollodorus, ii. 1-5.

Egyptian relationships with which the Greeks have been charged. The Babylonian Anu or Oannes; the Egyptian god An, the namer of On; the person after whom Gaza received the name Ione and Ono was called; and the Athenian Ion; are therefore the same person. This is rendered certain by the fact that An or On is represented by the hieroglyphic symbol of a fish.[1] No such pisciform deity appears in the Greek mythology, but Tychon, the Athenian god of fortune, a kind of Grecian Baal-god, and who, according to Strabo, resembled Priapus, may preserve his name.[2] The Egyptian On was a famous city in the time of the Hyksos, as the story of Joseph indicates.[3] The only other Philistine names that the geographical nomenclature of ancient Egypt furnishes are—a certain Asty, mentioned by Diodorus as the original of the old name of Athens, and which I believe must be the same as the modern Fostat, not far from the ruins of Heliopolis, in which we find Ashdod with the prefix of the Coptic article; and the Acherusian region, that the same writer places near Memphis, which is the Acheron of the Sibyl in Clement of Alexandria, and the Acoris of Sozomen.[4] The latter is in all probability the original of Ekron. The modern names Gizeh and Ataka in the same latitude may possibly be reproductions of an ancient Gaza and Attica. Nor should it be forgotten that an Etam was situated on the southern borders of Philistia and Simeon, which may bear some relation to the Etham of Egypt.[5] To return, however, to Asty. As An of Egypt, Dagon of Ashdod, and Ion of Athens have been associated or identified, so the Egyptian Asty (Fostat), the Philistine Ashdod, and the Athenian Asty should represent similar steps in the northward progress of a tribe to those which are marked by the Thebes of Egypt, Palestine, Mysia, and Bœotia.[6] Shadad, the root

[1] In the name of the king called Onos, Osburn, vol. i. p. 311.

[2] Strab., xiii. 1–12. [3] Gen. xli. 45.

[4] Diod. Sic., i. 16, 60; Clem. Alex., Cohort. iv.; Sozomen, Hist. Ec., vi. 28.

[5] Judges xv. 11.

[6] These undoubtedly denote something more than an accidental coincidence in name. Similar instances are Pilku in Egypt, Belka in Moab, Placia in Asia Minor, and Phylace in Greece; Tentyra in Egypt, Tantura in Palestine, and Tyndaris in Sicily and Marmonica, with the Greek Tyndaridæ; Abydos in Egypt and Asia Minor; Byblus in Egypt and Phœnicia, &c.

of Ashdod, I believe to be a root common to a large number of languages. Denoting strength, it came to signify a fortified place or city. The reduplicate *d* was lost in the form Asty, which is the Homeric Fasty, the Indian Vastu and Basti, and a word, the full power of which appears in the Egyptian Fostat, whose relations account for the prefix *f*. I cannot say with certainty whether Tel Basta, the ancient Bubastis, is to be found here. But the German preserves the double form of the word in *Feste*, our English *fastness*, a stronghold, and in *Stadt*, a city. The old Homeric names may be more easily explained by taking *asty* back to its ancient meaning of strong than by rendering it as "the city." Thus Astyanax is "the strong lord," Astybootes "the strong crier," Astyncus "the strong-minded," &c. I return to the statement of Diodorus: "They maintain that the Athenians are a colony of Egyptian Saites, and the Egyptians prove this origin by remarking that, of all the Greek cities Athens is the only one which bears the name of Asty, which is derived from the town of Asty in Egypt;" after which he proceeds to give other proofs how the people of Ashdod, as part of the Philistine invaders of Egypt under Saites, may lay reasonable claim to be considered the original inhabitants of the Egyptian Asty, and the ancestors of the Athenians. This is favoured by their Dagonian or Ionian relations which we have already considered. Three similar stories, the scene of two of which is laid in Philistia, and of one in Attica, serve to confirm it. Every one is familiar with the narrative of 1 Samuel, v. vi., recording the smiting of the Ashdothites with the plague of the emerods on account of the ark of God, which they had placed in the temple of Dagon, and the subsequent sending of the ark to Ekron. Bochart was so struck with the similarity of this narrative to that related by the scholiast on the Acharnians of Aristophanes, that he maintained the latter to be a direct forgery from it.[1] The statue of Dionysus, introduced to Athens from Bœotia, treated with contempt, and avenging itself by afflicting the Athenians with a secret disease, from which they were only delivered by offering to the god of images of the same, tallies in every feature with the story of Samuel. When to this we add the connection of Asty with

[1] Scholiast in Aristoph. Acharn. 247; Bochart, "Canaan," vol. i. p. 18.

Ashdod, and of Acharnæ with Ekron, the resemblance becomes identity. A story resembling in part those already mentioned was told of the people of Lampsacus in Mysia, who banished Priapus, but were forced to recall him by the infliction of a similar plague. At Lampsacus he was honoured as Dionysus, and the phallic worship rendered to him was identical with that of which the scholiast on the Acharnians speaks. In such a connection it is interesting to find that Strabo, treating of the Priapus of Lampsacus, compares him with the Athenian Tychon.[1] Once more, the story appears in a somewhat disguised form in Herodotus; but this time the scene is laid in Philistia, not in Ashdod, the town of Dagon, but in Askelon, where his supposed consort Derceto or Atargatis was worshipped. The Scythians who plundered her temple are said to have fallen victims to a disease not unlike in character to that which appears in the other traditions.[2] It is perhaps not going too far to compare this consort of the Ashdothite Dagon with Hestia or Vesta, whose name doubtless connects with Asty and Vastu, and to find in the sacredness of the threshold, and especially of the threshold of temples, to her, as Calmet has supposed, a continuance of the custom which the book of Samuel indicates to have had its origin in the downfall of Dagon before the ark of God: "Therefore, neither the priests of Dagon, nor any that came into Dagon's house, tread on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod unto this day."[3] As I have mentioned Askelon in this connection, it may be remarked that decided Oriental or Assyrian relationships have been established for this city, and others that bind it with the Ionian or Dagonian line. The children of the Assyrian and Babylonian Anu count among them Eshgala and Sargana, the eponyms propbably of Askelon and Sorek.[4] Anu also is by Sargon united with Astarte, as Athor of Egypt ever bears a still closer relation to An.[5] In Athens there was a temple to this same Venus Urania, of whom Pausanius says: "She was first worshipped by the Assyrians,

[1] Bainer, vol. ii. p. 584; Athenæus, i. 54; Strab., xiii. 1-12.

[2] Herodot. i. 105.

[3] Juvenal and Tibullus, ap. Calmet, Comment., in 1 Sam. v. 5.

[4] Rawlinson's Herodotus, App. Bk. i., Essay x.

[5] *Ibid.*, and App. Bk. iii. Essay i.; "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch." vol. iii. pt. i. p. 116.

and after them by the Paphians at Cyprus, and the Phœnicians who dwelt in the Palestinian city Ascalon."[1] A Babylonian king, Ascalius, appears in the list of Syncellus; and Semiramis is reputed to have been the daughter of Derceto of Askelon and Caystrus.[2] The emblem of Semiramis was the dove, *Ionah*, and so also was that of Astarte and Athor.[3] In this Anu and *Ionah* connection we cannot fail to find what has been already established, the fact of an Ionian stock, starting from Babylonia, dwelling for a time in Egypt, coming into Philistia, and thence making its way through Syria, where Athara or Atargatis was also worshipped, and Antioch marked the site of an ancient Ione, into Ionia of Asia Minor, and so on to Attica.[4] Antioch was an Ionian name long before the time of the Macedonian kings of Syria, for before the days of Plato, Antiochis designated an Attic tribe. Beth-Dagon was a city of Zedek, king of Ascalon, in the time of Sennacherib; and the king of Paphos in Cyprus, where Pausanias places a temple of Atargatis, is, in an inscription of Esarhaddon, appropriately named Itho-dagon.[5] Thus we are carried into the region of the recently-deciphered Cypriote inscriptions, which present an Archaic Greek dialect that may give us the old Ionic or Pelasgian language of the Philistines.[6] Paphos was founded, according to tradition, by a son of Cinyras bearing that name, whose ancestress Herse was the daughter of the Athenian Cecrops. Sandochus, the father of Cinyras, whose name, like that of the Askelonite king in the days of Sennacherib, is supposed to have been Zedek, is by Guigniant connected with Askelon.[7] That the Askelonites extended their sway to Phœnicia, from

[1] Pausanias, i. 14.

[2] Diod. Sic., ii. 4; Lucian, "De Dea Syr.," 14; Bryant, Guigniant, Sir J. Wilkinson.

[3] Sir J. G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App. Bk. iii. Essay i.

[4] *Ibid.*; Pausan., Ione.

[5] "Records of the Past," vol. i. p. 36, vol. iii. p. 108.

[6] "Cypriote Inscriptions," by Dr Birch, "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," vol. i. pt. ii. Professor Curtius remarks the resemblance of the Cypriote to the old Arcadian which was among the most decidedly Pelasgic dialects of Greece, and arguing for the non-European origin of the Ionians of Asia Minor, rejoices in finding in Cyprus confirmation of the existence of Greek stems, even on the borders of Syria.—"The Early History of the Ionian name," "International Review," July-August, 1876.

[7] Guigniant, vol. ii. p. 1024.

which Cyprus is known to have been peopled, we learn from Justin, who informs us that, many years after the foundation of Sidon, its inhabitants were defeated and driven out by the king of Askelon.[1] I allow that these are all mere traditions, and in themselves individually of little historic value, but their remarkable consensus I hold to be a test of truth. Before leaving the fish god and goddess, about whom a volume might easily be written, I may mention two regions in Greece to which the worship of the one and the other penetrated. In Elis, we learn from Athenæus, that Apollo was worshipped as the "Fish-eater," a corruption doubtless of some name of Dagon.[2] In the same state appears the promontory Ichthys, the only place of the name in the whole scheme of ancient geography; and appropriately the author of the "Deipnosophists" tells us that Atargatis and her son Ichthys were drowned in a lake near Askelon by Mopsus the Lydian.[3] Elis will yet appear in closer relation to Philistine divinity. Sir Gardner Wilkinson was of opinion that the doves of Dodona, mentioned by Herodotus and Strabo, were connected with the widely-spreading worship of Atargatis.[4] Herodotus derives the oracle from Egypt through the Phœnicians, and regards it as Pelasgic. Its modern name Ioannina, the neighbourhood of the river Ion, and above all the presence in its vicinity of the Aethices, descendants of Janus and Camasena, the fish-goddess of Italy, serve to associate this famous oracle with the Ionian and Dagonian family of Philistia.[5]

The other god who claims our attention is Baal-Zebub, the fly-god of Ekron.[6] It would be idle to argue as to the nature of this god of medicine, whether, as Josephus tells us, a fly was the god of Ekron, or, as others assert, he was the driver away of flies.[7] In one of the Izdubar legends it is said that "the gods of Uruk Suburi turned to flies (zumbie)," and in other places they are spoken of as hovering like flies above the sacrifice.[8] These passages probably have no direct

[1] "Historiæ Philippicæ," xviii. 3–5.
[2] Athenæus, viii. 36.
[3] *Ibid.*, viii. 37.
[4] Rawlinson's Herodotus, App. Bk. iii. Essay i.
[5] Athenæus, xv. 46, viii. 10; Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 7; Strab., vii. 7–9.
[6] 2 Kings i. 2.
[7] Josephus, Antiq., ix. 2.
[8] "Transactions Socy. Bib. Arch.," vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 268, pt. i. p. 60.

reference to Baal-Zebub. But it is different with the fly-god of Cyrene in Libya, of whom Pliny thus speaks: "The Cyrenians invoke their god Achor when great swarms of flies bring the plague among them, and the flies die so soon as sacrifice has been offered to the god."[1] Bryant, who is far oftener wrong than right in his mythological interpretations, could not fail in this case to come to a safe decision in identifying Achor of Cyrene with the fly-god of Ekron.[2] Another fly-god meets us in connection with Apollo of Actium in Acarnania. There, according to Ælian and Heraclides, the sacrifice of an ox was made to the flies.[3] Acarnania exhibits the same geographical nomenclature as Cyrene and Ekron. In Elis also there was a fly-god mentioned by Ælian and Clement of Alexandria, whom Pliny calls Myiodes, and Pausanias, Zeus Apomuias. The latter writer informs us that the wood used in sacrifices to this god was the white poplar from the Acheron. There is an Acheron accordingly in Elis, but the Acheron of Epirus after which it was named is the river from which the wood was originally brought.[4] Once more, therefore, Ekron lives again in connection with the god of flies. Another god of the same character is Myiagrus of Aliphera in Arcadia, associated with the Tritonian Minerva, whose name recalls the Cyrenian goddess.[5] Here Ekron fails us, but if Bryant is right in his opinion that Hercules Myiagrus of Rome was originally a Campanian deity, Acerræ and the Acherusian region of that country, restore its connection with Baal-Zebub.[6] Acharnæ and Cranæ, an ancient name of Athens, as well as the Egyptian Acheron may be added to these reminiscenses of the Philistine city. Certain commentators, ancient and modern, question the fly nature or associations of the Ekronite god, and incline to the belief of Procopius, that Zebub denoted, like Atargatis, a woman, who had been

[1] Pliny, x. 40. Many writers complain of the corruption of this passage by a conjectural emendation in later editions. There is no doubt whatever that the original reading is Achor of Cyrene.

[2] "Analysis," vol. i. p. 101.

[3] Ælian, "De Animal," xi. 8; Heraclides, ap Clem. Alex. Cohort. ii.

[4] Ælian, "De Animal," v. 17; Clem. Alex. Cohort, ii.; Pliny, "H. N.," xxix. 34; "Pausanias," v. 14.

[5] Pausanias, viii. 26.

[6] Clem. Alex. Cohort, ii.; Solinus, i. 2; Bryant, i. 103.

canonised or elevated to divinity.[1] It is certainly remarkable that the name Zobebah in 1 Chron. iv. 8. should be rendered Sabatha by the LXX., and that the three following pairs of names should appear in constant relation—Acheron and Sybota of Epirus, Acheron and Sabatus of Bruttium, and Acerræ and Sebethis of Campania. Virgil tells us of a Campanian nymph Sebethis, the wife of Telon of Capreæ, that ruled over the Teleboans who came from the coast of Acarnania.[2] With Sebethis it is allowable to associate Sebethe or Sambethe the Sibyl, doubtless the same as that of Cumæ in Campania, an Ionian settlement; and Sabbe, another Sibyl, who, according to Pausanias, was so ranked by the Hebrews beyond Palestine.[3] The Philistine town Kubeibeh may give us back an ancient Zobebah, yet it is difficult to understand how the god of flies and this goddess are connected.[4] An explanation may perhaps be found in the myth of Cybele (Cybebe) and Sabazius. I may here notice, although without explanation, another name that is found in company with the forms of Ekron. This is Pandosia, a city on the Acheron of Epirus, a city of Bruttium, also on the Acheron, and a city of Lucania on the Acoris. These Pandosias serve not only to shew the oneness of the Acherons they accompany, but to indicate their connection with Athens in the Pandions who belong to her early history.

A remarkable circumstance in Bible history, although not connected with Philistine divinities, like the plague of Ashdod, and the consultation of Baal-Zebub by Ahaziah, is deserving of notice. This is the slaying of a thousand Philistines by Samson with the jaw-bone of an ass at a place called Lechi, or the Jaw-bone.[5] In Laconia, Strabo and Pausanias place the promontory Onugnathos, or, "The

[1] Patrick's Commentary in 2 Kings i. 2. [2] Æneid., vii. 734.

[3] Hyde, "Religio Veterum Persarum," p. 392–8; Bainer, vol. i. p. 360, seq.; Pausanias, vol. x. p. 12. I cannot but connect the word Sibyl with the Shephelah by which part of the plain of Philistia is designated in Josh. xi. 16; Jer. xxxii. 44, xxxiii. 13; the Sephela of 1 Macc., xii. 5–8; and the Siphla of Arabian geographers and historians. The Lydian associations of Philistia are exceedingly marked, and Sipylus corresponds with the Palestinian name. It is also worthy of note that Sipylus unites with Mopsus in drowning Atargatis of Askelon.

[4] Ritter, vol. iii. p. 248; Finn, "Byeways in Palestine," p. 183.

[5] Judges xv. 15, seq.

jaw-bone of an ass."[1] This might be a mere coincidence, were it not for the surroundings of this promontory. To the south of it lies the island Cythera, where the celestial Venus, the same we have found worshipped in Askelon, Cyprus, and Athens, had a temple. The island itself is named after the goddess in the form by which she was designated in Cyprus, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson supposed that Cythera and Athara are the same word.[2] The geography of Benjamin in the neighbourhood of Philistia, and especially of Ono, explains the connection. There, as well as in other parts of Palestine, and notably in Gad with Ashdoth Pisgah (a form of Ashdod), Ataroth appears.[3] The name is feminine, for in 1 Chron. ii. 26 we meet with Atarah, the mother of Onam. The initial letter of the word is the Hebrew *ayin*, which, in transliteration into Greek, assumes the power of gamma. In Atarah, therefore, we discover Athor, Athara, Cythera, and Atargatis; and the Dagonian associations of the goddess are explained by the Onite relations of the Bible name. That Cythera was a colony from Cyprus is probable, as Cyparissia appears not far off on the mainland. Above Cyparissia, Leucæ seems to preserve the old Philistine Lechi; while Gythium and Cranæ, on the other side of the Laconic gulf, confirm the connection of names by the addition of Gath and Ekron. Gythium is one of the few traces of Gittite settlements. Another appears in Arcadia as Gatheæ, from which flows the river Gatheatas. Into this river runs the Carnion, and in the same corner of Arcadia, more to the north-west, where Aliphera has already contributed a fly-god, the Diagon, a tributary of the Alphæus, like the Gatheatas, serves with the rest to point out Philistine traces. The only other memorial of Gath of which I am aware is that furnished by the Gitanæi of Epirus, whose vicinity to Acheron, Pandoria, Sybota, and Chimerium sufficiently shews their Philistine origin.

Hitzig found in the Philistines a branch of the Pelasgian family of Crete, and, as I have already indicated, many

[1] Strab., viii. 5, 1; Pausanias, iii. 22, 10, xxiii. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*; Rawlinson's Herodotus, App. Bk. iii., Essay i.
[3] Numb. xxxii. 25; Josh. xvi. 2, 5.

writers before his time identified them in a vague way with the Pelasgic stock.[1] In following their example, I can come to no other conclusion than that the Philistines were the Pelasgi, and the earliest civilized inhabitants of Greece and Italy. It is not improbable that some of their colonies passed into Europe over the Mediterranean, but the chief stream of migration would seem to have been overland, since geographical traces of their presence are found in Syria and in parts of Asia Minor. Some also, in what manner I cannot tell—perhaps by that transplantation of peoples in which the Assyrian monarchs largely indulged—found their way into the east as far as India.[2] In the time of Herodotus, the Pelasgic language survived in two places on the Propontis. These were Placia and Scylace.[3] Placia, which may be a mere form of Pelasgia, I dismiss; but Scylace is worthy of attention. Its situation near Dascylium, a form of Askelon, is in itself indicative of Philistine relations; but its own name is that of Ziklag, a famous city of that people. Two other places only bear names of the same character. One is the river Scylax in Pontus, on which Gaziura was situated, and in the vicinity of which many Philistine-like names may be found. The other, more celebrated, is Scyllacium in Bruttium, to which I have already alluded. In that Italian province we have found Acheron with its accompaniments, Sabatus and Pandoria; and in the south towards Sicily, Scylla presents an abbreviated form of Askelon. But Scyllacium, according to Strabo and others, was colonised by Athenians under Menestheus, whom Diodorus makes an Egyptian, and whom Servius brings to the Italian city, not from Athens, but from Africa.[4] Menesthens is a name that has many points of resemblance to the Egyptian Month, which Mr Osburn has identified with the Horite name Manachath.[5] Sicella, the Greek form of Ziklag in later times, is not so perfect a rendering of this almost unique word as Scylax, Scylace, and Scylacium

[1] "Universal History;" Calmet; Vossius, "De Idol."

[2] This eastern extension of the Philistines may have taken place at an earlier period, and may have relations with early Babylonian monarchy. I reserve the consideration of it for another article.

[3] Herodot., i. 57.

[4] Strab., vi. 1–10; Servius, ad "Æneid," iii. 552.

[5] "Monumental History of Egypt," vol. i. p. 341.

present. It is worthy of note, in connection with the first-named of them, that its city Gaziura is not unlike Gazara, the name of Gaza in the time of the Maccabees.[1] The original population of Attica was Pelasgic, as was that of Arcadia. Pelasgian Leleges first settled in Laconia and Acarnania. The region of Dodona, and the whole of Thesprotia in which the traces of Philistine occupation have been found, were Pelasgic; and Elis, with its Acheron and other memorials, was but the colony of Epirus. To an ancient Pelasgian element in Italy we owe its towns named Asculum and its rivers named Acheron, for the Siculi and Athenians who founded or designated them were of this stock. The Sarnus of Campania, a peculiarly Pelasgic region, with Surrentum and the Sirenussæ, challenge comparison with the maritime tract of Sharon between Philistia and Carmel, over which Ashumnazar, king of the Sidonians, ruled in his day.[2] I am aware that חֲבַצֶּלֶת, translated as the *rose* in Canticles, is generally thought to be some bulbous plant, although degenerate roses grow abundantly upon the plain of Sharon. It is certainly remarkable, however, that the island of Rhodes, which has been found to sustain intimate relations with this upper part of this region, and Campania, where the Sarnus flows, should have been celebrated for their roses.[3] And, more still, that Mazocchi should have found it necessary to derive the Italian city of Pæstum from Dor situated on the same fertile coast of Palestine, seeing that the roses of Pæstum were among the most celebrated in the world.[4] This, doubtless, is a matter of mere coincidence. But the case of Saron and the Saronic Gulf of Argolis is different. Pliny derives the name from the oak which flourishes in its neighbourhood, and thus establishes a connection with the Palestinian Sharon, which from the same circumstance bore the designation Drymus.[5] The author of "The Land and the Book" remarks the foreign Egyptian-like appearance of the inhabitants of Sharon.[6]

[1] 1 Maccab. xiv. 34.

[2] "Land and Book," p. 137 seq.; Lenormant and Chevalier, vol. ii. p. 197.

[3] Anthon's Classical Dictionary, art. Rhodus; Pliny, xxi. 10. The latter author informs us that Cyrene was famous for its roses.

[4] Anthon's Class. Dict., art. Pæstum; Virgil, Georgics, iv. 119.

[5] Pliny, iv. 9; Ritter, "Comp. Geog.," vol. iv. p. 266.

[6] "Land and Book," p. 523.

Now, Saron of Argolis lies near Trœzen, where the Egyptian Orus, whose foreign name excited the wonder of Pausanias, was the first king; and, not very far away, in Hermione, Serapis and Isis, two deities of Egypt, were worshipped.[1] Add to this that Scyllæum is the name of an adjoining promontory, and Saron takes its place as another Philistine or Pelasgian colony. The oaks of Dodona, which have been associated with the Celtic Druids or Saronids, probably have relations with Sharon, for I cannot see my way with Hitzig to connect the Sarnim or lords of the Philistines with any geographical designation. The oak of Ogyges, of which Josephus speaks, may by its name indicate the permanence of Greek traditions in Palestine, as the story of the correspondence between Onias and Areus of Sparta would indicate, if genuine, the presence of Palestinian traditions in Greece.[2] The Saronic legends go back to old Pelasgian days. The ancient Etrurians, it is generally believed, although on the whole Turanian, were not free from Pelasgic intermixture. Indeed, so strong are the evidences for this that some writers have denied their Turanian origin.[3] By them were undertaken the famous works at the mouth of the Po called the Fossiones Philistinæ, which Mazocchi appropriately refers to a Palestinian origin.[4] The Po, under its Greek name of Eridanus, is but an Italian Jordan, and finds its parallels in the Jardanes of Elis and the Jardanus of Crete.[5] Hitzig derives the Pelasgian Lemnos and Larissa from Jamnia and Arish.[6] The Arabic form El Arish accounts for the prefixed L in the case of the latter word, and Risso, the modern form of the Larissus in Achaia, illustrates its formation. But if it be objected that this is to make the Arabic a parent of the Greek, the answer is found in Lasharon, a term convertible with Sharon, and in which,

[1] Pausanias, ii. 30–32.

[2] Josephus, Antiq., i. 10, 4, xii. 4, 10, xiii. 5, 8; 1 Maccab. xii. 5.

[3] "The Etruscans," Contemporary Review, Oct. 1875. Compare Taylor's "Etruscan Researches," the same author's paper on The Etruscan Language, Journal, Transactions, Victoria Institute, June 1876; and that of Dr Edkins in this Review, July 1874.

[4] Anthon's "Classical Dictionary," Art. "Fossa."

[5] The Rev. W. B. Galloway has identified the Jordan and the Eridanus. "Egypt's Record to the Exodus of Israel," p. 461.

[6] "Die Philistäer," pp. 115–128.

as in Leophrah, whatever the value of the prefixed L may be, we find the needful element for converting Arish and Jamnia into Larissa and Lemnos.[1]

It is now generally agreed that there is no ground for the old belief that the Ionians were a Hellenic people, and that of all the Greek stocks they were the most purely Pelagsic. I need not repeat what has already been so fully set forth concerning the decided Anite or Ionian relations of the Philistines. Between Gaza and the Arish we find Moladah, Shema, and Beth Palet.[2] In Shema I recognise the Ionian Samos, and in Moladah the similarly Ionian Miletus. These are situated in the territory of the Cherethites, and accordingly we find a Miletus in Crete, from which the Ionian city is said to have been first colonised.[3] The later colonists of this city, however, were Athenians under the son of Codrus, one of whose companions was *Philistus*.[4] Beth Palet marks the original home of the Pelethites, a different people from the Philistines, and who served in the armies of David.[5] As some of the Cherethites, moving northward, named the brook of Cherith, so the Pelethites in the same region established the district of Japhleti, a name thoroughly agreeing with Palet in etymology.[6] In these mercenary warriors many writers have found the originals of the Latin Velites, and to this identification I would, on the basis of strong Thracian (verbal) connections, add the Peltasts of Greece.[7] But, better still, in the Japhleti form of the name we meet with the Hoplites or heavy armed soldiers of the Greeks. They were originally an Athenian tribe, and traced their descent from Hoples, son of Ion.[8] Other Ionian traces of the Philistines I leave for consideration till we come to deal with the population of Lydia. I may simply add here that the Ionian Sardis is a colony of the so-called Shairetana or Cherethites.

The most famous of Ionic peoples were the Athenians.

[1] Josh. xii. 18. ; Micah i. 10.
[2] Josh. xv. 26, 27.
[3] Apollodorus, iii. 1, 2.
[4] Herodot., ix. 97.
[5] 2 Sam. viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 7-23.
[6] Josh., xvi. 3. Comp. 1 Kings xvii 3.
[7] Russell's "Connection of Sacred and Profane History," p. 173, Wheeler's note; "The Primitive History of the Ionians," by the writer of this article, "Canadian Journal," May 1875.
[8] Herodot., v. 66.

The uniform tradition of the ancients, which the best modern historians hold cannot be set aside, is, that the Athenians were a colony of Egyptian Saites; and already we have found strong reasons for connecting them with the Philistines.[1] The Asty, which Diodorus found, in Egypt, and with which the word Saites may be compared, survived in the Attic deme Histiæa, as well as in Hestiæa of the neighbouring island Eubœa and Hestiæotis of Thessaly. An interesting relic of this name is Mopsuestia in Cilicia. Here we find Ashdoth of Moab or Ashdoth Pisgah, which I have already mentioned as indicating an eastern extension of the Philistine people, with whom, as enemies of Egypt, the Moabites were allied.[2] Athens was itself anciently called Mopsopia, and Mopsus has appeared before us as drowning Atargatis and her son at Askelon. It would be a simple matter, did space permit, to indentify Mopsium of Thessaly and similarly-named places and persons with Moab; but this, with many equally interesting subjects I must for the time dismiss. I am disposed to regard Ashdoth Pisgah as an earlier settlement than Ashdod; but, whether this be the case or not, they were undoubtedly peopled by the same family. Cecrops is the most prominent of the Saitic Athenians, and his remarkable name deserves consideration. The Cecryphes are spoken of as a people in the Argonautics of the Pseudo-Orpheus.[3] There is a Palestinian geographical name, occurring in more than one region, which exactly answers to such a word. This is Acrabbi, of which the initial letter is *ayin*, and which should therefore, according to current usage, be hellenised as Gecrabbi.[4] Denoting the *scorpion*, the Greek σκόρπιος replaces the breathing or guttural by a sibilant. Liddell and Scott, after Hesychius, connect this word with σκάραβος, κάραβος, *beetle and crab*, the Latin scarabæus, the Sanskrit çarabha, *the locust*, the German krebs, &c. The root of the word is Eker, also given as the name of a man of the Jerahmeelite family, which a reference to 1 Sam. xxvii. 10 shews to have been distinct from any of the tribes

[1] Rawlinson's "Manual of Ancient History," p. 120.
[2] Osburn's "Monumental History of Egypt," vol. ii.
[3] Argonautica, 1060.
[4] Numb. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3; Ritter, "Comp. Geog.," vol. ii., p. 245.

of Israel, and which contains the eponym of On, Ono, and similarly-named places.[1] But Eker is also the root of Ekron. These three words are unique, עֶקְרוֹן, עֶקְרֹנִים, and if there be anything in etymology should exhibit relationship of some kind. The reduplicate c of Cecrops appears in Cichyras, a town in the Acherontian region of Thesprotia, and in Cacyrum, near Syracuse in Sicily. Gecrabbi, like the Egptian Graybonu in the neighbourhood of Fostat and Ataka, may serve to mark the northward progress of the Ekronites of Philistia from Egypt. It furnishes the Cecropia, which was a name of Athens, with Cranaæ, and disposes of the myth that there were two kings of Athens named respectively Cecrops and Cranaus. But the Egyptian records actually inform us of the existence in the land of the Pharaohs of a king bearing the Cecropian name. This is Ekerophes who, according to Manetho, subdued the revolting Libyans, and who probably imposed upon them the name of their fly-god Achor.[2] It is not hard to identify this Philistine Eker with the Uchoreus of Diodorus, who built Memphis, and was succeeded by many monarchs of the same name.[3] About Memphis appropriately we find the Achorusian region already alluded to and other traces of Philistine rule. Many Attic records are found in Southern Palestine. There is Elusa, the original of Eleusis, and Aroer, the Rarian plain of old Eleusinian days, whence Erechtheus of Aroura obtained his title.[4] To return to Cecrops and his relations to regions that have already been associated with Ekron, we find in his son Pandion the explanation of the Pandosias that in Epirus, Bruttium, and Lucania accompany the Acheron and the Aciris. So far I have found no Palestinian equivalent for this name, which perhaps survives in the

[1] 1 Chron. ii. 27; *Ibid.*, 25 seq.

[2] Manetho ap. Syncell. Ekerophes was the first king of the third dynasty. He is sometimes called Necherophes, which ayin = ng accounts for.

[3] Diod. Sic., i. 31. Uchoreus is by Diodorus placed twelve generations before Moeris or Amenemhe III. of the twelfth dynasty.

[4] Ritter, vol. i. pp. 34–35. I have else where supposedthat the Athenian Erechtheus presents in his remarkable name an imperfect translation of Jerachmeel, the moon of God, or the lunar deity; not that I deny the human existence of Jerachmeel, but on the contrary assert that of Erechtheus, and identify him with Urukh, Orchamus, Orchomenus, and other personages of antiquity.

partly Philistine region of Pontus. The grand-daughter of Pandion was Scylla, and her I cannot but unite with the maritime goddess of Askelon. If this be the case, her portrait has certainly been drawn by enemies. The line of a Cecrops through his daughter Herse has appeared in the person of Sandochus in relation to Askelon. The *Scilla maritima* of Askelon and the *Allium Ascalonicum* cannot well be dissociated, although different plants.[1] As we have made Scallion out of Askelon, so the Greeks made Scilla from the same; and it is remarkable that the onion was famous also in the Latain Tusculum, whose name approaches so nearly to that of the Philistine city.[2] The Scilla maritima is said to have been worshipped at Pelusium, and the onion to have been called by the Egyptians the eye of Typhon, by which name the shepherds were designated.[3] Pliny informs us that the *gethyum*, a kind of onion, was invoked by the people of Egypt; and it is possible that Gath survives in this term, as a rational etymology of onion may afford an historical oriental origin for our unexplained English word.[4] Dædalus of Memphis and Athens is made a refugee in Sicily, and Scyllis is given as a name of his son.[5] Scylla in the southern extremity of Bruttium must have ethnic relations with the neighbouring island, which was named by the Siculi, who built the two places named Asculum in Picenum and Apulia. Siculi also dwelt in Latium, and were no doubt the founders of Tusculum. The connection of Sicily and Crete is easily explained, when Crete becomes the region of the Cherethites, and Sicily the town of Askelon. The owl of Minerva figures on the medals of Askelon, and affords opportunity for explaining in part the old fable that Ascalaphus, the son of *Acheron*, was changed to an owl as a punishment for his mischief-making.[6] At Scillus in Elis,

[1] Guigniant, i. 907, 952; Pliny, xix. 32.

[2] Pliny, xix. 32.

[3] *Ibid.*; Lucian, Jov. Trag., vi. 275; Juvenal, xv. 9; Aulus Gellius, "Noctes Atticæ," xx. 8; *vide* Guigniant, note, p. 143. Guigniant associates Crommyon, a Greek name of the onion, and that of two places, one in Mogara, and the other in Cyprus, with the onions of Philistine fame.

[4] Pliny xix. 32.

[5] Pausanias, ii. 15. The fabulous association of Athens, Crete, and Sicily, akin to many strange geographical associations in ancient Greek traditions, is perfectly intelligible when we remove the scene to Southern Palestine.

[6] Guigniant, iii. 104; Apollodorus, i. 5, 3.

in the vicinity of many Philistine names, Minerva Scilluntia was worshipped; and in Argolis, where Scyllæum, which received its name according to tradition from Scylla, meets us, and where many Egyptian and Philistine traces have already appeared, we learn from Pausanius that a temple of Minerva *Saitis* once existed.[1] What were the precise relations of the ancient Athenians and Sicilians of Ashdod and Ekron on the one hand, and of Askelon on the other, it is hard to determine, beyond the fact that they formed part of the same confederacy, and must have had much in common. I do not think that the inhabitants of these cities were of the the same family, far less that any one was a colony or offshoot of the other. The presence of Tyca or Tyche, the goddess of fortune, in Syracuse, the Sorek of Sicily, like that of Tychon in Athens, serves to connect the former city with the worship of Dagon, but at the same time indicates a preservation of the female character of the divinity by which Askelon and its towns, in contradistinction to Ashdod and its towns, were marked. I have already cited a medal of Askelon as illustrating an old legend and a probable Athenian connection. It is remarkable that on medals of Athens, Etruria, and Syracuse, as well as on those of Rome, a similar type often appears that is found on those of no other countries. This is the double-headed figure of Cecrops, Janus, and other unknown personages.[2] This double nature I cannot pretend to explain, although Cecrops—half-man and half-serpent—may relate to Dagon and Atargatis, who are represented as human above and fishy below. Janus or Eanus is no other than An or Oannes, as appears in the story of his wife Camasena, who was of the same fishy nature, and in his descendants, the Æthices, who dwelt in Epirus about the river Ion.[3] A common Pelasgian origin marks the four peoples, and connects the double form in some way with Philistia. The association of the Cecropian

[1] Strab, viii. 3-14; Pausanias, ii. 36.

[2] Anthon's "Classical Dictionary," art. "Janus." Quirinus, the chief name of Janus, may relate to Ekron. The dove which marks the reverse of certain coins of Askelon appears in the same position on the medals of Sicily, bearing on the obverse the double head of Janus (Bryant, vol. iii. p. 84). Thus Askelon, like Gaza, is made thoroughly Ionian, and Sicily is once more linked with it.

[3] Strab., vii. 7-9.

family with the Etrurians and their *fossiones Philistinæ*, with Syracuse of Sicily, another Sorek of Askelon, and with Janus, an Italian Oannes, tends to strengthen the argument, already I think sufficiently proved, for a Philistine origin. The association of Akrab, as denoting the scorpion, with Cecrops, a man, may be deemed a forcing of etemological analogies. That scorpions and men were sometimes united in one form, however, we learn from the Assyrian inscriptions and sculptures. The late Mr George Smith has pictured in his Chaldean account of Genesis the figures of scorpion-men from an Assyrian cylinder, and informed us that Izdubar, in the course of his wanderings, met with such creatures.[1] In these we may find fanciful representations of an actually existing people, bearing the name Akrabbim. The Greeks tell a story of people called Cercopes; and from Ælian we learn that Cercops was the original name of the tettix or cicada, a kind of grasshopper, tree-cricket, or locust, which was the great Athenian emblem.[2] Already we have found the Sanskrit *çarabha* a word of the same origin as *akrab*, *scorpios*, *scarabæus*, and *crab*, denoting the locust, and thus the Rev. A. H. Sayce renders the Assyrian word "kharapi."[3] As exhibiting the application of the same root to articulates of the three different classes—Insecta, Arachnida, and Crustacea—we have the proved identity of the root in the Greek *karabos* applied equally to a beetle and a crab, and *scorpios*, denoting the scorpion; as well as the fact that *tettix*, the later designation of the *cercops* or locust, was at the same time the name of a lobster. It would be of great interest to find that the famous scarabæi of Egypt, as objects of religious veneration, owed their origin to a Philistine family, and especially to one that in its European home so long occupied the proud position of the teacher of the world.[4]

[1] "Chaldean Account of Genesis," ch. xv.

[2] Diod. Sic., iv. 31; Apollodorus, ii. 6, 3; Comp. Herodot., vii. 216; Ælian, "De Animal," x. 44.

[3] "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," vol. iii. pt. i. p. 179.

[4] Many Greek names resemble Acrabbim. One of these is Acræphium of Bœotia, with Ptous and Phœnicis near at hand. Situated in the country of Athamas and Thebes, it recalls the Palestinian name, which must be associated with the scarabæus of Ptah (Ptous), with Athora of On (Athamas), Egyptian Thebes and her ally Phœnicia. Acræphium was situated upon a height. Agriphe was a name of Minerva. The Egyptian Crophi of Crophi and Mophi may be here as an ancient Graybonu, seeing that they were of

The scriptural statement, "Out of Egypt have I called my son," while robbed of none of its peculiarly sacred reference to Israel and Israel's Lord, would thus appear with a world-wide signification; and the fact that "God brought the Philistines out of Caphtor" would link all human greatness, not only with that Divine hand whose leadings we reverently and gratefully acknowledge, but with the revelation which he has graciously made, not for Israel alone, but for all humanity—the Jew first, and also the Greek.

In reviewing the argument of this article so far as it has gone, it will be found to proceed upon acknowledged facts. These are—1. The actual existence in Palestine and in the neighbourhood of Philistia of a Greek people, the Cretans; 2. The record of the Egyptian monuments to the effect that many Greek tribes or nationalities fought with the Pharaohs on the northern borders of Egypt and in Palestine; 3. The uniform tradition of the Greeks that many of their ancestors came from Egypt. To these, upon the testimony of competent scholars, I have added the following arguments:—1. The Greek traditions find their Egyptian connection with the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings of the Saitic and Apophian line; 2. Prominent among the Hyksos were the Philistines; 3. The religion and geographical nomenclature of the Philistines were in their origin Babylonian. Proceeding further, but not independently or without the aid of former students in the same field of research, I have established, or endeavoured to establish—1. That neither the Cretans nor the Philistines had a western origin, but arrived at their ancient seats in an orderly way from the East; 2. That their language, the remains of which in our possession are proper names, so far from disagreeing with an Indo-European relationship, finds all its analogies in the geography and history of Greek, and especially of Pelasgian, settlements; 3. That many Greek traditions of migration and mythical

the Saitic tribe. Mophi may be but the Bible form of Memphis, Moph. Among the signs of the Zodiac, the Scorpion and Pisces should be found to have relations of a peculiar character with Philistia, and perhaps Cancer also. In Guigniant, vol. iv. p. 33, we find Syth denoting the sign Cancer. A crab is the Arabic and Persian sign of the Scorpion. I omitted to mention that the Greek Acris, a locust, exhibits the simple form of the original root, Eker. A town of this name is placed in Lybya by Diodorus Siculus (xx. 57), and fitly appears in the country of the fly-god, Achor.

history have their scenes actually placed in Palestine; 4. That Philistine divinities are plainly identified with others worshipped in many parts of Greece, and in Greek settlements elsewhere, some of which the Greek writers themselves derive from Philistia; 5. That biblical notices of historical facts in Philistia find their counterparts in Greek tradition; 6. That the geographical nomenclature of Philistia is minutely reproduced in many parts of Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy; 7. And that the early history of certain Greek states, and particularly of Attica, is made clear by removing its scene from Europe, where no relics of civilisation older than the ninth century B.C. are found, to the ancient seats of Philistine national life in Lower Egypt and Palestine. In this synopsis of the argument an attentive reader will perceive that I have understated the force of what has been advanced. To Movers, Hitzig, Lenormant, and Ritter I have been greatly indebted; and if this article possesses any merit, it is to be found in the reconciliation of some of their conclusions, on the one hand, and, on the other, in the avoidance of their cardinal error of a western origin for the Greek population of Palestine, an error which robs of half its interest and all its teaching and scientific value this page of the world's early history. Nor should I forget to acknowledge the assistance I have received from the judicious criticism of the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson on the ethnic relations of the Egyptians and Greeks, which more than anything else tended to overthrow in my mind the unwarrantably sceptical conclusions of recent historians of Greece on the subject. The general trustworthiness of ancient records, such as those of Manetho, Berosus, and Menander, as well as of other writings that have been deemed purely mythological, has been established by the testimony of the recently-deciphered inscriptions of the East, and leads us to believe that, at no far distant date, it will be possible, from the distorted fragments of ancient tradition, by wise comparison of these among themselves and with more reliable documents, to restore the page of primitive history, not only for Egypt and the countries on the Tigris and Euphrates, but for the populations of the civilised world. In furtherance of this end, so desirable to the lover of truth, and for the sake of that Word which is

the supreme standard of historic as well as of religious truth, I contribute this sketch of the Philistines.

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ART. VI.—*The Sinai Covenant.*

FEW will be disposed to deny the importance of a distinct conception of the nature of the transaction which took place at Mount Sinai, when Jehovah proclaimed the ten commandments in the hearing of his people Israel. It was unquestionably a great epoch in the history of that people. But it was more. It had a broader aspect and a deeper significance than that. It was an era in the history of the human race, a momentous step in that series of divine dispensations towards fallen man, which fill up the interval between his expulsion from the earthly and his final admission to the heavenly paradise. Moreover, the way in which the Apostle Paul, especially in his Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, refers to the giving of the law at Sinai, makes it evident that in his eyes a right view of that transaction was essential to clear and correct conceptions of the gospel. And yet it must be acknowledged that the subject is as difficult as it is important. The great diversity of opinion that prevails regarding it, even among Protestant divines who have made a study of the question, is sufficient proof of this. Indeed, so complex do the transactions at Sinai appear, when read in the light of New Testament statement and allusion, and so contradictory and bewildering are the opinions of theologians on the subject, that one is quite conscious of laying himself open to the charge of presumption in venturing to hope that he can do anything to clear away the darkness and unravel the perplexities which are either inherent in this theme, or have in the course of ages gathered round it.

At the outset, however, it is necessary to indicate the limits within which our discussion is to be carried on. We have no intention of entering upon so wide a field as the law given at Sinai, in all its aspects and all the ends which it was designed to serve. We propose simply to inquire, What was the

precise nature and object of the *covenant* into which God entered with Israel at Sinai? That there was a *bonâ fide* covenant made between God and Israel on that occassion will scarcely be denied. Thus, in the account of the matter given in Exodus, we read, "Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my *covenant*, thou shalt be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people, for all the earth is mine. And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation." In the rehearsal of the narrative in Deuteronomy Moses says: "The Lord our God made a covenant with us in Horeb. The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers (that is, not with them only), but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day." We do not rest however on the mere fact that the word "covenant" is used to describe the transaction, but on the further fact that it contains all the elements of a covenant, the contracting parties being God and Israel, the condition, "if ye will obey my voice," the promise, "thou shalt be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people," and the penalty, indicated in many parts of the Mosaic writings, but set forth with special fulness in the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy. Besides, this covenant which the Lord made with them when he took them by the hand to bring them out of Egypt is contrasted in Jeremiah xxxi., and Hebrews viii., with the new and better covenant under which it is our privilege to live.

But, though the fact that a covenant of some sort was made between God and Israel at Sinai is admitted by all, there are many eminent theologians who take such a view of the proceedings which there transpired, that they are obliged practically to deprive that covenant of all reality, making it nothing but an empty, if not a delusive form. Thus, in that extremely entertaining and really valuable book, "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," which raised so great a storm in our Scottish Church during last century, Antinomista is represented as asking, "But whether were the ten commandments, as they were delivered to them on Mount Sinai, the covenant of works or no?" To which Evangelista promptly answers, "They were delivered to them as the covenant of works." Then, after distinctly asserting that the same covenant was made with them as with Adam before the fall, he explains that this was done, not with the intention or expectation of their

obtaining eternal life by their obedience, but simply to convince them of sin, and drive them out of themselves to Christ. Upon which Nomista, another of the interlocutors, very naturally remarks, "But yet, Sir, methinks it is somewhat strange that the Lord should put them upon doing the law, and also promise them life for doing, and yet never intend it." To which Evangelista replies, "Though he did so, yet did he neither require of them that which was unjust, nor yet dissemble with them in the promise; for the Lord may justly require perfect obedience at all men's hands by virtue of that covenant which was made with them in Adam; and if any man could yield perfect obedience to the law both in doing and suffering he should have eternal life; for we may not deny (says Calvin) but that the reward of eternal salvation belongeth to the upright obedience of the law. But God knew well enough that the Israelites were never able to yield such an obedience; and yet he saw it meet to propound eternal life to them upon these terms, that so he might speak to them in their own humour, as indeed it was meet, for they swelled with mad assurance in themselves, saying, 'All that the Lord commandeth we will do and be obedient' (Exod. xix. 8). Well, said the Lord, if you will needs be doing, why, here is a law to be kept; and if you carefully observe the righteousness of it, you shall be saved; sending them of purpose to the law to awaken and convince them, to sentence and humble them, and to make them see their own folly in seeking for life that way; in short, to make them see the terms under which they stood, that so they might be brought out of themselves, and expect nothing from the Lord in relation to life, but all from Christ."

Boston, in his notes on the above passage, takes substantially the same ground. He does, indeed, see in the first place an announcement of the covenant of grace in the preface to the ten commandments. But he also maintains that God renewed with Israel at Sinai the covenant broken by Adam in Eden, and yet without any expectation of their keeping it, or any desire that they should seek life eternal by this path. To call this making a covenant with them seems to us to be an abuse of words. It was merely a republication of the terms of the original covenant of works, which had been forgotten or lost sight of, and that, not with the view of getting men to

enter on it anew, but rather of warning them against the sin and folly of such a course. The objection to this view of what took place at Sinai is, that if it was a mere re-announcement, for important ends, of the covenant of works made with man before the fall, this cannot be reconciled with the fact that God did then and there enter into a formal covenant with Israel. But if it be said that this was an actual renewal of the covenant of works, then we say that it was impossible that God should ever so mock his poor fallen creatures as formally to renew with them a covenant which they had already broken, under the curse of which they were then lying, and which he knew that they could not keep for a single hour. It is no answer to this objection to remind us of our Lord's reply to the self-righteous ruler. For the cases are not parallel. That ruler approached Christ in a spirit and with a question that shewed that it was with him a foregone conclusion that he was to inherit eternal life by his own good deeds. All he wanted to know was what he had to do, and therefore the appropriate answer was, "If you will enter into life by doing, this and nothing less is what you have to do, keep the commandments." But the case of Israel at Sinai was entirely different. There God took the initiative. It was he that invited the people to enter into covenant with him, and we cannot believe that he would cast a snare upon them, and throw a fatal stumbling-block in their way by encouraging them to renew the broken covenant of works.

The view of the late Principal Fairbairn, as brought out both in his work on "The Typology" and his later treatise on "The Revelation of Law in Scripture," is somewhat different. He holds that there is a close parallel between God's dealings with Israel and his dealings with his people still. He calls special attention to the fact that the covenant at Sinai was made with a people who had been redeemed, and were already in a gracious relation to God. That is to say, God did with them what he does with his people still: he first redeemed them, and then put them under law. The covenant form in which the law was given did not, he maintains, alter the nature of the transaction, but only made it more impressive by surrounding it with more solemn sanctions. But this is a mere evasion of the real difficulty. The knotty question is, What was the nature and design of the Sinai covenant? Dr Fair-

bairn cuts the knot by saying, It was just the giving of the law by God to the people whom he had redeemed, and the fact that he gave it in the form of a covenant is of no consequence at all. Yet this covenant form is the very thing to be accounted for. The analogy which he draws between Israel of old and God's people now breaks down at this very point. For believers under the gospel are not put under the law as a covenant. They are indeed under it as a rule of life; but as a covenant they are delivered from it finally and for ever. It is easy to see how in this instance Dr Fairbairn's views of the typology of the Old Testament, usually so sound and judicious, have led him astray. Granting that in many respects, such as the bondage, the deliverance, the wilderness journey, the settlement in Canaan, Israel was a type of the Church of Christ, yet we have it on inspired authority in Hebrews viii., that in God's dealings with them at Sinai it is not a parallel to his dealings with his people under the gospel, but a contrast, that we are to find. It is not a little remarkable that this passage, almost the *locus classicus* on the subject, has been entirely overlooked by Dr Fairbairn :—

"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord. But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people: and they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more."

We shall afterwards look a little more closely into this important statement. At present it is sufficient simply to quote it as implying on the very face of it that, instead of the analogy which Dr Fairbairn finds between God's dealings with Israel at Sinai and with believers under the gospel, there is in truth an utter contrast.

The view of Witsius is peculiar. He holds that the covenant made at Sinai was neither formally the covenant of grace nor the covenant of works, but a national covenant pre-supposing

both. The condition of that national covenant was sincere but not perfect obedience; and the promise, "not only temporal blessings, such as the possession of the land of Canaan, and a peaceable life there, abounding with all plenty of everything desirable, but also spiritual and eternal."[1] This covenant, he holds, differs from the covenant of works in accepting a sincere though imperfect obedience, and from the covenant of grace in containing no promises of strength to enable Israel to render this obedience.

This is ingenious and plausible, but when closely examined it will be found to be an erroneous and a dangerous view. God never promised eternal life to man upon condition of an imperfect but sincere obedience. To maintain that he did would be to subvert the whole teaching of the Apostle Paul in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. He there asserts the utter incompatibility of the two ways, justification by faith and justification by works. He shews that Abraham was justified by faith; that the law given 430 years after the time of Abraham could not annul the promise made to him; that David, who lived under the law, speaks of the blessedness of the man to whom God imputes righteousness without works; and that even so late as the time of Habakkuk, it is declared that the just shall live by faith. Nor will it mend the matter to say that God offered eternal life to men on condition of sincere obedience, without promising grace to enable them to render it, for the very purpose of convincing them of sin, and shutting them up to the necessity of seeking salvation by grace alone. For, in the first place, we cannot believe that God, even to accomplish such an end, would actually take men bound to seek eternal life in a way in which they could never find it. And, in the second place, such a covenant would have been very ill fitted to secure the end supposed, for there was no great need of a promise of grace, and no great room for conviction of sin, since it was a part of the agreement that a faulty obedience would be accepted.

The view taken by the Plymouthists is quite what might have been expected from men of their peculiar idiosyncrasy. They tell us that God's purpose, when he addressed Israel as they lay encamped at the foot of Sinai, was to recapitulate his merciful dealings with them, and to rehearse the covenant of

[1] Witsius on The Covenants, Bk. iv. ch. iv. § 43–55.

grace, promising that if they adhered to that they should be a peculiar treasure to him above all people. But what did Israel do? Totally and perversely misunderstanding his design, they abandoned God's covenant of grace for that covenant of works which is so much more congenial to the heart of man. They presumptuously said, "All that the Lord hath spoken we will do." This was the first disastrous step, and it led to the most dismal results. From that moment God's whole aspect towards Israel was changed. The mountain was fenced around to prevent the people coming near. God enveloped himself with a thick cloud, and in place of the gracious accents of love, there was heard the stern voice of law. And all this, they say, is related to warn us of the danger of getting off the ground of grace, and taking our stand on the ground of law.[1]

Now, this is nothing else than a complete, and even grotesque, misrepresentation of the facts of the case. Who but a Plymouthist would think that when God said, "Now then, if ye will obey my voice indeed," he meant anything else than this, "If ye will do what I command you"? But no; it seems he meant the very opposite of this, so that when Israel supposed this to be his meaning, and promised the obedience which they imagined he required, they not only made a great mistake, but committed a heinous sin. Surely we may say with reverence, if such tremendous consequences hinged upon their clearly understanding that it was not obedience but faith that was wanted, a form of words might have been found less likely to mislead. But when we turn to the account of the transaction given in Deuteronomy, we find that they did not misunderstand God's meaning, for he expressed his entire approval of their words. "And the Lord heard the voice of your words when ye spake unto me, and the Lord said unto me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people which they have spoken unto thee; they have well said all that they have spoken." What do the Plymouthists say to this? Oh! they say, God does not here approve of the vow they had made, but of their terror at the consequences of their vow. A more complete misrepresentation of the facts of the case it is difficult to conceive of. What had the people said? No doubt they had expressed their terror at hearing the voice of the living God out of the fire, and had entreated

[1] Notes on the Book of Exodus, by C. H. M., ch. xx.

Moses to act as a mediator, hearing God's word and reporting it to them; but when they said, "Speak thou unto us all that the Lord our God shall speak unto thee," they added, "And we will hear it and do it." And it is immediately upon this renewal of their promise of obedience that the Lord says, "They have well said *all* that they have spoken." Nay, more, to shew that it was their promise quite as much as their alarm that he approved of, he added these words, "O that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me and keep all my commandments always." Other objections to this view might be urged. But enough. It is preposterous, like many of the oracular interpretations that emanate from the same source.

The last view of the subject to which we shall refer is that of the late Dr John Erskine, of Edinburgh. His idea is that at Sinai Jehovah entered into a covenant with Israel as a nation, requiring of them an outward obedience to the letter of the law, with the promise of national blessings if they kept this covenant, and the threatening of national calamities in the event of their failing to keep it.[1]

"Read attentively," he says, "and without prejudice Moses' account of the Sinai covenant. There you will find that the chief promises of it were, that the Israelites should with little difficulty subdue the mighty nations of Canaan; that they should enjoy a long, quiet, and peaceable possession of that country under the divine protection; that their land should abound with corn and wine, milk and honey, and everything else necessary for their outward prosperity; that they should be preserved from famine, pestilence, and the other plagues and diseases that God had inflicted on Egypt; that God would multiply them as the sands of the sea and as the stars of heaven; that he would give them victory over their enemies, and place among them the external symbols of his presence. . . . Nor is this all. Scripture expressly asserts that God, by bestowing such temporal blessings, fulfils his engagements in the Sinai covenant (Deut. vii. 12–15), 'Wherefore it shall come to pass, if ye hearken to these judgments and keep and do them, that the Lord thy God shall keep unto thee the covenant and mercy which he sware unto thy fathers.' Would you know how it shall appear that God hath kept his covenant? What follows will inform you: 'And he will love thee, and bless thee, and multiply thee; he will also bless the fruit of thy womb, and the fruit of thy land, thy corn and thy wine,' &c. . . . The punishments threatened against idolatry and other gross breaches of the Sinai covenant were also temporal, such as diseases, unsuccessful war, famine, pestilence, casting out of the land of Canaan,

[1] "Theological Dissertations," pp. 38, 39, 51.

smiting that land with a preternatural barrenness, and scattering its old inhabitants among the heathen."

So far as to the promise and threatening of the covenant. As to the condition required, he says:—

"This was no other than an abstinence from servile work on the Sabbath, freedom from legal impurities and gross vices, an offering the sacrifices prescribed in the law, in time of war the depending on God alone for success, and not having recourse to horses, chariots, or alliance with idolatrous states; and, in general, obedience to the letter of the law, even when it did not flow from a principle of faith and love."

With this view we are disposed in the main to agree. Not that we would endorse all Dr Erskine's interpretations of particular passages of Scripture, which are sometimes too ingenious and far-fetched, as if they had been pressed into the service of his favourite theory. Neither do we agree with him in thinking that God's dealings with individual Israelites, as well as with the nation, were regulated by this covenant made at Sinai. Nor do we concur with him in his apparently unqualified approval of the principles brought out by Bishop Warburton in his "Divine Legation of Moses." In particular, we are disposed to think that he is too absolute and peremptory in maintaining that it was only an outward obedience to the letter of the law that God required under the Sinai covenant, and that it was a matter of no moment in what spirit that obedience was rendered. That the obedience was outward rather than inward and spiritual seems clear from the way in which it is described in the Old Testament, and from the way in which in the New Testament it is contrasted with the kind of obedience required of believers now. But it does not follow from this that it was of no consequence in what spirit Israel obeyed the law. First, because it cannot under any circumstances be a matter of indifference with God whether his creatures serve him outwardly or with the heart. Secondly, because we do occasionally find imbedded among the precepts of the Sinai covenant such words as these, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." And thirdly, because while an indivldual may go on playing the hypocrite for a whole lifetime, outwardly complying with a law which in his heart he hates, such

hypocrisy cannot for any length of time be practised by a nation. The outward forms of religion and morality will soon be cast away by a people among whom piety and principle have died out. So that while undoubtedly the emphasis was laid in the covenant upon Israel's outward obedience to the law, and while its promises and threatenings were made to hinge on that as their formal condition, it is going too far to represent the spirit of that obedience as a thing of absolutely no importance.

Still, with these explanations and reservations, we think Dr Erskine is right in holding that this was a covenant into which God invited Israel as a nation to enter, promising them certain outward and national blessings, on condition of their rendering a general, though not altogether perfect, obedience to the law, and threatening them with national calamities in the event of disobedience. Such a covenant as this God might make even with his fallen creatures. Obviously it did not interfere with the issues either of the covenant of works or the covenant of grace. It lay in quite another region; it ran on a different line. Whether individual Israelites were under the curse of the one covenant, or heirs of the blessing of the other, that did not hinder Israel as a people being under this national covenant, with a view not to spiritual and eternal, but to outward and temporary ends. Nor did God, in entering into this arrangement with Israel, mock their impotence or tantalise them with vain hopes, as would have been the case had he invited them to renew the covenant which Adam broke. For although Israel in the end utterly failed to keep their national engagements, and brought down the threatened penalty on their own heads, yet the obedience required was not obviously and hopelessly impracticable; nay, there were periods in their history when it was fairly rendered, and the fruits of it were manifestly enjoyed.

It may be urged, however, as an objection to this view of the transaction at Sinai, that God, who is a Spirit, and whose prerogative it is to search the heart, could never be satisfied with an outward and general obedience, which in the case of many would be hollow and insincere. To that we answer, This is true if you speak of individuals, but not necessarily so when it is nations that are concerned. For nations as such have only a temporal existence, and must therefore be

rewarded and punished in this present world, or not at all. This being the case, the kind of obedience required of them may very reasonably be correspondingly lower than that of individuals whose rewards and punishments shall be eternal. But again, it may be argued that such promises as these, "I will be to you a God," and "ye shall be to me a people," imply something far more spiritual than any such national covenant as we are now considering, and cannot be exhausted by any bestowal of mere outward and temporal blessing. True, we again reply, if these words describe the relation of God to the individual soul. Then indeed it would be impossible to exaggerate the depth of meaning and fulness of blessing which they contain. Bnt the case is different when it is the relation in which God stands to a nation as such that is described. We must then understand the promise in a very qualified sense, a sense to be determined, not by *a priori* considerations, but by the actual engagements into which we find God entering with that covenant people.

We believe that this view of the nature of the Sinai covenant will be found to agree with the statements made regarding that covenant in different parts of the New Testament, and indeed to harmonise them. The most important of these statements, and the one most directly bearing on our present theme, is that which we have already quoted from the eighth chapter of Hebrews, where the covenant that God made with Israel when he led them out of Egypt is contrasted with the new and better covenant under which we are now living. Indeed, so sharp is the contrast that one might at first suppose that the one was the covenant of works made originally with our first parent, with its promise of eternal life upon condition of perfect obedience to the laws of God; and that the other was the covenant of grace made with believers under the gospel, or made with the Mediator on behalf of his believing people. But on reflection it will appear that this cannot possibly be the contrast intended. First, because the people of God before the coming of Christ were not under the broken covenant of works with its inevitable curse, as we have already shewn. And secondly, because this view of the Sinai covenant would be in flat contradiction to the statement of the Apostle Paul in the Epistle to the Galations, where he maintains that whatever may have been God's purpose in the

giving of the law, it could not have been meant to annul the previous promise or supersede the previous method of salvation by faith as revealed to Abraham.

But if we understand the writer here (and remember, he is addressing Jews), to be drawing a contrast between the national covenant made with their fathers at Sinai and the far higher and better relation to God into which Jews and Gentiles alike are now brought by believing in Jesus, then we get a satisfactory explanation of the passage before us, and one that brings it into complete harmony with the Epistle to the Galatians. For what are here said to be the characteristic differences between the dispensation under which the Israelites were placed at Sinai and that under which believers are now living? They are these—First, that there was no promise then, as there is now, of the Spirit to write God's law upon the heart; and secondly, that there was no promise of forgiveness. This quite answers to the idea of its being a covenant that required, not so much an inward and spiritual, as an outward and national obedience to the law, and that had nothing higher than temporal sanctions. There was no provision under this covenant for the writing of God's law upon the heart, so as to ensure a spiritual obedience. And there was no provision for the remission of the penalty in any case. Sooner or later, in one form or another, the nation had to suffer for national sin. "The word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward."

But will the idea of a national covenant carry us through the interpretation of the third chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, as well as through the eighth of Hebrews? Let us see. The apostle is indeed looking upon the matter there from a different point of view. He had been shewing that Abraham was justified, or accounted righteous, because he believed God, and that it is those who are of faith that inherit Abraham's blessing. But the question naturally arises, Why go so far back as the dealings of God with Abraham? The Sinai covenant was subsequently introduced. Must it not therefore be held to have superseded and set aside the earlier transaction? No, replies the apostle; that were inconsistent with honour and good faith even in the dealings of man with man, and therefore it must be utterly impossible with God. Even a

man's covenant when legally confirmed is held to be incapable of alteration. So that whatever was meant by the dispensation at Sinai, it could not have been intended to annul or supersede the previous promise to Abraham and his seed. Now, this line of argument obviously implies—First, that what took place at Sinai had all the aspect of a renewal of the original covenant of works, so that it might be very naturally regarded as setting before men another and a very different way of entering into life from that proposed to Abraham. Yet, secondly, it could not really be inconsistent with the previously-existing covenant of grace, but must harmonise with it; nay, must in some way be subsidiary to it. This quite answers to the view of the transactions at Sinai, which we are now maintaining, but to no other. And it brings us to consider the important question, why such a peculiar covenant was ever made.

That question the apostle answers in the passage we are now considering. "Wherefore then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made." From the first therefore it was designed to be temporary, to last only from the time of Israel's sojourn in the wilderness to the birth of Christ. And it was added or appointed (προσετέθη) because of transgressions.[1] The children of Israel were so intractable and perverse, so prone to depart from God, that without some such arrangement as this they would have lost their national identity, mixed themselves among the surrounding nations, and learned their

[1] Different views have been taken of the meaning of this expression—τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν. Ellicot classifies them thus—(α) "ad coercendas transgressiones; (β) transgressionum gratiâ, *scil.* to call them forth, to multiply them, and, as it were, to bring them to a head; (γ) transgressionum causâ, *i.e.* ut transgressiones palam faceret, eoque modo homines cogeret ad agnitionem sui reatus." Of these he rejects the first on lexical grounds, believing that no satisfactory examples of such a meaning of χάριν have yet been adduced. But we regard it as quite a sufficient answer to this objection to say that eminent Greek commentators, such as Chrysostom and Theophylact, who knew the genius and capabilities of their own language, preferred this interpretation. We have no hesitation in agreeing with them. This object, the repression of open sin, is the first and most obvious design of a law given to any people. "The law is not made for a righteous man; but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane," &c. Besides, as we shall see, the use of the law in convincing of sin is brought out by the apostle towards the close of the chapter, so that to attach that meaning to the words before us would be to ascribe to him a mere vapid tautology, instead of a progressive and well-ordered argument.

idolatrous ways. The Holy Spirit was not yet largely given to prevent such a disastrous issue by the potent influences of his grace. Therefore a temporary arrangement of this nature was needed, as a sort of hedge about the people, to restrain them from gross transgressions, and to maintain some decent outward observance of the rules of morality and the ordinances of religion, until the coming of the Messiah and the setting up of his kingdom. This end the national covenant, with its promises and penalties, did to a large extent accomplish, one striking illustration of which is the familiar fact that the Jews have never lapsed into idolatry since the time of the captivity in Babylon.

But there was another and a deeper reason for this covenant of law. It was not the covenant of works made with Adam, yet it was like it. It was perfectly analogous to it, a *fac simile* of it on a lower or earthly platform. During those 1500 years God was carrying on a great practical *experimentum crucis* with the two great divisions of the human race. The Gentiles were left to the light of nature, suffered to walk in their own ways, in order to test the question, "Can man in the exercise of his own unaided reason and conscience find out God, and raise himself to a higher, better life?" And the result of that experiment was, that the Gentile nations drifted farther and farther away from the purer theism which had come down to them from tradition, and which, even apart from that, the works of nature ought to have suggested, until they landed, or rather, let us say, continued sinking deeper from age to age in the bottomless pit of idolatry, with its nameless abominations. Running parallel with this was another experiment, conducted on a smaller scale, but not less interesting and instructive, because quite as decisive in its results. The Jews, the chosen people of God, to whom he had by direct revelation made known his character and will, were put under a covenant of law, with the view of testing this further question, "Can man, even when placed in the most favoured circumstances, win eternal life by any doings of his own?" And the answer to that question furnished by the history of Israel was an emphatic negative. For if they—a people of great force of character, placed in a position exceptionally advantageous—utterly failed, repeatedly and miserably broke down in their attempts to keep the outward and national covenant of works

which God had made with them, how much more certain would such failure be in the case of those who should attempt to keep the covenant of works in its higher form, requiring a spiritual and perfect obedience?

It was no doubt intended by God that Israel should draw this conclusion from those breaches of the national covenant into which they were perpetually falling. This was the great spiritual aim of the whole arrangement. It was thus that it was directly subservient to the covenant of grace. For the law of the ten commandments which Israel at Sinai were taken bound to obey has undoubtedly a spirit as well as a letter. In the spirit of it, it is nothing less than the eternal rule of right, the moral law of God, substantially the same as the law of nature under which Adam was originally placed. And it was intended that the individuals of which the Jewish nation was composed should feel that an outward obedience to the letter of this law was not enough, that they must go deeper than that, recognise its inner spirit, and try their hearts and lives by this standard, as no doubt the pious among them did. One thing that would help them to take this deeper view, to make this more spiritual application of the law, was the peculiar character of the tenth commandment. Forbidding them even to set covetous eyes on anything that was their neighbours, it lay, as it were, on the border line between overt offences and heart sins, like our modern crime of "loitering with intent to steal," if indeed it did not altogether cross the line. At all events it was fitted, and no doubt intended, to serve as a link between the outward letter and the inward spirit of the law, and to lead every thoughtful Jew to the conclusion that, whatever the terms of God's covenant with the nation might be, nothing short of a spiritual obedience could be required of the individual by that God whose prerogative it is to search the heart. We know that it was by means of this commandment that Saul of Tarsus had his eyes opened, his pride humbled, and his legal hopes slain. "I had not known sin but by the law; for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet." "For I was alive without the law once, but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died." Such being Paul's own experience, it was natural that he should indicate this as one important end which the law or Sinai covenant was designed

to serve. "Is the law then against the promises of God?" Is it a new and entirely different way of obtaining righteousness and life, before which the way of gracious promise made known to Abraham must give place and disappear? "God forbid; for if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe. But before the faith came, we were kept (or garrisoned) under law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed. Wherefore the law was our pedagogue to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith."

This end, however, the law accomplished only to a very limited extent, only indeed in the case of those who were enabled by divine teaching to see its breadth and spirituality, and to feel the moral impossibility of their coming up to so high a standard. Others, and there is reason to fear they were not few, mistaking entirely the nature and object of the covenant into which God had invited their fathers to enter at Mount Sinai, set themselves to seek eternal life through compliance with its terms. To them it thus became a deadly covenant of works. This was elevating the handmaid to the position of the married wife. The covenant of Mount Sinai, so regared and so used, was like Hagar, the bondwoman, who could only give birth to slaves. Hagar, so long as she was merely Sarah's handmaid, was a useful member of the household. But when she became Abraham's concubine, and began to look upon herself as the equal, nay, the superior of her mistress; the decree had to go forth, "Cast out the bondwoman and her children, for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free woman." "Which things are an allegory," teaching us that so long as the national covenant made with Israel at Sinai was regarded as subsidiary to the covenant of grace, it served important practical ends, but that when it was elevated to the place which that better covenant was designed to hold, and eagerly embraced by Israel, as though by means of it they might bring forth fruit to God, the time had come when it must be put away. This may account for the strong language used by the Apostle Paul in reference to this Sinai covenant. He speaks of it as decaying, waxing old, ready to vanish away. It was a law

that made nothing perfect, a commandment that had to be disannulled for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof. Nay, while it was thus weak, obsolete and effete for any good purpose, yet when men clung to it in the hope of finding it a source of righteousness and life, then it became possessed of deadly power. Thus identified with the original covenant of works, it became the fruitful mother of bondage instead of liberty, death instead of life, curse instead of blessing. To cling to it was to reject Christ and the better covenant which was ratified by his blood.

The Sinai covenant had served its purpose and done its work. It had kept Israel from absorption among the surrounding nations, even when their territory was overrun, and their entire people carried away captive. It had to some extent restrained them from falling into the grosser Gentile sins. And it had proved conclusively, as by an *a fortiori* argument, that man cannot win eternal life by the keeping of the law. There was no further need of it, now that Messiah had come, and that Jew and Gentile were to be fused into one homogeneous Christian Church. Nay, as the Jewish members of that church were bent on perverting it to a purpose for which God had never designed it, the time had evidently come when what was at best but the "rudiments of the world," and had now become "the ministration of death," should give place to the "ministration of the Spirit" that giveth life. Mount Sinai with its gloom and bondage must give place to Mount Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem, with its liberty and glory. The things which are shaken must be removed, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.

ROBERT G. BALFOUR.

ART. VII.—*Daniel Deronda as a Sign of the Times.*

CRITICS and reviewers have recently done their utmost in the dissection of George Eliot's latest work. Various systems of criticism have been adopted, and it has been regarded in many different lights. In the notices of the earlier books the loyalty of even the most cautious critics was apparent. But we have seen the expressions of admiration gradually toning down,

and have heard the plaudits echoing ever more faintly as the successive volumes appeared, until it is now generally admitted, even by its author's most enthusiastic admirers, that, from a literary and artistic point of view, "Daniel Deronda" is—a failure.

We are now fully conscious that in many passages the sententious utterances and laboured analysis painfully contrast with the depth of thought, luminous insight, and marvellous facility of expression that delighted us more or less in all her earlier works; whilst our interest in the narrative is lessened by its complexity, and by its being apparently intended to turn upon curious subtleties of character and thought, often as it may seem to us untrue to nature, instead of being concentrated, as in "Adam Bede," upon the simpler and intenser sources of human interest which can never fail, and from which it was the triumph of George Eliot's transcendent genius to depict ever fresh developments, each worked out with extraordinary force, and with exquisite tenderness and truth.

The change, not only of style, but of mode of thought and method in the present work is evident. May we not inquire its meaning?

We venture to think that the leading idea actuating George Eliot in her composition of "Daniel Deronda" has been seized by none of her reviewers.[1] The able and interesting article in the "Edinburgh Review" for October 1876 has indeed drawn attention to what must have struck every intelligent reader, the singular prominence she has given in this work to moral questions; but it is mainly here that it shews its non-appreciation of her purpose. For these considerations are not treated as though, being characteristic of certain minds, they were therefore of psychological interest, and as such material for the more philosophical class of novelists; but from first to last there is manifest a reality of moral purpose, and an earnest desire, if not to enforce her own convictions, at least to promulgate her own theories, which is altogether a novel feature in her writings. For although in her earliest works we cannot fail to recognise her deep appreciation of Goodness, and her contemptuous detestation of the weaker and most selfish forms of evil, still it was just the absence of all theory,

[1] This was written before the appearance of the articles in the "Contemporary," "London Quarterly," and "Macmillan."

the merging of herself as an individual in the great current of human life, that was remarkable in all her previous books. We can hardly say it was *characteristic* of them, for so uniformly was it carried out that beyond a certain tone of lofty cynicism all individuality was suppressed, and the facts of nature and of life were allowed to appear as through an almost colourless medium, *as they are*, not to be made use of to support any theories whatever of ethics, religion, or philosophy, merely to be so grouped as best to draw out their strongest contrasts, and thus bring into relief their points of deepest interest. This must ever constitute the highest achievement of true art. And it is an achievement only possible to genius which, like George Eliot's, is distinguished by that keen perception and just appreciation of differences which reveal instinctively where lie the purest elements of poetry and humour. It is probable that hardly any writer since Shakespeare has more nearly attained to this artistic perfection.

She has now fallen from this eminence, or rather, as it appears to us, has deliberately descended from it.

Strange in any case her descent must be; but it would be more than strange if, after leading us on with almost her usual fascination and power to the climax of our interest and expectation, she should, from sheer inability to do better, suddenly drop the thread, and after all the careful and elaborate preparation of the earlier portion of her work, give us nothing more adequate as a conclusion than "the commonplace wretchedness of mere domestic incompatibility," and many pages of more or less feeble, though exceedingly moral platitudes! This, again to quote the "Edinburgh Review," "is an anti-climax of the most unexpected description, a disappointment quite unlooked for." But it is surely more than this; without design it is inconceivable that the whole force of a book so carefully composed, and by such a writer, should be allowed, in a literary sense, so utterly to collapse.

But there is much reason to believe that in "Daniel Deronda" Mrs Lewes is not writing to increase her general popularity, but to commend to the more intelligent and thoughtful of her readers principles which are becoming to her, as they appear to have long been to her husband, of paramount importance. She has considered it worth her

while to risk her reputation as the first novel writer of the day, in order to lend her aid to the advancement of the cause of Positive Philosophy by the popularisation of its tenets.

Any one conversant with Mr Lewes' writings cannot fail to trace his influence in "Daniel Deronda." In many passages we meet with modes of thought and expression quite peculiar to himself, as for instance in the earlier part of the debating-club scene.[1]

The character of the hero himself presents an illustration of his theory of heredity, Deronda's strong Jewish sympathies only waiting for the stimulus which should call them into activity, but having been "registered in the organism, in modification of structure, through ancestral experience." Indeed, the share Mr Lewes has had in the design of George Eliot's last work has been so great that it would be easy to place many passages from his writings, and from her more popular rendering of them in parallel columns, but this would be both wearisome and unnecessary.

That his influence over her mind has been a powerful one is too well known to surprise us by any of its effects. Having led her gradually to emancipate herself from the strong hold which the sublime truths of Revelation once had upon her spirit (as we see by the gradual but marked deterioration in the tone of her writings), it is now exerted to induce her to devote those marvellous talents, which at one time she seemed constrained by an overpowering sense of the supreme beauty and power of the gospel of CHRIST, to use for His Glory,[2] though unwittingly, in a cause which, stripped of all its meretricious adjuncts, is simply that of materialism.[3]

Mr Lewes does not indeed deny the existence of "supra-

[1] The original of this debating club is described by Mr Lewes himself in the "Fortnightly Review" for 1st April 1866. It was held in Red Lion Square, Holborn; and he states that he was in the habit of attending it "about thirty years ago."

[2] As in "Adam Bede," "Janet's Repentance," &c. It may be objected that one of her earliest works was the translation of Strauss' "Leben Jesu," and no doubt, taken alone, this fact would appear to denote confirmed infidelity; yet strong influences brought to bear upon her whilst her judgment was in suspense, might be sufficient to account for this, and in the fourth edition of the "Leben Jesu" (which was that which she translated), though every concession to Christianity had been expunged, still Strauss had not even then evinced the bitter hostility to the faith which he finally professed.

[3] Mr Lewes' disclaimer of the charge of atheism, or of materialism, is a purely technical one.

sensible" phenomena. They may, or more probably, they may not exist. They are at least altogether beyond the region of the knowable, based as they are, according to his scheme, upon inaccessible and unverifiable data. So that—and this moral he does not hesitate to draw, and in terms almost as plain—men must be utter fools to trouble themselves with such vain and profitless speculations, with "matters," to use the words of Professor Huxley, "of which they do know nothing, and can know nothing."

This creed of negation, or as it is termed *Agnosticism*, is now professed by the majority of those who at the present day arrogate to themselves the title of "thinkers," widely as they may differ amongst themselves on subordinate points. Mr Lewes appears to hold the agnostic doctrines *pure et simples*. He does not, at least in the volumes above referred to, suggest any religious substitute for that which he regards as an exploded superstition; indeed, he tells us in his "History of Philosophy," that in his estimation Comte was premature in the construction of his Polity. He confines himself to the suggestion, that it is impossible "successfully to found a religion on the admission of the unknowable; for religion, which is to explain the universe and regulate life, must be founded on the known and knowable relations." Still he would feel no doubt, as others professing the same principles have done, that it would be highly undesirable (assuming it to be possible) that "supernatural religion" should be rudely swept away until some other improving and civilising moral principle, equal or superior to it in force, could be provided, which by degrees should take its place.

Mrs Lewes is now attempting to undermine the popular faith by presenting the noblest, purest, and most unselfish of moral qualities as entirely disconnected with what, in the ordinary sense of the word, is regarded as religious principle. In the course of an almost tediously-lengthened novel she would gradually accustom us to the idea that not only what is called morality, but what she describes as the very highest "religious life," is compatible with a complete disregard of the Divine. It is not that she professes atheism, neither she nor one of her *dramatis personæ* does that; but she lets us see how well they can all get on without GOD, that indeed, to use the words of Laplace, as quoted by Mr Lewes in his "Problems,"

they "have no need of that hypothesis." The relations of social life, being already sufficiently complex, do not require, Mr and Mrs Lewes would assert, to be farther complicated with metaphysical conceptions.

It is remarkable how completely the leading idea in "Daniel Deronda" has been overlooked in all the *critiques* of the day, although our attention is repeatedly called to the moral purpose of George Eliot's work, and to her elaborate descriptions of the character of her faultless hero. And yet, instead of attributing this anxious over-delineation to any ulterior design, he appears to be simply considered as belonging to the species of virtuous bores not uncommon in the novels of the female moralists of a former generation. So regarded Daniel Deronda's appearance in the pages of George Eliot would be indeed anomalous!

But though we observe without surprise that he fails in his mission as the ideal moralist, and is more likely to irritate the reader than to incite him to fervent aspirations after righteousness, yet none the less may we detect the motive that called him into being, and recognise the important part he has to play as the Agnostic Representative of the possible in Moral attainment.

For it is as the popular exponent of the Ethical school of Experience that Mrs Lewes now comes forward.[1] And this is the only phase of Positive Religion that has any chance of taking root in this country. But such a "religion," under whatever aspect, and however disguised, represents a system which, from the Christian's point of view, is no less than appalling in its blasphemous presumption. It is, in fact, the worship of humanity; in other words, Self-worship. In this proposed religion of the future man is to usurp the throne of GOD, and a regard to the supposed interests of the creature is to take the place of allegiance to the Creator. Does it require any unusual spiritual insight to discern in this latest Satanic delusion the special characteristics of the antichristian doctrines of the latter days?

Mrs Lewes does not indeed rave with Comte about the worship of an Eternal Power, for the ethical school does not at present propose to offer any direct object of *worship*; but, as it does offer what it calls a "religion," this is a distinction without a difference. Indeed, in spite of its pretentions to a

[1] We may trace these principles in the "Spanish Gipsy," and in "Middlemarch," but only inferentially, they are not *taught* as in "Daniel Deronda."

higher standing than mere materialism, and its feeble imitation of a Christian code of morals, it may truly be regarded as a still more impious development of Positivism than the delirious hallucinations of Comte. He at least professed to regard as an object of worship an *external* power; and though he meant by this—if indeed he can be said to have meant anything sane enough to merit a moment's serious consideration —neither more nor less than the sum of the physical forces; still this is not so intrinsically the worship of the human as the more sober scheme of "religion" proposed by the moralists. For to worship, it is not necessary with Comte to spend an hour morning and evening in "prayer," nor an afternoon of every week in meditation in a church;[1] but whatever we set before us as the highest object of desire or the highest standard for imitation, is that to which, in point of fact, we do homage as our sovereign good. In other words, it is the object of our worship.

The god of Positive Religion then, under whatever phase, is man, as being the highest cosmical development. And here we may observe that it is the positivists themselves who have chosen to use the term "higher" to distinguish the moral sentiments from other developments of mechanical law. But the inconsistency of such a classification is very apparent. Moral phenomena may be more complex; but if equally with all other phenomena the product of purely physical law, there can be no good reason for regarding them as "higher." We may consider them more admirable; but that is a matter of taste. Legitimately, there can be no question of higher or lower involved, for there is no up or down in the matter.

In considering this late attempt on the part of Mrs Lewes to render positive religion attractive, if not comprehensible, we rejoice to find how unlikely it is to be successful. Deronda himself is indeed represented as absolutely faultless, but his character is so overdrawn that we are left without any definite conception of the man; he is crushed beneath the weight of his excellencies, which are so perpetually detailed and analysed that his "very virtues pall," and the consciousness that he will never be permitted to break out in the wrong place at last quite gets upon our nerves. Nevertheless, there are passages of great beauty describing his exquisitely sypathetic

[1] See Mr Harrison's very remarkable paper on "Positivism" in the "Contemporary Review" for November 1875.

nature, and his "disposition," as it is put by a flippant friend of his own, "to take an antediluvian point of view, lest he should do injustice to the megatherium."

But however indisputable his perfections, in pointing the agnostic moral George Eliot has missed her mark. The intended inference has not been drawn. The public has failed to recognise the superiority of undogmatic excellence, if at least we may judge by the opinions of the press. It has not so much refused the bait; it has not even perceived it. The impression left upon the popular mind is simply astonishment at the clumsy manner in which it thinks the story has been conducted, not perceiving that this is but the result of the author's being hampered by an *arrière pensée*. This is the burden of the article in the "Edinburgh Review," which sums up its lengthy criticisms by saying, with an innocent unconsciousness of the crushing force of the blow it aims so well: "Nothing can be loftier in morals than this attempt, but we cannot but feel it is unfortunate in practice."

Some specimens of Deronda's moral lectures must now be given:—

"'I want to say something, and I can't stay long,' said Gwendolen, speaking quickly in a subdued tone; 'I want to tell you that it is really so—I can't help feeling remorse that I have injured others. That was what I meant when I said that I had done worse than gamble again—something more injurious, as you called it. And I can't alter it. I am punished, but I can't alter it. You said I could do many things. Tell me again. What should you do—what should you feel, if you were in my place?'

"The hurried directness with which she spoke—the absence of all her little airs, as if she were only concerned to use the time in getting an answer that would guide her, made her appeal unspeakably touching.

"Deronda said, 'I should feel something of what you feel—deep sorrow.'

"'But what would you try to do?' said Gwendolen, with urgent quickness.

"'Order my life so as to make any possible amends, and keep away from doing any sort of injury again,' said Deronda, catching her sense that the time for speech was brief.

"'But I can't—I can't, I must go on,' said Gwendolen in a passionate loud whisper. 'I have thrust others out; I have made my gain out of their loss—tried to make it—tried. And I must go on. I can't alter it.'"

Upon this passage the "Edinburgh" well remarks:—

"Never was there a more strange transformation. All this the author would have us believe was brought about by the remorse with which the

splendid and proud Mrs Grandcourt contemplated her broken promise to her husband's former mistress. . . . If there was one thing more unlikely than all others to be indicated by her character as heretofore exhibited to us, it would have been that this strange and powerfully-endowed, yet, up to this time, consciously unsuccessful girl should turn all her faculties towards goodness."

So indeed it would, but that poor Gwendolen's "conversion" from "egoism" to "altruism" (to adopt the cant of the positive philosophy) had been determined on, and must be brought about. Only for this end did she appear upon the scene. We first made her acquaintance in the gambling-rooms in Leubronn, and we may have wondered why a phase of life utterly disconnected with the rest of the book should have been chosen as the opening scene, and so vividly described. It was so no doubt for this reason, that the practice of gambling, so severely condemned in this work, is that which most thoroughly and typically represents the "egoistic," as contrasted with the "altruistic" sentiment.[1] The "religion" which aspires to supersede Christianity is based on the theory that Utilitarianism, or an unselfish regard for the happiness of the greatest number, is the only principle which can regenerate the world, and that such regeneration can only be accomplished by scientific progress, and the gradual process of educational enlightenment. But it is foreseen that "egoism," or the sentiment of individual instinct, will prove the great hindrance to advancement when "supernatural religion" has lost its hold upon the hearts and consciences of men. Therefore this tendency must be reproved and repressed by the reformers as much as in them lies.[2] Men must be shewn that however strong their preference for their individual interests, these must be subordinated to the general good of humanity. That only so can truly scientific principles of morality be carried out, for plainly the greatest happiness of the greatest number must be a matter more worthy of

[1] In accordance with this theory we find, as might be expected, that suicide, when not involving any personal injury to our fellow-creatures, is not regarded as sinful. It is never remotely suggested that Mirah, who is intended to be one altogether worthy of Deronda's affection, was the least wrong in attempting to drown herself.

[2] Theoretically, at any rate. Whether the practice of these philosophers corresponds with their theory is another matter. As a general rule the private lives of philosophers have not been strict deductions from their axioms.

consideration than the happiness of the individual; for, again to quote Mr Lewes, "the organism is but a unit in the great sum of things . . . our life is but a moment in the larger life."

But, alas! ordinary men refuse to be guided by purely scientific considerations. They exhibit a perverse indifference to the remote, a keen interest in the proximate. Not only do they prefer a bird in the hand to two in the bush, but they distinctly prefer one bird to their own gun, to a nominal interest in all possible sport in the antipodes. This vulgar and irrational egoism is a powerful element in human nature, and it offers considerable resistance to the principles of a religion of pure benevolence. So at least it strikes us from an abstract point of view. But when we would observe how Deronda, the Apostle of Positivism, deals with the resisting element in the concrete, we find his task considerably lightened by the sudden drowning of the most obstinate egoist in his circle of acquaintance, and the abrupt disappearance of the only two others whose selfishness had become inveterate.

With Gwendolen, the pattern convert, he is supposed fully to succeed. His method is simple. It is at the gambling *salon* of Leubronn that the first and fatal blow is given to the egoistic spirit which possesses her, and it is given by a look. Gwendolen rises from her seat excited, but in no wise subdued, by her losses. No tinge of remorse softens her determination if possible to retrieve them. *But* . . . she meets Deronda's gaze of calm rebuke, and from that moment her course is determined. For, though she attempts to meet it with indifference, she is conscious of its mastery, and the recollection of it haunts her like a ghost. And though once more she gambles —playing this time a desperate game, in which her own life's happiness, and the fortunes at least of another are at stake— yet the work is done, the seeds of repentance are sown, and Deronda's spiritual counsel is all that is now needed to enable them to spring up and bear permanent fruit.

And never was apostle blessed with a more enthusiastic disciple. She pursues him at a loss of dignity so pitiable, that we feel that her husband does but tell her the simple truth when he remarks that she is making a fool of herself. The following are some of the counsels she is so eager to receive:—

"'Tell me what better I can do,' said Gwendolen insistently.

"'Many things. Look on other lives besides your own. See what their troubles are, and how they are borne. Try to care about something in this vast world besides the gratification of small selfish desires. Try to care for what is best in thought and action, something that is good, apart from the accidents of your own lot. . . . That is the bitterest wrong of all, to wear the yoke of our own wrong-doing. But if you submitted to that, as men submit to maiming, or a lifelong incurable disease; and made the unalterable wrong a reason for more effort towards a good, that may do something to counterbalance the evil. One who has committed irremediable errors may be scourged by that consciousness into a higher course than is common. There are many examples. Feeling what it is to have spoiled one life may well make us long to save other lives from being spoiled. . . . Can't you understand that?'

"'I think I do—now,' said Gwendolen. 'But you were right—I *am* selfish. I have never thought much of anyone's feelings, except my mother's. I have not been fond of people. But what can I do? . . . You say I am ignorant. But what is the good of trying to know more, unless life were worth more?'

"'This good,' said Deronda promptly, with a touch of indignant severity which he was inclined to encourage as his own safeguard; 'life *would* be worth more to you; some real knowledge would give you an interest in the world beyond the small drama of personal desires. It is the curse of your life—forgive me—of so many lives, that all passion is spent in that narrow round, for want of ideas and sympathies to make a larger home for it. . . . What sort of earth or heaven would hold any spiritual wealth in it for souls pauperised by inaction? . . . We should stamp every possible world with the flatness of our own inanity, which is necessarily impious, without faith or fellowship. The refuge you are needing for personal trouble is the higher, the religious life, which holds an enthusiasm for something more than our own appetites and vanities.' . . .

"'But' . . . said Gwendolen . . . 'I am frightened at everything. I am frightened at myself.' . . .

"Deronda said, 'Turn your fear into a safeguard. Keep your dread fixed on the idea of increasing that remorse which is so bitter to you. Fixed meditation may do a great deal towards defining our longing or dread. . . . Looking at your life as a debt may seem the dreariest view of things at a distance; but it cannot really be so. What makes life dreary is the want of motive; but once beginning to act with that penitential loving purpose which you have in your mind, there will be unexpected satisfaction—there will be newly-opening needs continually coming to carry you on from day to day. You will find your life growing like a plant. . . . You can, you will, be among the best of women, such as make others glad they were born.'"

The "Edinburgh's" comments on these conversations express what must be the feeling of every reader:—

"When, contrary to all the antecedents of her character, Gwendolen

throws herself at his feet, so to speak, or at least flings herself helplessly upon his guidance, the platitudes with which he responds to her are so heavily vague and common-place, that it is inconceivable how they could have satisfied the judgment of the author. . . . Are his pharisaic morality and her crouching feebleness all that George Eliot can give us at such a supreme moment?"

And it adds, "The author has too much genius not to perceive what a world beyond her hero's philosophical and somewhat complacent exhortations, which are vague as his own being, are the passionate misery and temptations of Gwendolen; . . . the author cannot but allow us to perceive, by a sudden flash, that she knows how poor these wretched dogmatisms are; but this does not disturb her steady maintenance of her hero's superiority through all."

The following passage fully justifies this criticism:—

"'Yes, . . .' said Gwendolen. . . . 'But if feelings rose—there are some feelings, hatred and anger—how can I be good when they keep rising? And if there come a moment when I felt stifled and could bear it no longer——.' She broke off, and with agitated lips looked at Deronda, but the expression on his face pierced her with an entirely new feeling. He was under the baffling difficulty of discerning that what he had been urging on her was thrown into the palid distance of mere thought before the outburst of her habitual emotion. It was as if he saw her drowning whilst his limbs were bound."

And no wonder! He possessed no balm in all his pharmacopœia for a wounded spirit. A passionate nature, torn by the excitement of remorse and fear, as is here described, with the terrible possibilities of crime rising before it, could hardly be calmed by these benevolent exhortations. Between his "palid region of mere thought" and her "very present" troubles there was a great gulf fixed, which he had no resources for bridging over.

So this is the best he can do and say. And this is all that George Eliot, with her keen perceptions and deep human sympathies, can give us in exchange for the Help from Heaven—for the love of GOD. And it is the effort of perhaps the greatest and purest genius of our day, and the total result of an expenditure of labour and thought such as has apparently never been bestowed upon any of her former works. Thank GOD it is such a miserable failure! such a palpable absurdity! But what else could it be? It need, surely, be no matter of astonishment that a "religion" without GOD should have nothing in it to appeal to the hearts and sympathies of His children; of those who, however they may have wandered from Him,

were created in the glorious dignity of His likeness, to be satisfied with nothing but Himself.

But Deronda recovers from his perplexity, and the conversion of his fair disciple is brought to an appropriate conclusion. On the day of his marriage he receives from her this note:—

"'Do not think of me sorrowfully on your wedding day. I have remembered your words—that I may live to be one of the best of women, who make others glad they were born. I do not yet see how that can be, but you know better than I. If it ever comes true, it will be because you helped me. I only thought of myself, and I made you grieve. It hurts me now to think of your grief. You must not grieve any more for me. It is better—it shall be better with me because I have known you.'"

We hear much in these days of the evils of sacerdotalism, and they are very real; but in this novel, read with interest and attention by nearly every educated person in this country, a subtle attempt has been made to introduce a far more virulent poison. A so-called priest professedly appears as the representative of GOD, dispensing pardons and blessings in His name. But for Daniel Deronda there is made a far more audacious claim. He is to be *instead of* GOD to those who stand to him in the relation of the unfortunate Gwendolen. When her anguish was at its height, "inarticulate prayers, no more definite than a cry, often swept out from her into the vast silence . . . but if ever she thought of definite help, it took the form of Deronda's presence and words." And in the exercise of his influence over her he is intended as an example to all "moralists." His mission is thus described:—

"She wanted again to see and consult Deronda, that she might secure herself against any act he would disapprove. Would her remorse have maintained its power within her had it not been for that outer conscience which was made for her by Deronda? It is hard to say how much we could forgive ourselves if we were secure from judgment by another whose opinion is the breathing-medium of all our joy—who brings to us with close pressure and immediate sequence that judgment of the Invisible and Universal, which self-flattery and the world's tolerance would easily melt and disperse. In this way our brother may be instead of God to us, and his opinion, which has pierced even to the joints and marrow, may be our virtue in the making. That mission of Deronda to Gwendolen had begun with what she had felt to be his judgment of her at the gaming-table. He might easily have spoiled it. . . . Deronda had not spoiled his mission."

Thus are we incited into a new mission field. We are pressed to go forth amongst our fellow-men with the cheering

intelligence, that though their dreams of GOD and Heaven have been vain delusions, and though in a few short years not one of us will consciously exist, yet, as "units in the great sum of things," we still have sacred duties to fulfil towards each other during our short lives, and must at once bestir ourselves, and renouncing all egoistic interests, devote our energies, and consecrate our affections to the good of the race.

And this is a very similar scheme to that suggested by Mr J. S. Mill, in his posthumous work—that the sentiment of patriotism might be cultivated and extended until an ardent love for the whole world—an "enthusiasm of humanity"—should take the place of any "supernatural religion," and be developed into more practical forms than any we have yet seen. The objection commonly made to this scheme is its impossibility. This may be very evident, but supplies no answer to the response: But surely it would be *right, if* it were possible, to love the whole world? To this query it is very important to be prepared with an answer, the only one that meets the case: *Most assuredly it would be right;* but only by "believing the love that GOD hath to us," shall we ever attain to a genuine love of mankind, and overcome the selfishness which besets us. There never was any true philanthropy until GOD'S love to the world was manifested. Then for the first time were the barriers of national exclusiveness overthrown, and the command was given, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Before the rise of Christianity the love of country may have been passionately felt, but all mankind outside its boundaries were regarded with hatred and contempt. Even stoicism never practically reached farther than this; for though holding a *doctrine* of universal brotherhood, it proved utterly powerless to disseminate it beyond the narrow limits of a small sect. Nor can any principle but the Gospel rise higher. From it alone, however they may despise it, have unbelievers learnt to regard a world embracing philanthropy as desirable. By means of the Gospel alone will their dreams ever be realised. And when we turn from theory to practice, it can hardly be questioned that the love of mankind has taken a more practical form in the lives of the missionaries than in those of such "thinkers" as Mr J. S. Mill.

Hitherto we have considered this remarkable book, simply as an attempt to foist upon an unsuspecting public an Agnostic

Morality in place of the Christian religion. But it has an aspect more worthy of our careful consideration. George Eliot's hostility to Christianity is not that of an ignoramus. Probably she has studied its history as much as any one. Her earliest books shewed an intimate acquaintance with several of its outward forms, all of which were depicted with much truth and fairness, whilst a deep appreciation of the good in them all was manifest, and of the elevating power of spiritual religion. She now apparently seeks to preserve as much as possible of what she believes to be the only abiding elements of Christianity, grafting them upon what we should consider rank atheism.

But in fitting herself for this attempt she has studied more than Christianity. She has found the New Testament to be firmly based upon the Old. To destroy the authority of one, she must undermine the other. And we cannot but admire her method. She shews herself to be wiser than, alas! too often are the children of light. To her clear mind the whole question resolves itself into a Jewish one. JESUS was a Jew: Deronda shall be a Jew; and her main attack shall be against the Old Testament Scriptures.

And in what does this attack consist? Does she try to prove them forgeries? Does she hold up to ridicule their record of miraculous interferences? Does she point out the puerility of the ceremonial law, or the revolting carnality of the sacrificial system? Does she enter into arithmetical calculations proving the chronology to be erroneous, or the account of the creation absurd? She does none of these things. She knows her game better than that, and she plays it with sufficient skill to take in the Jews themselves, who have already translated part of her work into Hebrew, with her permission, that it may be circulated amongst their people throughout the nationalities. She has "come in peaceably, and by flatteries." Some extracts from the "Times" will shew how she has succeeded amongst the Jews in London, and with the son of their chief Rabbi:—

"'DANIEL DERONDA.'—Dr Hermann Adler, preacher of the Bayswater Synagogue, on Saturday night delivered a lecture on 'Daniel Deronda' to the Jewish Working Men's Club, Aldgate; Mr H. Guedalla was in the chair. Dr Adler said that the latest work of George Eliot contains the most faithful exposition of Judaism and the Jewish character which has

ever been published in this country by any one not an Israelite. . . . Daniel Deronda himself seemed designed by the author to lay stress upon the peculiarity of Judaism in that its professors are not bound together merely by the tie of a common religion, but that they have another tie almost as strong, that of common descent. Mordecai, an assistant in a second-hand book shop, a vender of watches, but a sort of Spinoza, a poet and philosopher, into whose mouth some of the finest reflections contained in the work were put, reminded them of the fact that some of the most learned Jews, from the Rabbis of the Talmud down to Moses Mendelssohn, had been followers of handicrafts or trades. This man had completely seized the lofty spiritual character of his religion and the great future in store for it. He did not think the purification of Judaism meant the throwing off of all its distinctive rites and observances. He looked forward to the Holy Land becoming an organic centre for the Jews dispersed over the whole world—to a new Jewish polity like the old, a republic with equality of protection, so that the outraged Jew might have a defence in the court of nations, as the outraged Englishman or American. . . . The author must have read very extensively on the subject of Jewish life and prayer. Names and allusions often bespeak her familiarity with ancient customs and little-studied literature. . . . Many theories had been started to explain how it was that George Eliot wrote the Jewish episodes of her book. Dr Adler was of opinion that she was induced to take her deep interest in Judaism by the fact that she, in common with every profound thinker, could not fail to become interested in a faith which, as she herself stated, has penetrated the thinking half of the world, and moulded the forms of the world's religions. And the central figure of the great work thus inspired, a book which was certainly an English classic, was a person like themselves, a Jewish working-man. The lecture was frequently interrupted by applause, and at the end a vote of thanks was carried by acclamation."

It is a fact worthy of very special notice, and one of deep significance, that an infidel work, founded on principles of scarcely disguised materialism, and coolly proposing a hope of purely political prosperity for Israel as the utmost possible realisation of its expectations, should be thus rapturously received by the Jews. Looking at the subject in the light of prophecy—and how can we otherwise regard it?—is it not a lamentable though convincing proof that "the mystery of iniquity" is already at work, which shall result in the open apostasy of all but a remnant of the chosen people?

Taking this view, we should expect to find, as we do find, that a large proportion of modern Jews are casting off their ancient faith, though they may be still clinging with more or less tenacity to some of the old ritual observances which have so long distinguished them as a nation.

It is chiefly with this class of Jews that George Eliot has now become so singularly intimate. She represents them as divided amongst themselves on both religious and political questions. Some of them, such as Ezra Cohen and his family, are described as concerned with little beyond mere money-making, not troubling themselves with speculations of any kind outside the region of "hardware and exchange;" the distinguishing trait of even the youthful Jacob, aged five, being a shrewd appreciation of the advantages of a profitable "shwop." But yet, with the instincts of race, this family shew kindness to the consumptive wanderer, whom they "regard with much goodwill, as a compound of workman, dominie, vessel of charity, inspired idiot, man of piety, and (if he were inquired into) dangerous heretic," who for two years had lived under their roof.

This is the man who, according to Dr H. Adler, "had completely seized the lofty spiritual character of his religion, and the great future in store for it"! He does well to compare him to Spinoza, for Spinoza he is evidently intended to represent. Like Mordecai, Spinoza was a man of blameless life, and of singular sweetness of disposition; he was a Jew, an atheist,[1] an optical instrument maker, and he died of lingering consumption.[2] The resemblance is evident, and it is most conspicuous when we compare the description of him with that of Spinoza by Mr Lewes in his "History of Philosophy." Moreover, Spinoza's greatest work was "Ethics demonstrated geometrically;" and if for "geometrically" we substitute "scientifically," it is obvious that this is the key-note to the

[1] That is taking the point of intelligence as constituting the fundamental distinction between theists and atheists. Mr Lewes considers that Spinoza's so-called pantheism was not logically distinguishable from atheism.

[2] But although Mordecai may be fairly considered as representing Spinoza, his character and circumstances were doubtless more immediately suggested by those of an old acquaintance of Mr Lewes', a frequenter of the Jewish debating club before referred to, and whom he thus describes: "A German Jew, named Cohn or Kohn, whom we all admired as a man of astonishing subtlety and logical force, no less than of sweet personal worth. A calm, meditative, amiable man, by trade a journeyman watchmaker, very poor, with weak eyes and chest, grave and gentle in demeanour, incorruptible even by the seductions of vanity, I habitually think of him in connection with Spinoza, almost as much on account of his personal characteristics as because to him I owe my first acquaintance with the Hebrew thinker. My admiration for him was of that enthusiastic temper which in youth we feel for our intellectual leaders."—"Fortnightly Review," 1st April 1866.

whole scheme of "Daniel Deronda," and an epitome of the teaching of the modern school of agnostic moralists. The sum of Spinoza's teaching was that matter, though infinitely diversified, contains within its own essence the necessary causes of the changes through which it passes. And this one universal substance he called *God*, and ascribed to it divine attributes. In the opinion of his enemies, this was merely to cast a veil of concealment over his atheism, in those days a reproach; but far more probably it was the real vent demanded by the irrepressible fervour of his religious instincts. That one of the closest logicians the world has ever seen should have thus imposed upon himself would be more astonishing than it is; were not such a want of mental balance frequently a characteristic of the greatest thinkers. His pious nomenclature has been now revived by Comte, and we meet with it frequently in the effusions of Mordecai. These will probably be skipped by most readers, and those with sufficiently inquiring minds to peruse them will most likely arrive at the conclusion that the private judgment of his friends, the Cohens, was not wide of the mark when it pronounced him an "inspired idiot," his insanity being unquestionable, though not his inspiration.

But there is method in his madness. He being an atheist, yet raves in the language of the Hebrew poets, and is for ever quoting the prophets, and "the masters." He often uses such expressions as the "Omnipresent" and the "Eternal," whilst with his last breath he makes the Hebrew "confession of the Divine Unity, which for long generations has been on the lips of the dying Israelite." Whether he applies these phrases to the *Universal Substance* of Spinoza, to the *Collective Consciousness* of Kant, to the *Best Self* of Mr Matthew Arnold, to the *Ego* of Fichte and Schelling, to the *Absolute* of Hegel, or to the *Eternal Power* of Comte, we are not told, and we need not be careful to inquire. He appears to combine them all. But that George Eliot, in her attempt to introduce a substitute for Christianity, should not hesitate to adopt a phraseology which has been well described as "a mere impertinence of morbid intellectualism," is indeed a deplorable and unaccountable darkening of the clear intelligence and broad common sense which once distinguished her peculiarly English genius.

Mordecai is represented as consumed with enthusiasm for

Israel. Day and night visions of the future glories of Jerusalem are before his eyes. But he is feeble, helpless, dying. He sees his people solely occupied with sordid gain, or aimless speculations. None of them understand him or enter into his schemes for Israel's restoration. They look upon him as a curious specimen of antique learning, as a worthy fanatic, as a harmless visionary. His passionate appeals may silence them, as at the "Philosopher's Club," but they utterly fail to stir them to emotion, still less to rouse them to action. These Jews are satisfied with their position in London, one of them openly avowing it as his conviction that "a man's country is where he is well off." But Mordecai will not be disheartened. He looks forward with absolute confidence to his sentiments being reciprocated at last. He is possessed by the idea that some one shall yet come to him to whom he may unbosom his soul, and into whose being he may pour the fervour of his own desires, until he shall be so infused by these passionate convictions that he becomes his other self, and consecrates his life and energies to carrying out his purposes.

These dreams are realised. Daniel Deronda, in search of a lost Jew, whose sister he has lately rescued from drowning, comes into the shop of Ezra Cohen, and there enters into conversation with Mordecai. Immediately the prophet recognises him as the expected disciple, and after many conversations, and after he is discovered to be the Jew of whom Deronda was in search, and after Deronda has been himself proved an Israelite, and has married Mordecai's sister, and after Mordecai's own decease, Deronda does start upon the Eastern expedition so long planned for him, Mordecai having died in a rapture of peace, perfectly satisfied that his ideas shall be carried out by Deronda, and shall thus have a continued existence, though he himself as an individual shall be no more.

"It was not till late in the afternoon, when the light was falling, that he . . . said . . . looking at Deronda, 'Death is coming to me as the divine kiss which is both parting and reunion—which takes me from your bodily eyes and gives me full presence in your soul. Where thou goest, Daniel, I shall go. Is it not begun? Have I not breathed my soul into you? We shall live together.'"

He had expressed the same sentiment a short time previously:

"'It has begun already—the marriage of our souls. It waits but the passing away of this body, and then they who are betrothed shall unite in a

stricter bond, and what is mine shall be thine. Call nothing mine that I have written, Daniel; . . . I have judged what I have written, and I desire the body that I gave my thought to pass away as this fleshly body will pass; but let the thought be born again from our fuller soul which shall be called yours.'"

Long before he had spoken of Deronda as "my new life—my new self—who will live when this breath is all breathed out."

Now, all this is but a rhetorical[1] mode of stating the theory; true, no doubt, as far as it goes; which is so reiterated by Mr Lewes in his "Problems," that "the mind is built up out of assimilated experiences;" that "we are a part of all that we have met;" that "the organism itself is a product of its history, it *is* what it has become, it is a part of the history of the human race;" that any individual therefore who has strongly influenced us, has actually changed our mental structure in "registered experience," and may so be said to live again in us.

It is evident that no more than this is meant in the passages from "Daniel Deronda" above quoted. But Mrs Lewes has not only to translate these recondite biological theories, but to cast over them the glamour of sentiment, before they can be received as compensation for the loss of a genuine immortality by those whose judgments are mostly swayed by rhetoric. And it is not alone the emotions that must be directed into the desired channel, the conscience must be forced to assent, and materialistic principles must be shewn to involve all that is

[1] George Eliot puts the same thought in the final poem of her "Jubal and other Poems":—

> "O may I join the choir invisible
> Of those immortal dead who live again
> In minds made better by their presence; live
> In pulses stirred to generosity,
> In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
> For miserable aims that end with self,
> In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
> And with their mild persistence urge man's search
> To vaster issues. So to live is heaven."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "And all our better, rarer, truer self,
> That sobbed religiously in yearning song,
> That watched to ease the burthen of the world,
> Laboriously tracing what must be,
> And what may yet be better—saw within
> A worthier image for the sanctuary [than GOD?],
> And shaped it forth before the multitude
> Divinely human, raising worship so [!]
> To higher reverence more mixed with love."

morally sublime. Here is an undertaking to task her utmost powers. Let us observe how she accomplishes it. One example must suffice. Shortly before his death Mordecai said to his sister:—

"'In this moment, I hold the joy of another's future within me—a future which these eyes will not see, and which my spirit may not recognise as mine. I recognise it now, and love it so that I can lay down this poor life upon its altar and say: "Burn, burn indiscernibly into that which shall be, which is my love and not me." Dost thou understand, Mirah?'

"'A little,' said Mirah faintly; 'but my mind is too poor to have felt it.'

"'And yet,' said Mordecai, rather insistently, 'women are specially framed for the love which feels possession in renouncing, and is thus a fit image of what I mean. Somewhere in the later *Midrash*, I think, is the story of a Jewish maiden who loved a Gentile king so well, that this was what she did:—She entered into prison and changed clothes with the woman that was beloved by the king, that she might deliver that woman from death by dying in her stead, and leave the king to be happy in his love which was not for her. This is the surpassing love, that loses self in the object of love.'"

This is ingenious, and so is the whole scheme. From the weird description given of Mordecai, from his all-consuming enthusiasm, from the imaginative fervour of his language, his suppressed emotion overflowing every now and then into Hebrew poetry, we are tacitly invited to draw the inference that he had but inherited the Jewish turn of thought, and that therefore the inspirations of the ancient prophets were of a similar character; no more than the ravings, half delirious, half sublime, of an exuberant Semitic imagination, directed by noble and patriotic impulses. Did Isaiah's passionate love of his country and his anticipations of her future glory find utterance in the language of Oriental imagery? So do Mordecai's. Did Jeremiah weep day and night over the afflictions of his people? Mordecai would do more than weep, he would willingly die for them.[1] But more than this. The genius of Judaism, yea, of Christianity, is shewn to be less sublime in self-devotion, less intrinsically excellent in genuine "altruistic" morality, than the religion of positivism. Was Paul "ready to be offered?" Yes; but also to receive a

[1] That the Hebrews had no belief whatever in a future state is always assumed by the positive school.

martyr's crown. Did Christ "lay down his life?" Yes; but that he might "take it again." It is left for positive religion to offer the purest phase of self-sacrifice.[1] Mordecai can look forward with rejoicing to personal extinction if only his dreams of Israel's future may be fulfilled. It is as much as this that positive religion claims. It challenges Christianity to beat it, or to come near it, in "the surpassing love, that loses self in the object of love."

In controverting these claims, it is sufficient to say that they do not exist. It cannot be more heroic to act as though there were no hereafter, if there *is* a hereafter. Neither has the world yet seen, except on paper, a specimen of the class of martyr that is willing to be annihilated for an idea.

Mordecai's "idea" with regard to Israel's future must now be given in his own words:—

"'In the multitudes of the ignorant on three continents who observe our rites, and make the confession of the divine unity, the soul of Judaism is not dead. Revive the organic centre; let the unity of Israel which has made the growth and form of its religion be an outward reality. Looking towards a land and a polity, our dispersed people in all the ends of the earth may share the dignity of a national life which has a voice among the peoples of the East and the West, which will plant the wisdom and skill of our race, so that it may be, as of old, a medium of transmission and understanding. Let that come to pass, and the living warmth will spread to the weak extremities of Israel, and superstition will vanish, not in the lawlessness of the renegade, but in the illumination of great facts which widen feeling, and make all knowledge alive as the young offspring of beloved memories.'"

Here another member of the "Philosophers' Club" remarks:—

"'You have your own way of looking at things, Mordecai, and, as you say, your own way seems to you rational. I know you don't hold with the restoration to Judea by miracle, and so on; but you are as well aware as I am, that the subject has been mixed with a heap of nonsense both by Jews and Christians. And as to the connection of our race with Palestine, it has been perverted by superstition, till it is as demoralising as the old poor-law. The raff and scum go there to be maintained like able-bodied paupers. . . . Its no use fighting against facts. . . . The most learned and liberal men among us who are attached to our religion are for clearing our liturgy of all such notions as a literal fulfilment of the prophecies about restoration, and so on. Prune it of a few useless

[1] Thus Mr Lewes affirms, in the "Hist. of Philosophy," that "the main distinction" between Christianity and Positivism "lies in this, that the latter leaves less influence to the avowedly selfish motives."

rites and literal interpretations of that sort, and our religion is the simplest of all religions, and makes no barrier, but a union between us and the rest of the world.'"

To this out-spoken "Philosopher" Mordecai does not find it convenient to reply. He bides his time, but presently continues (much rant is omitted that is absolutely unintelligible):—

. . . "'Let the wealthy men, the monarchs of commerce, the learned in all knowledge, the skilful in all arts, the speakers, the political counsellers, who carry in their veins the Hebrew blood which has maintained its vigour in all climates, and the pliancy of the Hebrew genius for which difficulty means new device—let them say, 'We will lift up a standard, we will unite in a labour hard but glorious like that of Moses and Ezra, —a labour which shall be a worthy fruit of the long anguish whereby our fathers maintained their separateness, refusing the ease of falsehood.' They have wealth enough to redeem the soil from debauched and paupered conquerors; they have the skill of the statesman to devise, the tongue of the orator to persuade. . . . There is store of wisdom among us to found a new Jewish polity, grand, simple, just, like the old; a republic whereby there is equality of protection—an equality which shone like a star on the forehead of our ancient community, and gave it more than the brightness of Western freedom among the despotisms of the East. Then our race shall have an organic centre, a heart and brain to watch, and guide, and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defence in the court of nations, as the outraged Englishman or American. And the world will gain as Israel gains. For there will be a community in the van of the East which carries the culture and the sympathies of every great nation in its bosom; there will be a land set for a halting-place of enmities, a neutral ground for the East as Belgium is for the West. Difficulties? I know there are difficulties. But let the spirit of sublime achievement move in the great among our people, and the work will begin. . . . I cherish nothing for the Jewish nation, I seek nothing for them, but the good which promises good to all nations. The spirit of our religious life, which is one with our national life, is not hatred of aught but wrong. The masters have said, an offence against man is more than an offence against God. . . . The Messianic time is the time when Israel shall will the planting of the national ensign.'"

Deronda explains this scheme in more concise and intelligible terms in his farewell interview with Gwendolen. After breaking it to her that he shall be abroad for some years, he thus describes his mission:—

"'I am going to the East to become better acquainted with the condition of my race in various countries there. The idea that I am possessed with is that of restoring a political existence to my people; making them a nation again, giving them a national centre, such as the English have

though they too are scattered over the face of the globe. That is a task which presents itself to me as a duty. I am resolved to begin it, however feebly. I am resolved to devote my life to it.'"

It is hardly necessary to say that whilst thus consecrating his life and energies to the accomplishment of Mordecai's "idea," Deronda has no intention of adopting the Jewish religion, nor does Mordecai ever desire or suggest that he should do so. Once indeed Deronda is asked the question point blank by a friend of his grandfather's, a Jewish banker at Mainz, "You will call yourself a Jew, and profess the faith of your fathers?" and his reply, though evasive, appears to have been received as satisfactory:—

"'I shall call myself a Jew,' said Deronda, deliberately, becoming slightly paler under the piercing eyes of his questioner. 'But I will not say that I shall profess to believe exactly as my fathers have believed. Our fathers themselves changed the horizon of their belief, and learned of other races. But I think I can maintain my grandfather's notion of separateness with communication. I hold that my first duty is to my own people, and if there is anything to be done towards restoring or perfecting their common life, I shall make that my vocation.'"

But between Deronda and Mordecai the subject is not mentioned in any of their conversations. It is apparently taken for granted that both would consider such a question irrelevant, neither of them believing in the supernatural, though even this is not stated, and the causes which have led them—the one nominally a Jew, the other nominally a Christian—to these agnostic conclusions are never related. Deronda during his singular interview with his mother, unknown till then, says: "'The effects of my education can never be done away with. The Christian sympathies in which my mind was reared can never die out of me. But I consider it my duty, it is the impulse of my feeling, to identify myself as far as possible with my hereditary people.'" But it is made very evident that the "Christian sympathies" to which he confesses, so far from being any disqualification, are to render him all the more efficient in the task of reconstituting a Jewish polity on a philosophic basis—"absorbing," as it is elsewhere said, "the philosophy of the Gentile into the faith of the Jew."

It is this careful avoidance of the religious element that is the most remarkable feature in the book, the more remarkable in that the *terms* "religion" and "God" are now and then,

though rarely, introduced; when they are, it is clear that they are used in a purely agnostic sense. Yet, as Dr Adler has observed in his lecture, Mordecai "did not think the purification of Judaism meant the throwing off of all its distinctive rites and observances."[1] Not at all, he says; "'They scorn our people's ignorant observance; but the most accursed ignorance is that which has no observance. . . . There is a degradation deep down below the memory which has withered into superstition.'"

And this is the very essence of Comtism, which boasts loudly of its conservatism, both political and religious. Auguste Comte, as has been well said by Mr Mark Pattison, "had taken away God, but found that after all it was necessary to replace him. He was in the dilemma, '*Dieu n'existe pas, mais il faut l'inventer.*'" Thus he not only substituted a "Supreme Power," which was to be "loved" as well as venerated (!) but insisted on the necessity for his new "religion" of "the three essential elements: *Doctrine, Worship, Government.*" By "Doctrine" he "meant simply the sum of positive knowledge, the consensus of all science;" but for the consolidation of his system he would have retained the outward garb of Catholicism, with its priesthood and ceremonial—the Deity, as the object of worship, being gradually superseded, as knowledge advanced, by the god of his own invention, "the Eternal Power," of which man (whose free-will and exercise of choice is made much of) is the culminating development.

The outward form therefore of any religion may on this principle be retained, and eventually accommodated to the adoration of universal energy. The Jewish as well as any Christian ceremonial may be so adapted; and to judge by the reception "Daniel Deronda" has met with from the Jews, it may be inferred that a large number of them would not, even now, be averse to such an adaptation. A remarkable passage in Mr Neil's pamphlet, "Palestine Re-peopled" (Nisbet), shews that already they have themselves been preparing such a scheme:—

"The Jews, as a nation, have resisted all former attempts to convert them, but there is much reason to believe that they will be won over to what will be regarded as a 'reformed Christianity,' to use the language of the Hebrew author of 'The Genius of Judaism.' It is in every way to be

[1] On this principle Deronda and Mirah are married according to the Jewish rite.

feared that 'philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ,' when the liberal tenets of united Christendom reach their height, will have attractions for Israel as a nation, which 'the truth as it is in Jesus' has not possessed.[1] Then will those words of our blessed Lord spoken to the Jews of his day, who resisted his claim, and sought to put him to death, come literally true: 'I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not; *if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.*'"

Now, should the Judo-Infidel alliance that has been brought before us ever be carried into effect—and surely in our own days we have seen the realisation of far more impracticable schemes—and were the temple proposed by M. Salvador[2] to be actually erected at Jerusalem, we should then have the very climax desired to crown such a mission as Daniel Deronda's with success. From thence it would be but a short step to the culminating sin of Israel—their acceptance of a false Messiah. And then might come to pass a literal fulfilment of the prophecy of 2 Thess. ii. 4, that the Antichrist will "oppose and exalt himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped," and will himself sit in the temple as the God Incarnate.

For if once the principle of positivism is accepted, which as has been shewn is intrinsically the worship of humanity, and if positivism, acting upon Comte's suggestion, retained the Roman Catholic form of church government, the very pivot of which is the principle of centralisation, then why should not a man be elected to stand as the representative of the human race, and as such to receive divine honours? So far from such a consummation being improbable, it appears to be the natural and legitimate conclusion to these premises. Comtism has been justly described as the *deification of an idea;* but it is impossible that a pure abstraction could ever be popularly received as an object of worship. It would become a necessity that it should receive a personal embodiment. *In the Antichrist it would be personified.* He might then

[1] The columns of the "Jewish World" afford plentiful confirmations of this. It is there openly stated that the inspiration of the ancient prophets was in no wise different from such "inspiration" as the modern Jews themselves possess, viz., the gift of reason. The miraculous appears to be completely given up.

[2] This proposition is mentioned in the pamphlet noticed on the previous page, and was referred to in a portion of this article which has been omitted from considerations of space.

literally sit in the temple (as Jewish, professedly God's), exalted above that—viz., the "idea" of Spinoza, or of Comte—*which is called God*, and is worshipped. Having "come in by flatteries," and being once, as he would believe, established in his blasphemous position, he might easily take advantage of it to "oppose" the very "idea" by which he rose. And this again would naturally follow. The populace would soon lose sight of the abstraction of which he was the symbol, merging it in the worship of the man himself. Of this too Roman Catholicism has very nearly supplied an example. It is true that we are told again and again that the Pope is sacred as an individual merely by virtue of his office; but amongst the crowd of ignorant worshippers who throng to kiss his toe, probably not many are able thus logically to distinguish between the man and the Supreme Power of which he is supposed to be the representative.

Again, the Jews, having then become theoretically materialists—worshippers of the κοσμος—would say in a profounder sense than was ever contemplated by Ezekiel: "We will be as the heathen, as the families of the countries, to *serve wood and stone*."[1] And "the scornful men that rule this people which is at Jerusalem" perfectly reconciled—as the Jewish enthusiast of "Daniel Deronda"—to personal extinction, might say with bitter truth: "We have made a covenant with death, and with hell we are at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us, for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves."[2]

If the early Fathers, and pre-eminently Irenæus, were right in their conjectures that Antichrist would be a Jew, the analogy between the true and the false Messiah would be complete.

These are but suggestions offered with much diffidence by one whose own study of prophecy has been anything but profound. Yet the subject is worthy of the consideration of those who, like "the children of Issachar," are "men that have understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." Would that there were more such both among Jews and Gentiles!

We know not how the publication of such a work as "Daniel Deronda," at such a time as this, and by the first novelist of

[1] Ezek. xx. 32. [2] Isa. xxviii. 14, 15.

the age, may strike others—to our own mind it is of deep significance. We cannot but regard it as one of the many signs in these latter days that the redemption of Israel draweth nigh. May we who "look for such things" be aroused to "walk circumspectly," practically conformed to a higher, juster, and less fictitious standard of righteousness than has been ordinarily recognised amongst Christians; and whilst endeavouring to promote the most fearless research into all departments of science, may we by GOD'S Grace be ever learning of Him who is meek and lowly of heart, for only in so far as we have a personal acquaintance with the Divine Source of all Goodness and Truth, have we any security against our own apostasy. And may the hope of His Coming, "Whose right it is" to reign, cheer and strengthen us through the struggle that appears inevitably to lie before us.

ART. VIII.—*Religious Life in Germany.*

A VERY curious work, from the pen of the Berlin correspondent of the "Times" newspaper, startled the British public a few years ago by its dark pictures of religion and morals in modern Germany. The author's information seemed to be so accurate, and his gloomy inferences so logical in their sequence, that the book soon came to be almost universally regarded as a trustworthy authority on the questions it discussed. It was quoted more than once in the course of the debate in the House of Lords on the "Universities Tests Bill." In opposing that measure, the Marquis of Salisbury made use of the following excerpt: "To take a broader view, who that knows modern Germany will call it a Christian land, either in the sense Rome gives to the term, or in the meaning Luther attached to it? Scholars have begun to denominate Christianity an Asiatic religion, and the public, proud of their vaunted European enlightenment, accept the degrading name." And a little later in his speech, citing the same authority: "Already things have gone so far, that men who have had a university education scarcely dare go to church lest they should be taken for hypocrites or sentimental enthusiasts."

There can be no question but that views, at all events,

similar to those quoted above obtain very largely in this country. Very many persons look upon Germany as the home of rationalism, and infidelity in all its phases. The German people are conscientiously believed by many to have abandoned the noble birthright of truth, won for them by Luther, for the miserable mess of rationalistic pottage served up to them by certain notorious freethinkers of the last generation.

Is the judgment just? Has the land of Luther and the Reformation fallen so low from its once high estate? Have the children of the Fatherland, in these modern times, departed from the paths which their fathers trod so bravely? Have they, the rightful heirs of that noble heritage of the truth which maketh free, bartered their inheritance for naught, and wilfully sold themselves into a bondage more irksome by far than that in which Rome once held their ancestors enthralled? We answer emphatically, no. Speaking from an intimate acquaintance with the German people, extending over many years of personal sojourn amongst them, we have no hesitation in affirming that in the matter of religious life, meaning by the term a Christianity which is at once genuine and healthy, the state of Germany is little, if at all, different from that of England. The Berlin correspondent of the "Times" has given us a very readable book; and we may acquit him of any deliberate desire to giving an unfair or unduly coloured representation of what he describes. On the other hand, no one "who knows modern Germany" will come away from a perusal of his work with any other feeling than that the author, intentionally or unintentionally, has entirely misrepresented the people he professes to describe, and has culpably predicated of the entire nation the results of his own observation in a limited circle.

In the first place, he writes as the Berlin correspondent of the "Times." But to ascertain the religious character of any people, surely another place than their capital should be selected as the field of observation. It would be obviously unjust to infer the general character of the English people from the moral and religious atmosphere of London. Nor would a picture of French morality, limned in the uncertain twilight of Parisian life, be regarded as a faithful delineation of the national condition. And yet this is precisely what the writer in question has done. He has looked at Germany in

the mirror of Berlin. He regards the religious tone of the capital as really indicative of that of the whole country. From the case of the butcher's apprentice who attempted to assassinate the clergyman of one of the city churches, and who, in the subsequent investigation, turned out to be (as he still is) hopelessly insane, he infers a widespread popular hatred of the clergy as conservators of old and exploded superstitions, and obstructives of the national progress. In one word, the isolated act of a lunatic is taken as significant of a national sentiment.

Again, the author has been guilty of a very palpable material fallacy with respect to the persons whom he has taken to be authorities in the matter. He speaks of "scholars" who have begun to call Christianity "an Asiatic religion," of "men who have had a university education," and who in consequence dare not go to church lest they should be branded as hypocrites or sentimental enthusiasts. But translated into plain English, and read in the light of our home analogies, this simply means that some eminent *savans* have thus spoken; and that in Germany, just as in England, a section of the college-bred men of the country have drifted away from the ancient moorings, floated out of the quiet haven of faith with the back-wash of that tide of misnamed liberalism which, during the last thirty years, has been steadily rising over the universities of Europe, but which happily now begins to evince signs of subsiding. Have not "scholars" in England said the same? We are strongly of opinion that not a few passages might be culled from the works of no less a personage than the present Prime Minister of England himself, in which Christianity is described in terms not very unlike those used by the German scholars. Time would fail us to enumerate the efforts that have been made by some of our own "scholars" to eliminate altogether the religious element from our national culture. What we assert without fear of contradiction is, that in the matter of true, vital, evangelical Christianity, Germany is in no whit behind England.

The object of this paper is to prove the assertion which has just been hazarded. But in attempting this task there are two things which must steadily be borne in mind. In the first place, that many phases of German religious life, and possibly some of those which come most prominently before the observer, are not always in strict harmony with English

habits of thought, but are not therefore to be condemned as in themselves bad or illogical. There are many elements, entering largely into the religious life in question, which to the English mind seem utterly inconsequent or even inconsistent. In the second place, it ought not to be forgotten that the present is essentially a transition period, in every respect, with the German people, during which anything like a scientific final sketch of religious life and ecclesiastical relations is impossible. As in England, so also, but in a far more marked degree, in Germany there is a great sifting process going on. A mighty movement of change is sweeping through all classes in the community. Creeds and forms of faith, ancient as well as modern, are being put to the test of practical utility. And he would be a bold speculator who, gazing over the troubled sea, at present agitated by fierce storms, both social and polemical, and blowing from the most opposite quarters, would venture to affirm what its aspect shall be when the Master's voice shall again have spoken, and the great final calm set in. At present we shall not hazard even a guess upon this point. Our object is simply to set forth some of the more striking phenomena which present themselves to the inquirer into the state of religious life in Germany.

One of these, and probably the first to come under the notice of the observer, will be found in the church-going habits of the people. Generally speaking, though not invariably, even in Protestant countries, there is here afforded a pretty fair test of the religious character of the inhabitants. And tried by this test Germany is certainly found wanting. But on closer examination a somewhat different conclusion must be adopted. When we ask how it comes that among a people so earnest in purpose, and so quiet and even devotional in their habits as the Germans, the churches as a rule are deserted, reasons become apparent which do away with not a little of the strangeness of the phenomenon. Various causes have been assigned for the startling fact. Some have accounted for it by unworthy reflections on the clergy. Were refutation of so puerile a theory needed, it would be found in the fact that churches ministered by men whose reputations as earnest and able evangelical preachers are everywhere established form no exception to the rule. More worthy of attention is the hypothesis advanced by a Scottish professor on the subject, viz., that the rationalism

and infidelity which, fifty years ago, informed the general teaching of the German pulpit have in this generation taken root among the hearers. In other words, that the rationalism of a former age, driven from the pulpit, has in the present found refuge in the pews, and that, as a necessary consequence, the churches are empty. This theory, though at first sight extremely plausible, and fitted to meet all the exigencies of the case, does not, in point of fact, account for the phenomenon it professes to explain. For in not a few districts where rationalism never obtained any firm footing, either among clergy or hearers, the rule holds, notwithstanding, of churches deserted by the great mass of the people.

We venture to assign another cause which, so far as we know, has never before been put forward in public print, but which, we think, will account for all the facts of the case. In the very heart of the Lutheran theological system, if Lutheranism can be called a system, there lurks an error which we believe to be the fatal spring, not only of the phenomenon in question, but also of most of those great polemical and ecclesiastical divisions which have damaged, so often and so materially, the cause of truth since the Reformation. There is no sufficient place assigned to the Holy Ghost for his special work as Christ's Representative on earth. It is true His divine claims and attributes are admitted in theory on all hands. But, practically, His existence as a Spirit of action pervading, forming, and directing the Christian church is ignored. Nay, the very work which specially appertains to Him is ascribed to Christ, the Head of the Church himself. Hence have arisen most of those curious, hardly comprehensible, sects which have developed themselves in the course of the last three centuries. Hence, too, some of the most integral, but least stable, doctrines of the Lutheran Church. The doctrine of Consubstantiation may, in the last analysis, be traced to it. Its workings are apparent in the Christian life and habits of the most godly people in the country. A pious Lutheran, conversing with the writer of this paper, lately, on the nature of the consolation within reach of the Christian in the hour of distress, made the startling assertion: "But it is not the Holy Ghost I want at such a time; *I* must have Jesus—the man Jesus himself—for I know *He* will understand the sorrow that tortures my humanity, and will sympathize with me."

The theological system which thus fails to give the Holy Spirit His due place and sphere, in the internal management of Christ's kingdom, has produced a pulpit teaching which is, in so far defective as it lacks that breadth and tone which a system closely fashioned after the scriptural model ought to have. And the natural result of an eviscerated Christian teaching is a Christianity wanting fibre, and deficient in that which is the mainspring of all Christian energy, both corporative and personal.

To this same error, or more accurately, this non-perception of an important truth, may be traced Luther's adoption of the curious theory of the ubiquity of Christ in His glorified humanity. Elaborated by the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, in opposition to a threatened revival of the old gnostic heresy of a merely apparent humanity of our Lord, it was adopted by the founder of the Lutheran Church, in support of his own theory of consubstantiation as opposed to transubstantiation. It speedily became a marked and distinctive feature of Lutheranism. We are not here concerned with it, however, farther than as it is essentially bound up with what we regard as, at least, one fundamental cause of the fact under notice, viz., the desertion of the Church services by even the best and most pious Lutherans.

And if we turn to the case of the dissenting bodies, outside the pale of the Lutheran Church, we find strong corroboration of the hypothesis advanced. Wherever a more nervous theology is taught, whether among the Methodist or Baptist communities, by Calvinistic evangelists, or even by those ministers of the Lutheran Church who, having themselves got the higher light, preach the fuller gospel, we find the case different. Such teachers everywhere command large and attentive audiences; and the recipients of their doctrine manifest, in walk and conversation, that they have reached a higher platform of faith, and breathe a more invigorating spiritual atmosphere. Among them religious life flows on in the deep full current of a piety after the ancient Scottish pattern, seldom losing its equilibrium amid the rapids of pietism, and affording the strongest barriers against the inroads of socialism and infidelity. Such a type of Christianity is more suited to the clear logical mind of the German than the fervid extatic adoration of southern nations. He finds in

it what satisfies the deepest wants of his nature. He cannot rise to those heights of ecstasy where the soul, rapt in the contemplation of things beyond the ordinary ken of mortal vision, ceases to be logical and becomes merely cognitive. He seeks in his religion something which he may take with him into daily life, which will be his guide in difficulty, his comfort in distress, his chief joy in prosperity. A religion calculated to satisfy these cravings can with difficulty be produced, or kept in healthy growth, by a teaching which fails to set forth the grand distinctive office of the Holy Spirit in Christ's Church as the comforter, guide, and teacher of believers. And therefore, not receiving such teaching from his Lutheran pastor, the German peasant for the most part seldom enters his parish church.

It would be a gross mistake, however, to suppose that because the church services are neglected, there is *therefore* no Christian life among the people. What they fail to find in the sermons of their pastors they seek from other sources. There are few peasants' homes in which a copy of Arndt's "Wahres Christenthum," or some kindred work, is *not* preserved for Sunday reading and meditation, and grave, earnest conversation in the family circle. The devotional *spirit* of the people finds expression in that wonderful hymnology in which Germany is rich beyond all other lands. There *is no* more beautiful sight than that of a peasant family gathered together, on a quiet Sunday evening in summer, under *the old* linden tree that has sheltered their cottage for generations, and singing, as only Germans can sing, those grand old *hymns* which have kept alive in the people's breasts a love for what is true and good and noble when all other teachers had failed *them*. So long as Arndt and Stark and Hofäcker are household names in the homes of the peasantry, so long as Luther's *and* Gerhardt's and Neander's hymns are sung by the people, and taught by mothers to their children, so long will a true *and* healthy Christian life, even though it lack all other outcome, beat in the deepest pulses of the German people.

From the people to the preachers the transition is easy. And here again we find a pretty fair index of the current of religious thought in most Protestant countries. Except in Roman Catholic lands, the pulpit for the most part reflects the religious life of the people. This is not the place to

discuss the question, which element moulds and informs the other. It is enough for our present purpose that the old prophetic utterance still holds true, and that in Germany as elsewhere it is, "like people, like priest." The result of the application of this test to the case under review must be pronounced eminently favourable. We are far from asserting that the German *clerus*, any more than the English or Scottish or Irish, is all it ought to be, or that the pulpit teaching generally supplied is not in many things defective. We have already adverted to one notable defect in Lutheran teaching, with respect to the office and work of the Holy Spirit in the Christian Church. And other points might be adduced in which, according to a Calvinistic apprehension at all events, a very uncertain sound is given forth. We object to the strongly objective, or realistic, character of the teaching in question, to the exclusion of those subjective modes of religious thought which are in closer consonance with a spiritually-conceived worship. There is a religious materialism, pervading, more or less, the pulpit teaching of most Lutheran clergymen, which is calculated to cramp or deaden the higher aspirations of the heart reaching out to an invisible God. And there is, finally, far too little, as yet, of that evangelical tone which we should expect to find in the ministers of a church conscious of its high vocation, to aid in carrying the story of the cross to the uttermost parts of the earth. The average Lutheran clergyman is deeply imbued with the spirit of modern ecclesiasticism. Like his High Church brother in England, he has firmly rooted prejudices against all sects not in conformity with the model of the church by Luther. He attaches an exaggerated importance to the Sacraments (which he never dispenses except in full canonicals), which is often out of all harmony with the original Ordinances by Christ.

But notwithstanding these defects, serious and damaging to his usefulness as they are, we are justified in asserting that the Lutheran pulpit is, on the whole, faithfully and ably manned. As a class, the clergy are more highly educated, and possess a broader culture, in Germany than in England. Friendships formed, and lines of study projected, in the enthusiasm of university intercourse are kept up and followed out when the scene has changed to the quiet country vicarage and the society of phlegmatic peasants. It is no uncommon thing to find, toiling

in some remote rural charge, among a people totally destitute of culture, a scholar who would grace a professorial chair in the most brilliant university in Europe. It deserves to be noted that not a few of the most splendid contributions to the homiletical and exegetical literature of our age, works that have found their way into the idiom of every civilised nation in the world, have emanated from the pens of toiling underpaid country pastors of the Lutheran Church. Nor must it be forgotten that the German minister is fearfully overweighted in the discharge of his pastoral functions. He has to perform, for example, in addition to his own proper work, all, or nearly all, those duties which in this country fall to the lot of inspectors of schools and clerks of poor-law unions. Moreover every minister is bound by law to keep a daily record of his own official work, and of the chief events occurring in his parish. This diary must be submitted at regular intervals to the inspection of the authorities. It is carefully preserved in the archives of the parish, and forms a perfect mine of precedents to guide a young inexperienced pastor in the footsteps of his predecessors.

We have no hesitation in asserting that the gospel is preached from one end of Germany to the other, at least, as purely and as earnestly as in England. We are ready to admit that a very different state of things prevailed in the past. But, thanks to Schleiermacher's influence on the one hand, and Neander's on the other, the tide of rationalism was stemmed, new life poured into the dead church, and a generation of preachers sent forth to fill the length and breadth of the land with the old message of salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God.

From the preachers of Germany let us glance briefly at the state of the universities in which they receive their training. Here, also, we have an almost certain test of the tone of religious thought in a nation. Of this we have recently had abundant proof in England. A spirit of Mediævalism crept into the common rooms of Oxford, and very soon the Tractarian movement, its natural outcome, added a new party to the divisions already existing in the Church of England, and lent enormous influence to that current of ritualism which is still flowing steadily in the direction of Rome. It is impossible to overestimate the influence of universities in moulding the

future, and giving tone and colour to the present condition of a nation and its church.

If the tone of religious thought prevailing in the universities be taken as indicative of the religious feeling and tendencies of the educated classes in the community, Germany will stand the test as well as, if not better than, any other European country. Some sixty years ago rationalism was taught from nearly every theological chair in the land. At the present moment it is exceedingly rare to find a rationalistic professor of theology. With the exception of Heidelberg and Tübingen, it may be said with truth, the old has indeed passed away, and all things have become new. Space will not permit us to go through the German universities in detail, in support of this assertion. We must content ourselves for the present with a mere passing reference to one or two of the more important academic centres. Take, for example, the case of Leipzig. What is it that draws theological students in hundreds to its halls? We answer: the odour of orthodoxy with which old Franz Delitzsch, the prince of commentators, the Christian teacher of the seed of Abraham, the strong pillar of evangelicalism, not in Germany only, but in Europe and America as well, has invested it. In like manner Dorner, of Berlin, whose works on the "Person of Christ" and the "History of Protestant Theology" are so well known in this country, attracts students from all parts of the world to his class-room. In Bonn, Dr Lange, the time-worn veteran of a hundred battles in defence of evangelical truth, no stranger to any student of the Scriptures in England or America, is the chief motive power of the place. Professor Christlieb, his colleague, is hardly less known and honoured. Hofmann, of Erlangen, is another stalwart defender of the faith; and so also is Weisse, of Kiel. It is very significant for our present purpose that in every university in Germany the class-rooms of men noted for their evangelical sympathies are crowded with students. And it is equally significant that in nearly every place where rationalism still retains a precarious footing, as in Heidelberg and Tübingen, for example, the class-rooms are deserted. We venture to relate an incident which occurred a very few years ago in the academic life of the University of Kiel, strongly illustrative of our case, and for the truth of which we can

vouch from personal knowledge. On the death of the lamented Rückert, of Jena, the vacant chair was offered to Professor Lipsius, of Kiel. He accepted the offer, and prepared for removal to his new field. His students in Kiel, or at least a number of them, wished to present him with an address before his departure, expressing their regret at losing him. Rightly or wrongly, however, (we believe wrongly) he had gained the reputation of being a rationalist. And the result was, the project of the address had to be abandoned owing to the refusal of the theological students to subscribe it on account of his supposed want of orthodoxy. This single fact is a striking proof of the great change that has passed over the universities of Germany; and indicates the strong hold which evangelicalism has gained upon the academic youth of the country, Tried by the university test, Germany will be found to stand in the foremost rank of Christian nations.

We might go on at almost any length adducing proofs in support of the proposition with which we started. We might point to the eminently Christian character of the German emperor, and the healthy influence for good which his example exercises over the highest circles of society. We might quote the history of German Christian enterprise in the mission fields of the world. At this moment the most eminently successful mission in India is the German mission to the Kols. We might speak of the numerous religious and philanthropic societies which have been formed, and are in vigorous action in most of the large towns in the country. We might refer to the almost total absence of intemperance, and consequently the absence of those crimes which result from that vice. In short, we might apply any or all of those positive tests which usually discover the religious state of a people, and the result of our investigation would be that Germany is a Christian land; that its people are an earnest race, deeply imbued with religious feeling, though singularly lacking in demonstrativeness; that Christianity is daily becoming a stronger factor in the development of the national life; and that England, at all events, has no ground for exalting herself above her more Protestant neighbour.

JOHN C. MOORE.

ART. IX.—*Review of Literature bearing on Apologetics in the Last Eighteen Months.*

1. "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century." By LESLIE STEPHEN. In two volumes. Vol. i. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1876.
2. "Last Essays on Church and Religion." By MATTHEW ARNOLD. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.
3. "Apologetik; Wissenschaftliche Rechtfertigung des Christenthums." Von J. H. A. EBRARD. Zweiter Theil. 1875.
4. "Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and of History." By A. M. FAIRBAIRN. London: Strahan & Co. 1876.
5. "Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ." Four Lectures on Natural and Revealed Religion. By MARCUS DODS, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1877.
6. "Mythology among the Hebrews, and its Historical Development." by IGNAZ GOLDZIHER, Ph. D. Translated from the German, with additions by the Author. By RUSSEL MARTINEAU, M.A. London: Longman, Green, & Co. 1877.
7. "Reason and Revelation." Being an Examination into the Nature and Contents of Scripture Revelation as compared with other Forms of Truth. By WILLIAM HORNE, M.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876.
8. "The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel." An Historical and Critical Inquiry By Dr A. KUENEN. Translated from the Dutch by the Rev. Adam Milroy, M.A. London: Longman, Green, & Co. 1877.
9. "Messianic Prophecy: its Origin, Historical Character, and Relation to New Testament Fulfilment. By Dr EDWARD RIEHM, Professor of Theology, Halle. Translated by the Rev. John Jefferson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1876.
10. "The Religion of the Christ: its Historic and Literary Development considered as an Evidence of its Origin." The Bampton Lectures for 1874. By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Second edition. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1876.
11. "Ruling Ideas in Early Ages and their Relation to Old Testament Faith." Lectures delivered to Graduates of the University of Oxford. By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons.
12. "Deuteronomy the People's Book: its Origin and Nature. A Defence." London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.
13. "The Canon of the Bible: its Formation, History, and Fluctuations." By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.
14. "Supernatural Religion." An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation. Vol. iii. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1877.

15. "The Gospels in the Second Century." An Examination of the critical part of a work entitled "Supernatural Religion." By W. SANDAY, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

THE foregoing list—by no means an exhaustive one—suffices to shew that the past eighteen months have not been unproductive of literature, either expressly apologetic or supplying material for the apologist to work on. The catalogue may be said to range over the whole ground of apologetic, from the speculative aspects of the great debate to the questions connected with the positive historical criticism of the literature of revelation. The period over which our review extends has not indeed brought forth any very outstanding work on the speculative presuppositions of Christianity and the various ways of conceiving God, man, and the world to which the Christian theory stands opposed. The public expects with interest the appearance of Professor Flint's course of lectures on Theism. Meantime the two works which stand at the head of our list are all which for the present supply the reviewer with a pretext for referring to the class of topics of which that course of lectures will principally treat. The volume first named forms the first part of a work designed to relate the history of English thought in the last century. The author states that the plan of the work was, he believes, suggested to him by Mr Pattison's essay upon the "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England from 1688 to 1750." Accordingly the greater part of the first volume is devoted to an account of the phenomenon which is known by the name of English Deism. We gladly welcome this new contribution to the literature of the subject—a literature now considerable enough to make it evident that a once celebrated religious controversy which filled nearly a century of England's history has by no means ceased to interest the human mind. Nor are we to suppose that the interest felt in deism must be purely antiquarian. Doubtless there are many in our time occupying an entirely different religious attitude to whom it is mainly a matter of literary or psychological curiosity to know what it was that raised such a controversial din in the days of their great-grandfathers, and who at this distance peruse with philosophical amusement and sceptical indifferenc the literary

monuments of a now extinct debate concerning questions of no present moment. Mr Stephen is himself very much in this position. He is an agnostic in religion; in his eyes the great deistic controversy was much ado about nothing, and the issue of the controversy, in his judgment, was a *reductio ad absurdum* of all positive religious belief, and a historical vindication of the agnostic creed. It is to this fact largely that is due the literary charm of his book. He writes as one to whom a once big thing appears very small, and hence his pages abound with sayings of piquant humour, which exhibit the combatants with their respective theses and arguments in a laughable light. To the same cause must be traced another feature of the work, its depressing effect upon the mind of one who happens himself to be a believer. The author's aim, so far as he has an aim beyond that of the mere historian, is purely destructive; and no man who believes in God can peruse without sadness a book whose drift is, There is no God, or at least no God of whom man can affirm anything.

There is one fact which invests deism with a more than merely antiquarian interest for all believers in the Catholic faith, the existence, viz., at this hour of a kindred phenomenon, which occupies a no less hostile position towards orthodox Christianity than deism assumed towards the Church creed in last century—a phenomenon which, while bearing obvious affinities to the older system of thought, yet claims to be something distinctive, and even shews itself nervously anxious not to be mistaken for deism revived, repudiating the very name, and choosing for itself the etymologically synonymous title of modern *Theism*. Those who desire to deal effectually with new foes act wisely in making themselves acquainted with their historical antecedents and connections, noting carefully both the resemblances and the contrasts. Theodore Parker, Miss Cobbe, and others of the same school, protest energetically against being confounded with the deists. The latter of the two writers named says: "The deism of the last century, with its cold and dry negations of Christianity, has passed away for ever, and given place to a theism which, in the writings of Francis Newman and Theodore Parker, may vie for spirituality and warmth of religious feeling with any other faith in the

world." The American author thus highly eulogised claims for the system he advocates, not only superiority in religious tone, but a different speculative foundation, representing deism as teaching a God far off, transcendent, finite; while for theism he vindicates the merit of teaching a God at once infinite, transcendent, and immanent. The apologist ought to know how far these pretensions are just, and in order to that he will do well, not only to peruse the literature of modern theism, represented by such names as those above-mentioned, and by others that might be added to the list, such as Greg, Pecaut, Pfleiderer, but to make a careful study of the history of deism with the help of such a work as that now under review.

That Mr Stephen has given to the public in this work a spirited and at the same time well-informed account of the movement he undertakes to describe is unquestionable. If there be anything lacking in this new contribution to the history of deism, it is just that which we miss in all the works relating to the subject, including those of Lechler[1] and Noack,[2] viz., a clear general statement of the characteristic features of deism as a whole—a distinct laying bare of the philosophic or speculative foundation of the deistic system of thought. Of course a ready excuse may be made for the omission, viz., that deism was characteristically unspeculative, never consciously endeavoured to lay for its views a speculative foundation in a distinctly formulated theory of the universe, but proceeded rather on implied assumptions, and treated of all topics in a popular manner. But whether thought out or not, there can be no question that deism, like every other system of religious thought, had its speculative presuppositions, its own ideas of God, man, and the world, and it ought not to be impossible or difficult to ascertain what these were. There are occasional

[1] "Geschichte des Englischen Deismus." Stuttgart, 1841. This work is referred to in commendatory terms by Mr Stephen.

[2] "Die Freidenker in der Religion." Bern, 1853. This work is not referred to by Mr Stephen. It deals not merely with English deism, but with the analogous movements in France and Germany. The book consists of three parts—the first gives an account of "die Englischen Deisten," the second of "die Franzosischen Freidenker," and the third of "die Deutsche Aufklärung." This method of dealing with deism as a phase of a European phenomenon is decidedly fitted to be instructive.

observations occurring in the "History of English Thought," which shew that the author knew quite well what the philosophical characteristics of deism were, and perhaps the preliminary chapter on the philosophical basis might be pointed to as clearing him from the charge of neglecting to indicate them formally. But, in the first place, that chapter is too comprehensive to be of much use in determining the specific features of deism as one of the phenomena in the complicated system of English thought in the eighteenth century. Then, in the second place, when Mr Stephen condescends to explicit statements as to the philosophic descent of deism, he seems to us to miss the mark. For example, he says: "The whole essence of the deist position may be found in Spinoza's 'Tractatus Theologico-Politicus.' A few of the philosopher's pages have expanded into volumes and libraries of discussion, but the germs of the whole discussion are present. Few of the deists, it is probable, read his works; the name of Spinozism was, of course, dreaded by them; they take care both to avoid the imputation and to make it undeserved, by carefully scotching their logic. The immutable chain of causation recognised by Spinoza is summarily broken off by the dogmatic assertion of free will, which became a mark of the whole deist and semi-deist school. The legitimate descent of their theories is not the less manifest."[1] Now that the "Tractatus" contains views on various topics, *e.g.* in regard to the books of Scripture, prophecy, &c., similar to views entertained and expressed by deists is perfectly true. But this is not saying much towards establishing a causal connection between deism and Spinozism, or even towards proving affinity in the general principles of the two systems. For the truth is, Spinoza's "Tractatus" is an astonishingly fertile book, and it would be difficult to say what branch of modern religious inquiry it has not anticipated. You might as well make Spinoza the father of biblical introduction, or of Kuenenism in prophecy, as of English deism. Indeed, you might do this with much greater right; for if by deism be meant not this or that opinion which happened to be advocated by a particular deistical writer, but the deistic conception of the universe, which is what ought to be meant when we speak of

[1] P. 23.

theory, then deism is the antagonist rather than the child of Spinozism. Even if the fact were otherwise, it would still be incorrect to trace up the deistic theory of the universe to the "Tractatus;" for that work, though clearly enough implying Spinoza's theory of the universe, does not openly avow it, but professes to proceed upon principles of purely historical investigation to learn from the Bible itself its actual character and purpose. It is odd to find our author treating the dogmatic assertion of free will as "a mere accidental variation." It is an essential distinction between deism and Spinozism. And it does not stand alone. The deistic idea of God is *toto coelo* different from Spinoza's. The deist's God is the almighty, wise, beneficent Creator; Spinoza's God is the universal substance. The deist's God cherishes designs and executes them, and the deist's world is full of teleology. Spinoza scouts the idea of design, and represents final causes as turning the world upside down. In short, no two ways of thinking could be more diverse than that of the deists on the one hand, and that of Spinoza on the other. Deism was characterised by these broadly marked features—(1) A humanistic anthropomorphic idea of God; (2) an optimistic view of the world; (3) a Pelagian view of human nature; (4) a pagan view of the life to come. Spinoza ridiculed the notion of divine personality, saying that the divine mind was no more like the human than the dog-star was like a dog; his view of the world was sinical rather than optimistic; he regarded man as a sort of machine; and he did not believe in a future life, either in the Christian sense of an eternal existence of man in corporate form, or in the pagan sense of the immortality of the soul.[1]

In passing from the first book on our list to the second,

[1] It is quite compatible with all that is here said that deism and Spinozism should coincide at some points of their respective philosophic systems, as *e.g.* in the denial of miracle. The important thing to note here is the reason of the denial, which was not the same in both systems. In Spinoza's system miracle was excluded simply because God and nature were one and the same thing, and no cause outside of nature adequate to the working of a miracle exists. In deism miracle is excluded, not as a physical but as a moral impossibility, out of regard to the divine wisdom. God could work a miracle, but his wisdom forbids him, and the optimistic condition of the world renders it unnecessary.

we do not find in it anything that need detain us long. Mr Arnold tells us, by the title of his book, that these are his last words on church and religion. We do not know whether to be sorry or to be glad. His past publications treating of these important topics have caused us a good deal of pleasure, and also a good deal of irritation. He is so wise and at the same time so oracular and conceited, so earnest and yet so flippant; he has seen so much that is important in the Bible, and has failed to see so much that is still more important, while he is so confident withal that he has got at the whole meaning of both Testaments; he has so well signalised the prominence given in these sacred books, and given justly, to *Righteousness*, and has so utterly overlooked the great idea of *Grace;* he has so emphatically proclaimed the truth that there is a power in the world not ourselves making for righteousness, and has so completely ignored the truth which it was the very *raison d'être* of revelation to make known, that there is a power that dealeth not with men after their sins, a power that overcometh evil with good, a power manifesting itself in the course of ages in the execution of a redemptive purpose by acts rising above the plane of nature and culminating in the highest miracle of love—the Incarnation. At no time is Mr Arnold more provoking than when dealing with miracles. He disposes of them with such an air of serene, easy, self-complacency. He but waves his magician's wand and forthwith they disappear; he quotes a few lines from Shakespeare, and henceforth it is absurd to doubt that miracles are simply the natural product of exciting circumstances acting on the imagination; he supposes the case of a pen changed into a pen-wiper, and fancies that is a fair analogy to Scripture miracles, as if miracles were arbitrary signs attached to a revelation for evidential purposes, not constituent elements of revelation.[1] In these last essays we find him at his old work, disposing of the Miraculous in the jaunty manner of a child of the Zeitgeist. This time it is the parallel of witchcraft believed in by Sir Matthew Hale, the good and wise, but in this particular the credulous, that is made to do service. "Paul believed in the miraculous, therefore either the miraculous must be true, or Paul's repu-

[1] In this Mr Arnold could plead the excuse that so English apologists had taught him to regard them.

tation for truth or sense must go." Not at all, replies the modern oracle; Sir Matthew Hale believed in witchcraft, and he was undoubtedly a good and wise man, yet witchcraft is now universally regarded as a delusion. After this *psychological parellel* come two essays on Bishop Butler and the Zeitgeist, which were first delivered as lectures at the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. They are pleasant reading, but contain nothing of importance. The criticism on Butler's analogy is very slight, and compares disadvantageously with Mr L. Stephen's chapter on the same subject. It is needless to state that in the view of both the analogy is a failure, except as against Deists, and of little service now except as a monument of earnest thought on the part of a truly noble man.

The next four books on our list are a fruit and evidence of the wide-spread interest taken in the study of comparative religion, and at the same time an indication of the widely diverse points of view from which that department of knowledge is regarded. The first of the four is an elaborate attempt to utilise the results of the new science for the purposes of apolgetics; the last is an equally systematic and bold attempt to apply the methods of comparative mythology to the early Bible narratives concerning the patriarchs and the judges of Israel, and to resolve what we have hitherto regarded as history into sun-myths; the two intermediate books, by Mr Fairbairn and Dr Dods, are works of a less systematic and pretentious character, exhibiting the instructive thoughts of two well read and highly accomplished men on selected topics from the wide field, not expressly and formally apologetic in their aim, but, as was to be expected in books coming from such quarters, indicating throughout a jealous regard to the honour of the Christian religion. It is as yet far from clear what effect this modern science will have in modifying opinions; whether any and what gains to the defence of revealed religion will be made from it; and what is the proper attitude of apologetic towards it. Some think the result will be to demolish utterly the pretensions of Christianity to be the one true religion destined one day to become the religion of all mankind; others again are confident that the study of the religions of the world will yield the grandest and most

triumphant proof that Christianity is what its friends have hitherto believed it to be: a religion divinely given, in an exceptional and supernatural sense a revelation, a religion summing up in itself all the elements of truth in other religions, and because the truth of all religions, destined eventually to supersede them all. Among those who take a very sanguine view of the apologetic uses of the science of comparative religion is Ebrard. Claiming for his work on apologetic the character of a scientific vindication of Christianity, he undertakes in his second volume, the one before us, to shew, by a rigorous process of demonstration, that Christianity as a historical fact, in its organic connection with the general history of religion, is the only true religion. His argument in brief is this: the further back we go in the history of ethnic religions the closer approximation we find to the knowledge of one living, holy God, united with a proportionably vigorous ethical consciousness of the distinction between good and evil; and the further down the stream of time we come, we find an ever deeper sinking from this original religion through moral levity, producing first an obscuration of the moral consciousness, then leading into polytheism, which in certain peoples is changed into pantheism, the *religious* degeneracy being always accompanied by increasing *moral* degeneracy. With this downward tendency of all natural religions stands in sharp contrast the steady onward course of religion as it manifested itself in the Hebrew race, in which monotheism remained clear, and living through centuries and millenniums, ultimately developing into the Christian religion. And that this development of the Hebrew religion was not a merely natural thing, the result of the peculiar genius of the Semitic race, is shewn by the fact that in other members of the Semitic family, such as the Babylonians and Phœnicians, religion reached the lowest stage of corruption, being not only polytheistic, but shamelessly immoral. A religion which was the direct opposite of the pagan Semitic, sternly condemning what the latter enjoined on its votaries, cannot be regarded as the natural production of a Semitic people, but as a revelation proceeding from the living, holy God. This is certainly an important line of argument, if the allegations on which it proceeds can be made good; and there can be no doubt that much can be

adduced from the history of religions to give the argument a claim to respectful attention. It is a fact that the first thoughts of men concerning God were often better than their last—simpler, purer, relatively monotheistic; a fact *pointing* at least in the direction of a primitive revelation. It is a fact, on the other hand, that the path of the Hebrew religion was like the shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day. It is also a fact that there is an astonishing contrast morally between the Hebrew religion as exhibited in the Old Testament Scriptures and the pagan Semitic religions—the one being the best, and the other the worst and the vilest of all ancient religions. In directing attention to these facts Ebrard does well. But his characteristic faults of self-confidence and exaggeration come out in his apologetic treatise, as in all his works. He is much too sure of everything; and by undertaking to provide certainties when only probabilities are attainable, he fails of his end, the production of conviction, and lays himself open to the severe criticism on his work by a countryman of his own: "The point of view under which apologetic has to avail itself of the material of religious history, viz., founding on a right conception of the essence of religion, to inquire how the particular religions seek to insure that which religion aims at, and to shew how Christianity alone provides it, lies utterly out of Ebrard's way; and hence the value of his *Rabulisterei*, which he names science, in spite of all parade of learning, is = o."[1]

Perhaps instead of undertaking to *demonstrate* its thesis that Christianity is the perfect religion divinely given, by positive proofs drawn from the science of comparative religion, the wisest course for apologetic to pursue is simply to *adjust* itself to the new situation, and to endeavour to reconcile the facts of religious history with the hypothesis that in the Bible we have the record of a special supernatural revelation. In attempting this the apologist will first ask himself, what state of things in the religious condition of the world the true idea and design of revelation would lead him to expect. Revelation, according to its true conception, is the self-manifestation of God in history in the execution of a purpose of grace which had all mankind for its universal object. The religion of revelation was meant

[1] "Theologische Literaturzeitung." 1876. P. 170.

from the first to be a universal religion, though for a time it was restricted to a chosen race. The election of Israel was simply the *method* adopted by Divine Providence for conveying eventually the blessings of the true religion to the nations at large. That being so, what should we expect or be prepared to find as regards the religious condition of the peoples outside the pale of the chosen race? In the first place, from the universality of the design of revelation it may be inferred that the heathen nations were all along the object of God's compassionate regard. What Paul calls the mystery, that is a gospel for all the world, though for long a mystery hid *in* God, was never a mystery hid *from* God, or lying inoperative in the divine mind. It ought not therefore to surprise us if, in the course of our studies, we should find reason to believe that God, while revealing himself specially and systematically to the people of the election, did not altogether hide himself from other peoples, but gave them as much light as might suffice to make the darkness of their night tolerable till the day-dawn should arrive. But, on the other hand, the method of election adopted for realising the universal design of divine grace prepares us to expect that a wide separation will reveal itself between the religion of the chosen race and that of all other nations. The method implies that the elect people needs to undergo a special discipline in an isolated state in order to be a blessing to the world; and that again implies that the people who do not get the benefit of that discipline will thereby be put at a great disadvantage, and be in comparison to the privileged race as a street Arab to a carefully-trained boy. We should expect to find on the side of Israel, as compared with the rest of the world, traces of the advantages resting from a carefully-conducted moral and religious education.

Finally, while the fact of the election leads us to expect traces of the evils resulting from the want of a systematic divine training in the history of ethnic religion, the purpose of the election would lead us to infer that the heathen nations would not be altogether without the benefit of divine education. The election was meant to prepare Israel for *giving* to the nations the benefit of the true religion. But that preparation would be to a certain extent thrown away,

unless the nations on their side were prepared for *receiving* the benefit. Therefore, just because there was an election, we infer there must have been a providential guidance of the world's history towards the state of things denoted by Paul's pregnant phrase, *The fulness of the time*, to prepare the nations for receiving and making the most of the benefit when it came forth from the bosom of the elect people. That preparation, so far as religion was concerned, might consist partly in leaving the nations to their own resources, that by exhaustive experiments they might discover their own inability to find out truth and to attain unto righteousness, and with Plato be brought to sigh for some sure word from above to guide their feet into the way of peace. But it might also consist in part of something more positive—anticipations of truth; ideas spiritually akin to those of psalmists, prophets, and wise men of Israel; scattered rays of light emanating from Him who is the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

Such a line of thought indicates how it is possible for the apologist to take a genial, kindly, appreciative, and hopeful view of the religions of the world, while asserting the supremacy of the religion of the Bible, and its fitness and title to be the universal religion. Any line of thought having this tendency is of real apologetic value; for it is a problem which apologetic has to solve, how to reconcile the exclusive pretensions of the Christian religion with the facts of man's religious history as ascertained by dispassionate unprejudiced inquiry. These pretensions may be assailed from more than one quarter. It may be pointed out that there is good in all religions, and that the differences are merely in degree; or the fact may be emphasised that Christianity does not seem to be making headway, and the inference drawn that it is adapted for certain races only, while other religions may be deemed more suitable for other races, or for any race in a particular stage of its history. The train of thought above indicated may help us to meet the former of these assaults on the supremacy of Christianity; but how shall we meet the other? As believers, we must hold fast our faith in the destination of Christianity, one day to be the religion of the world; but how to do it in the face of facts like those of the prevalence of Buddhism and

Mohammedism over so large a portion of the earth's surface, and their obstinate resistance to all attacks on the part of Christian missionaries? Shall we apply here also the idea of providential preparation, and, as we asserted, that in the ages before Christ's advent, God in his dealings with the nations was preparing them for his coming, using their very religions for this end, so here again assert that now that Christianity has become a great historical fact, certain processes of preparation must be gone through before the religion of Christ can become in reality, as well as by right of its intrinsic excellence, the religion of all nations? Dr Dods, in his fourth and last lecture, entitled "The Perfect Religion," has raised and briefly discussed this question. It was a question which a thoughtful believing writer on such themes as Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ could not help asking himself, and by the mere asking of which, apart from the particular answer attempted, he does a service. For, on the one hand, we Christians cannot consent to say the three founders of religions named will continue to divide the world between them; nor, on the other hand, can we shut our eyes to the tenacity with which the two first-named hold their ground. It is well therefore to be compelled to ask ourselves how our faith and facts are to be reconciled, and to set ourselves to discover a way whereby we may be enabled to look forward into the future at once with patience and with hope; not scandalised because for the time the progress of the perfect religion seems arrested, yet believing that it will not always be so, and that it shall one day triumph over its antagonists, and spoil them of whatever good was in them, and serve itself heir to whatever beneficial results they may have wrought.

We have expatiated at such length on the general topic of the right attitude of apologetic towards the science of comparative religion that we have left no space for particular critical remarks on the studies of Mr Fairbairn and the lectures of Dr Dods. There is however the less reason to regret this, that really what we have to say can be said in very few words. Mr Fairbairn's book indicates very extensive reading thoroughly digested, and contains a great amount of original reflection set forth in a remarkably condensed yet lucid, graceful, animated style. We have found the

book extremely interesting, and in several instances very helpful. Specially instructive are the two first "studies" on "The Idea of God, its Genesis and Development," and on "Theism and Scientific Speculation." The lectures of Dr Dods, from the nature of the case, cover much less ground, and go over the ground more lightly; but they are altogether very pleasant profitable reading, setting forth in clear, quiet, forcible language the leading characteristics of the religions described. The last lecture contains an interesting discussion of the important subject of the marks of a true religion, with a view to vindicate the claim of Christianity to be the perfect religion.

On the last of the four works relating to comparative religion, that of Goldziher, it is altogether unnecessary to dilate. It may be described as myth-hunting gone mad. The author indulges in unlimited scepticism with regard to to the early history of the Hebrew race, recognising in Abraham (the lofty Father) *e.g.* the nightly heaven, and in Isaac (the laugher) the bright sun; and translating the story of Abraham sacrificing his son into this mythological equivalent, "The mighty heaven and the sun or the sunset, child of the night, fell into a strife in the evening, the result of which is that the lofty father kills his child; the day must give way to night."[1] In the well-known passage in Isaiah, "Doubtless thou art our father though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel (Jacob, also a name for the night heavens) acknowledge us not," our author finds a trace of an ancient worship of nature gods. "It is obvious that here the names of Abraham and Jacob are opposed to that of Jahveh. . . . Can we read in this opposition of names anything else but that the writer wishes to contrast the idea of a God recognised as the only true, with the memory of something different, which ages ago passed for divine!"[2] Such interpretation can proceed only from one who is afflicted with a fixed idea, and in the words of a German writer referring to another student in the same field, scepticism so unlimited is best met with a scepticism not less absolute.[3]

[1] P. 47. [2] P. 229.

[3] "Kleinert Das Deuteronomium und Der Deuteronomiker," p. 26, referring to Bernstein Ursprung der Sagen von Abraham, Isaak, and Jakob.

The work of Mr Horne on "Reason and Revelation" may be regarded as an attempt at a philosophy of revelation, and as such appropriately discusses all questions relating to the idea, the method, the verifiableness, the doctrinal import of revelation, the place of miracle in a revelation, the nature and function of prophecy, the utility of Scripture as a record of revelation, &c. It is the production of a man of thoughtful mind, who earnestly believes in a supernatural revelation, and seeks to adjust his belief to the claims of reason, and to the onward march of science and of criticism. The standpoint of the author is that of Rothe as exhibited in the well-known work "Zur Dogmatik;" indeed, we may say that Mr Horne is little more than a sympathetic and highly intelligent expositor of Rothe's pregnant thoughts. Not that we mean by this statement to disparage the value of the book; our object simply is to indicate in few words to those acquainted with the tractate of the German theologian the whereabouts of the Scottish theologian. We cannot here afford space to explain or criticise our author's views. It must suffice to say generally that while by no means committing ourselves to all the writer's opinions, we are confident that the perusal of this book will be helpful to inquirers. That it will be found easy to peruse we cannot say. The first publication of a comparatively young man, the book has the characteristic fault of treating *de omnibus rebus*, and of all things in rudimentary rather than in developed explicit style. There is a kind of morning haze upon the literary landscape which makes it difficult to see the subjects treated of distinctly. The style, though adorned with many occasional beauties, is heavy; and unfortunately the fatigue of the reader is increased by a small type and a too densely-packed page. With all its drawbacks, however, the book deserves honourable mention in the literature of apologetic, and justifies the hope that we shall hear of the author again, discussing possibly at length one or other of the many topics which are lightly touched in this volume.

The next three works on our list may be grouped together as relating to the important subject of *Prophecy*. Dr Kuenen's work shews us what prophecy becomes in the hands of theologians whose philosophic position is that of

thoroughgoing naturalism; in the works of Dr Riehm and Stanley Leathes we have two of the most recent attempts to handle the same subject from the viewpoint of faith in the supernatural.[1] The thing that most forcibly strikes one in perusing these books together is the extent to which the defence makes concessions to the attack. The fact is worthy of special notice, because it is not isolated, but points to a characteristic feature of recent apologetic; the tendency, viz., to abandon or to treat as of less than vital consequence doubtful positions formerly defended as essential, and generally to conduct the warfare of faith in the spirit of scientific candour and of Christian moderation. Thus, to illustrate what we mean, the Bampton lecturer, in setting forth the witness for Christ in Old Testament prophecy, while holding his own views as a critic on the dates of the last part of Isaiah and of the book of Daniel, does not either assume their truth or introduce a defence of them as a necessary part of his argument. He rather consents to treat these questions as open, and points out the contributions to his argument derivable from the writings referred to, on *any* view of their authorship and date. "It is not to be denied that the latter portion of the book of Isaiah, no matter when it was written, contributed certain original elements, which, taken in connection with others already in existence, may have combined to make the hope of deliverance to come yet more ardent."[2] Again, speaking of the book of Daniel: "Starting with the assumption that this book may be as late as the second century before Christ, we are yet led by it to certain conclusions with respect to other prophetic writings that it is difficult to set aside. For example, it is certain that in Daniel we meet with the use of a particular term which cannot be ambiguous any longer. In the second century before Christ, then, at the latest, a writer could be understood who spoke of Prince Messiah and of Messiah

[1] The work of Stanley Leathes has only a single chapter on the subject of prophecy. The argument of the lectures is rather discursive and pointless, a feature partly due to the fact that the writer has no distinctly-defined opponent in view. In the preface to the second edition he states that his reasoning is directed against a *tone* rather than against any particular system of unbelief. A tone is rather a ghostly foe, difficult to hit or even to see. At the same time there is much valuable thought in these lectures.

[2] P. 116.

being cut off."[1] There cannot be a doubt that this apologetic method of avoiding as much as possible debateable ground in *secondary questions*, in order to concentrate the strength of the defence on the points of primary importance, has much to recommend it. Of course, it is quite possible to carry it too far, and to concede for the sake of argument what ought rather to be defended; but it is also certain that the defender of the faith is often suspected by a certain class of minds of betraying the cause when in reality he is adopting the best method for defending it. This is indeed one of the discomforts connected with the vocation of the Christian apologist, that while, on the one hand, he is pressed hard by the enemy at points where the latter has a considerable share of reason on his side, on the other hand, he cannot even seem to give way at these points without laying himself open to a charge of treason, and hearing from some zealous believer the words addressed to Jeremiah when he was leaving Jerusalem to go into the land of Benjamin: "Thou fallest away to the Chaldeans."[2]

Returning to Kuenen and Riehm, we cannot here do anything more than give the slightest indication of the views advocated by these representatives of thoroughgoing unbelief, and of intelligent faith in divine revelation through the prophets of Israel. One merit the former writer certainly has, he leaves us in no doubt as to his meaning or position. Without reserve, and in plain terms, he tells us that there is nothing supernatural either in prophecy or in the Bible generally. The religion of Israel is a purely natural product; the prophets, though a very remarkable phenomenon, were not a phenomenon involving anything miraculous. They were neither more nor less than preachers of righteousness, who passionately believed in a moral order of the world, and had no doubt that under that order good would be rewarded, and evil punished sooner or later in this way or in that. In so far as this belief of theirs was founded in truth, their promises and threatenings taking the form of predictive prophecy might be fulfilled.

[1] P. 130. The general assertion here made is admitted by all, but the particular instance is disputed by some advocates of the late date, as *e.g.* by Bleek, *vid.* "Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie," band v. p. 45.

[2] Jer. xxxvii. 13.

It is nothing surprising if some of their prophecies were fulfilled; we should rather have been surprised if there had been no fulfilments more or less striking; for such men as the prophets, having strong faith in the action of moral law in history, can divine, can read the future to a certain extent in the present. But only to a certain extent, for the moral order of the world holds good only in a rough way; there are many exceptions to the rule that righteousness is rewarded and evil punished; and, in so far as exception prevails, the divinations of the prophets were liable to be falsified. They were often falsified in fact; many of their prophecies were not fulfilled. The prophetic doctrine regarding the moral government of God, though *noble*, was not true, and their predictions being in effect conclusions drawn from that doctrine as a premise, often, of course, turned out to be incorrect. Nor did the prophets vex themselves on that account, as if the non-fulfilment of their prophecies cast a slur on their prophetic reputation. They considered it their business to communicate not what *would* happen, but what *ought* to happen; and if what ought to happen did not happen, the fact might be a trial of their faith in God as the Righteous One, but that was all. It is needless to say that for Kuenen there was no such thing as a divinely-ordered teleology in Old Testament prophecy pointing onwards towards Christ. For him no grand redemptive purpose, announced in mystic language from the first, evolving itself through the slow course of ages, and culminating in the advent of Jesus Christ, can be traced in the Scriptures. There is for him no living God to cherish, reveal, and work out such a purpose, using prophets, consciously or unconsciously on their part, for that end. Dreary naturalism reigns throughout the book; for there is in it no such *æsthetic* sympathy with the supernatural as relieves and beautifies the pages of a writer like Keim. Whereas Keim, in his "Life of Jesus of Nazareth," does his best by poetic sentiment to appropriate æsthetically the miraculous element which his philosophy denies, Kuenen, in his "Prophets and Prophecy in Israel," does his best in Dutch prose to obliterate the miraculous. That there is much good sense, as well as extensive knowledge and patient honest writing in the book, we do not

deny; but after all it is a dull, heavy, uninspiring performance, wearying the reader by the monotony of its prosaic flat-crowned rationalism, and even by the want of literary tact revealed by the awkward habit the writer has of taking the reader into his confidence, and telling him in a friendly familiar way, at every new turn in the argument, what he is going to be after next.

In passing from Kuenen to Riehm, you enter into an entirely different atmosphere. Not that in this excellent little book on Messianic prophecy, which the Messrs Clark have done well to publish in English, Riehm denies all that Kuenen and men of the same school affirm. On the contrary, he too regards prophecy from a historico-critical organic point of view. In common with Bleek, Bertheau, and many other German theologians who are thorough believers in the supernatural, Riehm holds the ethical view of the prophetic function, according to which the Hebrew prophets ever spoke *to*, though not exclusively *of*, their own time, and spoke to their time in language suggested by and adapted to the circumstances of their time, so that there is always a recognisable correspondence between the prophetic utterances and the prophet's historic position and environment. This view he holds to be demonstrable by an inductive process of proof based on the actual characteristics of those prophetic writings, about whose date there is no room for doubt or dispute. And this view he applies to Messianic prophecy, by endeavouring to establish the thesis that the blessed future which the prophet depicts for the encouragement of God's people is ever so drawn that we recognise in the picture a bright counterpart to the dark present. It follows from this that the prophecy, in the form in which it was given, was often one not destined to be fulfilled; as *e.g.* when Ezekiel prophecied the reunion of the tribes of Israel, or when Isaiah prophecied of a day coming when Israel should be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: whom the Lord of hosts should bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.[1] It follows further from the same view that the respective prophetic pictures of the good time coming cannot be

[1] Isa. xix. 23-25.

regarded as fragments of one whole, which put together give a complete view of the future. They are each a distinct whole—an independent picture of the future painted in the colours of the time. Or, as the author puts it in another way, "They do not resemble the fragments of a picture—a picture which is remarkable only for the lifeless, formal, and mechanical representation of a one-sided supernaturalism, but the varying phases of the development of a vital organism. As in the course of the growth of a plant, individual leaves fall off, and are replaced by new ones; as in the animal world, every organ in the course of its development always takes the form in which during its intermediate stage it can best fulfil its design—so also does Messianic prophecy."[1] But while the successive forms pass away like autumnal leaves, the organism remains, and its last and final form, as well as its chief design, was known to God, though it was not known to the prophet. Throughout the process of organic development the divine mind had in view the perfected result — Christ and the Christian Church. With this truth it is quite compatible that the prophet knew not whither his own prophecies tended, or had but a very imperfect idea of the future, both of the times and seasons, and of the precise events which the fulfilment was to bring forth. All he saw was but the next turn in the road along which God was leading his people, and both he and the people to whom he addressed himself expected much that was not destined to be realised. It was not only natural, but even desirable that they should. God's promises, if put in a form that corresponded perfectly with the eventual fulfilment, would not have served the purpose for which they were in the first place meant, that of inspiring his people with hope. To effect that end they must be to a certain extent illusive (not delusive). In the words of our author, the concrete form of Messianic prophecy "was at the period of its publication so important to the historical circumstances of its time-originated relations, that without the same its design must have remained partially or entirely unfulfilled."[2]

We leave this inviting though difficult topic, and proceed to say a few words on the next work, that of Dr Mozley on

[1] P. 153. [2] P. 153.

"Ruling Ideas in Early Ages," the leading aims of which is to defend or apologise for the defective morality of Old Testament revelations, by shewing that the communications of God were adapted to, and to a certain extent rendered necessary by, the ideas current at the time concerning the subjects to which the communications referred. The apologetic is applied to the sacrifice of Isaac, to the exterminating war of Israel against the nations of Canaan, to the visitation of the sins of fathers upon children, to Jael, and to the law of Goel. There will no doubt be different opinions as to the success of the attempt—we have our own opinion, but we do not stay to state it—but whatever may be thought as to that, there can be no question as to two things—first, that Dr Mozley has handled his subject with a vigour worthy of the author of the "Lectures on Miracles"; and second, that he has done good service to the cause of faith in the Bible as the record of a divine revelation in so frankly avowing the fact of defective morality, and vindicating the doctrine of an ethical progress in revelation. Believers in the Bible have always been rather shy of such a position, and in this they have shewn themselves ignorant of what it was their interest to hold, and have unwittingly played into the hands of their foes. Deists and free-thinkers in the last century were in the habit of insisting that if there was to be a book-revelation, it must possess such and such characteristics; among these, conformity from its first page to its last to an absolutely perfect standard of morality. Reimarus *e.g.*, so Strauss informs us in his interesting monograph on the author of the famous "Wolfenbüttel Fragments,"[1] traced the beginning of his scepticism to the two facts that the Bible, while professing to be a revelation, gave no distinctly expressed formal summary of doctrines men were to believe, and that the men who were selected to be the medium of revelation were morally far from perfect, or even exemplary. This doctrinaire and puristic attitude may suit sceptics, but it does not suit believers in a revelation. It is our interest to make room for development in the ethical sphere, and frankly to acknowledge the defects of early stages, and to shew how these are compatible with the main end of revela-

[1] "Hermann Samuel Reimarus und seine Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes." Von David Friedrich Strauss. 1862. (*Vide* p. 31.)

tion, and specially congruous to the idea of grace under which the whole of revelation must be regarded. If the Scripture be the record of a self-manifestation which God has made of himself as the God of grace, we should quite expect to find God speaking to very imperfect men, and speaking to them as their imperfections would bear, "teaching them to go, taking them by their arms." For grace is condescending, and free from all fastidiousness and daintiness; and we need not wonder if God began as he meant to end, letting himself down to our low level at first, as he did at last in the person of his Son, that, binding around us his cords of love, he might lift us up out of our degradation, and exalt us to heavenly places.

The book which follows next, "Deuteronomy the People's Book, a Defence," we have put into our list with hesitation and reluctance, both because it discusses what is at present unhappily a burning question, and because it discusses it in the style of a controversial pamphlet meant to serve an ephemeral purpose, not in the calm dispassionate manner of one who desires simply to contribute towards the solution of a difficult critical problem. We might indeed easily have excused ourselves for passing it over on the plea that it does not properly come under the head of apologetic; but this might seem to be begging the question, as the author evidently believes that the defence of the Mosaic authorship of *Deuteronomy* is essential to faith in the inspiration and authority of Scripture. On this point we shall not indulge in any confident dogmatism, but will merely express the hope that the writer is mistaken in this assumption; for it is certainly desirable that our position as believers and defenders of the doctrines of the Church respecting Scripture should be as little as possible dependent upon the result of critical discussions on the literary history of the Bible. Of this we are quite sure, whatever may be doubtful. And we are happy to think that the recent history of theological opinion in Germany encourages the hope that by-and-by such questions as that of which the book before us treats will be generally seen and acknowledged to be dogmatically neutral. When men like Bleek and Riehm and Kahnis,[1] all

[1] Bleek's views will be found in his "Einleitung in das Alte Testament;" Riehm's in his tractate "Die Gesetzgebung Moses im Lande Moab;"

these men of unquestionable orthodoxy in the Catholic sense of the word, advocate the view so keenly argued against by the author of "Deuteronomy the People's book, a Defence," and when even quondam defenders of the Mosaic authorship like Schultz[1] confess themselves doubtful if their position be tenable, one is justified in suspecting that the doctrinal importance of the question has been much overrated. And here we must note, as a singular fact, that the anonymous writer of this book seems to know nothing of the above-mentioned names. He refers only to Ewald and Kuenen, whose works are accessible to English readers through translation. He indicates in the preface that he has selected these as "the two poles round which the moderate and the extreme assailants cluster." Was the author acquainted with the views of Bleek and Riehm, both believers in the supernatural, which Ewald, not to say Kuenen, is not? If he was, he ought to have referred to them, so as to avoid giving the impression that denial of the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy is inseparably connected with theological rationalism. If he was not, he was not competent to write on the subject.

It may be questioned whether it was worth Dr Davidson's while to publish in full his dissertation on "The Canon of the Bible," which in mutilated form appears in the new edition of the "Encyclopædia Brittanica." In the preface to the little book the author says: "The place occupied by it was vacant. No English book reflecting the processes or results of recent criticism gives an account of the canon in both Testaments. Articles and essays upon the subject there are; but their standpoint is usually apologetic not scientific, traditional rather than impartial." A good English book of moderate size and price on the canon of both Testaments, written by a competently-informed and candid man, may be a *desideratum;* but we do not expect that this book will be accepted as supplying the want. In the first place, it is too small and compendious, too much a mere summary of the results of processes regarding which the reader has to seek informa-

Kahnis' in his "Lutherische Dogmatik." Band i. s. 146. Zweite Ausgabe. 1874.

[1] *Vide* his "Schöpfungsgeschichte nach Naturwissenschaft und Bibel." 1865. Vorwort.

tion elsewhere. (The author refers his readers to his own introductions to the Old and New Testaments.) In the next place, it is too dogmatic; the hypotheses, conjectures, or at least probable opinions of critics, are all set down with confidence as scientific certainties—a procedure as much opposed to the true spirit of science as that of the apologists who are represented as blindly following the traditional view. We are told when the Elohists and the Jehovists appeared, what they respectively did, and what part of Israel they belonged to, with as much assurance as if the author were giving us an account of facts relating to contemporaries with whose whole history he was perfectly conversant. In the last chapter the author makes some remarks on the readjustment of the canon which are far from adequate or satisfactory, but which suggests a question of much interest, viz., What is the test of canonicity? To this question, as is well known, various answers have been given. One is, that is canonical which the Church has declared to be such; which of course throws us back on the question, What guided the Church in making her declarations? Another answer is, that is canonical in the case of the Old Testament which was the product of prophetic inspiration; and, in the case of the New Testament, that which can lay claim directly or indirectly to apostolic authorship. But this answer is beset with the difficulty that in the case of some books of Scripture the authors are unknown, and there is no sufficient evidence that they proceeded from men possessing recognised prophetic or apostolic authority. As an instance, we may refer to the Epistle to the Hebrews, whose apostolic (Pauline) authorship is, to say the least, very doubtful—an instance specially instructive as to the preciousness of the test of canonicity now under consideration, inasmuch as dubiety about the authorship of this epistle was the cause why in the Western Church there was for long hesitation about receiving it into the canon. From a sense of the unsatisfactoriness of this second answer to our question arose a third; it was that of Calvin and others among the reformers. The test of canonicity is the Spirit of God in the Scripture witnessing to our spirit, and giving us a sure sense of its inspiration and divinity, and so making us independent both of the authority of the Church and of all merely external

questions as to authorship. What does it matter to me though the Church stood in doubt for a season regarding, say the Epistle to the Hebrews, and though it is impossible to tell who wrote it, and all but certain that the writer of it was not Paul? I feel as I read it that it is God-worthy, and that settles the matter for me.

Now, this principle of the testimony of the Spirit is of great importance when we take the Scriptures as a whole; and it is one of the services to the cause of religion rendered by the Reformation, that it gave prominence thereto in opposition to the principle of tradition or ecclesiastical authority which found favour in the Church of Rome. Still, this principle might fail us in particular cases, and if applied as the exclusive test, might lead to one of two evil results: either the extrusion from the canon of certain books which were not *felt* to be divine or edifying, or the extensive use of Origen's method of allegorical spiritualising interpretation in order to save from that fate books deemed unworthy of a place in the sacred collection *when literally interpreted.* Hence the desirableness of giving prominence to a fourth method of testing canonicity, viz., by congruity to the leading idea and serviceableness to the main end of revelation. This test assumes that the literature of revelation is an organism having one great end in view, and that each book which belongs of right thereto must have some organic function. Now, this test of organic function, like all others, must be cautiously applied; *e.g.* we must beware of saying this or that book is not canonical because I *fail to see* its function. But in certain cases this principle helps us to decide with great confidence in favour of books whose canonicity might be endangered by the application of other tests. For example, in the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews, whose organic function is very apparent, and whose absence from the New Testament canon would create a very serious blank. That epistle is the apology of the Christian religion before the bar of Old Testament religion, an attempt to reconcile the claims of Christianity to be the final, perfect, perennial religion with the relative and temporary rights of Levitical worship. That was a work that was sure to be needed, for all transition times demand a literature of reconciliation; and that the function of reconciliation is performed with

marvellous skill in the epistle in question must be manifest to every one who has any insight into its meaning.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is not the only book to which the principle of organic function might be applied. It might be used with advantage likewise in vindicating a place in the literature of revelation for books which seem out of harmony with the fact of Israel's election, shewing a divine interest in people lying outside the pale, *e.g.* the books of Ruth and Jonah. We have only to remember that the election of Israel was made with a catholic object in view, to recognise the importance of there being books in the Hebrew Bible, which might serve as an antidote to the narrowing effect of the election on the spirit of the chosen race, and keep them in mind of God's world-wide purpose. Our test might also, we think, be employed in an opposite interest, viz., the fostering of a wholesome sense of isolation, to vindicate a right to a place in the canon for the book of Canticles even when literally interpreted. It is not desirable that the canonicity of that book should be dependent on the allegorical interpretation; and it is well to be able to shew that, even if the literalists are right, the book still serves an important canonical function in fostering a sense of purity which was the most effective protection against lapse into the idolatries of pagan Semites, in which the indulgence of lust was erected into a religious duty.

This test of organic function was the one preferred by Luther. He held the grand leading idea of the Bible to be justification by faith, salvation by grace. The book in which this grand truth was not taught was for him worthless; the book in which it was in his judgment gainsaid was worse than worthless—pernicious. Luther's judgment on particular cases—*e.g.* on the epistle of James—was very hasty, and his conception of the main drift of Scripture too narrow and dogmatic; but the general principle on which he proceeded was in itself a valuable one, and a necessary supplement to Calvin's test of edification or spirituality. Comparing Luther's test with Calvin's, Reuss, in his "Histoire de Canon des Saintes Ecritures" (a valuable work which we should like to see translated), says: "Calvin's test is too subjective. Every individual can take his tastes and his prejudices for a witness of the Spirit. Luther, on

the contrary, in finding the measure of canonicity in a religious axiom which he has not invented, which was positively and textually preached as such in numerous passages of Scripture itself, and in face of which there was no other that one could oppose to it, Luther, we say, occupied a position much stronger and much less exposed to the chances of the fluctuation of an opinion, a change in the ideas and systems of men."[1] These remarks are just. The principle of organic function is a valuable one, and if applied with judgment will be found conservative in tendency, helping us to see uses in books even when literally interpreted, which otherwise, without the help of spiritualising exegesis, might be deemed unprofitable.

Of the last two books on our list we have left ourselves no space to take adequate notice. The former of the two, the third and concluding volume of "Supernatural Religion," we could not in any case fully criticise in this paper, as the book has only just come to hand as we write, and we have had time only to glance through it. It does not take long, however, for a practised eye to catch its leading characteristics. Any one who has read Zeller's work on the Acts of the Apostles knows what to expect. The greater part of the volume is occupied with the discussion of questions relating to that important book of the New Testament canon; the second smaller half being devoted to a discussion of the "Direct Evidence for Miracles," and the "Resurrection and Ascension." In that part which relates to the Acts, we find the same forensic style of reasoning which characterised the earlier volumes—the same tendency to be satisfied with possibilities and plausibilities, the same preference for extreme views on the side of scepticism, the same want of spiritual insight, the same parade of learning, regiments of citations reappearing in foot-notes and marching across the pages in imposing style as of old. We turn with pleasure from this ruthless assault on the faith to the work of Dr Sanday, "The Gospel in the Second Century," being a reply to the critical part of the previously published volumes of "Supernatural Religion." It is the habit of the author of "Supernatural Religion" to refer in a sneering tone to the apologists as men who of course are incapable of taking an

[1] P. 342.

impartial view of any question bearing on the truth of Christianity. But nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the partisan spirit of the assailant in this instance, and the sober, candid, dignified spirit of moderation, characteristic of the defender of the faith. Dr Sanday's competency to deal with the subject on the score of scholarship is unquestionable, though he certainly cannot be charged with parading his learning; but what strikes one most of all in his book, is the moral qualities of the author. This book is a model of patient, painstaking, truth-loving discussion, which may be commended to the attention not only of violent opponents, but also of hot-headed advocates of Christianity. The spirit which pervades it is expressed in these words which occur towards the close: "However much we may labour, we can only arrive at an inner conviction, not at objective certainty. All the glosses and asseverations in the world cannot carry us an inch beyond the due weight of the evidence vouchsafed to us. An honest and brave mind will accept manfully this condition of things, and not seek for infallibility when it can find none. It will adopt as its motto that noble saying of Bishop Butler—noble, because so unflinchingly true, though opposed to a sentimental optimism—'Probability is the guide of life.'"[1] The cautious, some will think over-cautious, scientific habit of the author's mind, averse to *à priori* reasoning, and resolutely addicted to the inductive method of inquiry, is manifest in another passage which occurs in the introduction: "Much harm has been done by rashly pressing human metaphors and analogies, such as that revelation is a *message* from God, and therefore must be infallible, &c. This is just the sort of argument that the deists used in the last century, insisting that a revelation, properly so called, *must* be presented with conclusive proofs, *must* be universal, *must* be complete, and drawing the conclusion that Christianity is not such a revelation. This kind of reasoning has received its sentence once for all from Bishop Butler. We have nothing to do with what *must* be (of which we are, by the nature of the case, incompetent judges), but simply with what is."[2] Let it not be supposed, however, that Dr Sanday is a halter between two opinions. Though modest, moderate,

[1] P. 361. [2] P. 10, note.

and cautious, he has definite and firm convictions for which he is ready to render a very good reason. And the very moderation of his argument tends to breed conviction in the mind of his readers. We can imagine no better way by which a man whose faith has been shaken by such a book as "Supernatural Religion" might attain to a reasonable assurance that the historical foundations of faith, the Gospels, are a reliable source of information regarding the great object of faith, the Lord Jesus Christ, than just to make a thorough study of Dr Sanday's work on "The Gospel in the Second Century." It is impossible by any brief general statement, or by a few samples, to convey any idea of the sedative confirmatory effect which such a study would have; therefore we do not here attempt to illustrate our statement by instances, though we should much have liked to do so. Suffice it to say that it is a good omen for the future of the Christian faith when its advocates so faithfully conform to the apostolic rule: Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear. ALEX. B. BRUCE.

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Twelve Monday Lectures in Tremont Temple, Boston, U.S. By Rev. JOSEPH COOK. London: R. D. Dickinson. 1877.

These are very striking, pithy, and sometimes really profound discussions of some of the fundamental principles and doctrines of revelation, directed chiefly against Theodore Parker's views.

Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, from 1800 *till* 1840. Edited by WILLIAM HANNA, D.D. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1877.

This volume will be read with interest and profit by all who appreciate and value spiritual religion; but the profit will be greatest, we venture to think, to those who can exercise a wise discrimination in regard to the doctrinal views and tendencies of Mr Erskine. The letters now published and edited with his well-known judgment and taste by Dr Hanna, who gives just enough of connecting information to enable one to read them intelligently, are instinct with devoted Christian piety, fine spiritual feeling, and profound insight into much of the teaching of Scripture. They give a fuller view than was previously attainable of the working of the writer's gifted and earnest mind; but they have not led us to alter the opinion of Erskine's writings and their tendency, expressed at some length in this "Review" in January 1873. These letters are well worthy of being preserved and studied; for Erskine certainly did good service in bringing forward some aspects of Christian truth and life, that were too much neglected and overlooked even by the friends of evangelical religion, when he began to think. But we must avow the conviction that he pressed these to an extreme and in a one-sided way, so as to lose sight of other and equally important aspects of the gospel. And we cannot but think that the tone of sadness that pervades some of the later letters in this volume is due to his having overlooked in his theological system the great and consoling truth of the believer's free justification by a judicial act of God on the ground of a real and vicarious satisfaction of his justice by Christ. If all God's dealings with mankind are to be resolved into fatherly discipline, there is something so awful in some of them that, even with an assurance of God's fatherhood, the believer may well be depressed at the terribleness of what his dealings

with him may be. The theology of Erskine, Maurice, and Robertson of Brighton, seems to us to fail to give that joy in the Lord that breathes through the pages of the New Testament. The problem for the Church, we take it, is, not to introduce a new theology, but to harmonise the truths recently brought to consciousness in connection with the divine fatherhood, with the old Reformation principles of the Atonement and justification by faith alone, which must ever be the staple of the gospel.

The Religious Tract Society have issued a new *Paragraph Bible* containing the Authorised Version printed in paragraphs according to the connection of the sense, and in the poetical portions in parallelisms. It is certainly desirable that bibles in this form should come into general use, as they help greatly the intelligent reading of Scripture; but it seems to us that either less or more should have been done than in this edition. If the change in typographical arrangement had been all that was made, that would have been a boon to many; but when the marginal readings of the Authorised Version are in many cases omitted, and others introduced, which profess to "contain the greater part of the more important emendations of the Authorised Version, which have the general approval of the most eminent biblical critics" (Preface, p. ix.), we should like to know who is the editor that is responsible for this work, and what are the authorities he has followed. A cursory glance serves to shew considerable inequalities in the manner of dealing with doubtful passages. Thus, while Psalm xvi. 2 is amended in the margin, there is no hint given of the variation of reading in Psalm xxii. 16; and in the New Testament, while many of the most important various readings are indicated, there is nothing said about the text of the Lord's prayer either in Matthew or Luke, nor of the doubtfulness of Mark xvi. 9–20. If this work is attempted at all, it would need, in order to be of real service, to be much more thoroughly done, and the edition of the Bible, with various renderings and readings, recently published by Cheyne, Driver, Clarke, and Goodwin, is one much more satisfactory, useful even to scholars, and reliable as a guide to ordinary readers. We also question the propriety, when any alteration is made on the old editions of the Authorised Version, of putting dates in the margin where the chronology is utterly uncertain, and of introducing so largely headings to the different paragraphs of the text. At least it is going beyond the province of a mere edition of the text to print the Canticles in the form of a dialogue, with the names of the supposed speakers prefixed to the successive sections. This, as well as many of the headings, is really interpretation, and ought not to be presented barely without the editor's name, or any commentary to indicate its grounds.

The Tract Society has also issued a new edition of *A New Companion to the Bible*, traversing in a popular manner the field of introduction to the Old and New Testaments. It is carefully done, and fitted to be useful; but it would have been more so had the real difficulties of the subject been less lightly passed over, and the weight of authority on the conservative side of some critical questions not been somewhat overstated.

The Religious Tract Society also publish *Israel in Canaan under Joshua and the Judges*, by Alfred Edersheim, D.D.; *Scenes and Incidents from Old Testament History*, by the Rev. F. Bourdellon, M.A.; *The Christian Voyage*, by T. Campbell Finlayson.

Theologische Literatur-Zeitung. Herausgegeben von Professor Dr E. Schürer, Leipzig. Erscheint alle 14 Tage. Preis jährlich 16 Mark.

We believe we shall be doing a service to those of our readers who have not seen the above named journal by calling their attention to it. It consists of sixteen large and closely but clearly printed pages, appearing fortnightly, and containing reviews of the current works on theology, not only in Germany, but in Britain, France, Holland, Italy, and other countries. The reviewers give their names to each notice; and they are men of the critical school who carry on their inquiries on the basis of faith in the Word of God; some of them are well known and highly esteemed, such as Harnack, Herzog, Kamphausen, Ritschl, and Diestel. The reviews are largely occupied with accounts and analyses of the contents of the several books that form their subjects, and so give a good idea of their character; and the criticism seems in general to be sound and fair. At the end of each number there is a bibliography giving the titles of all the publications on theology during the fortnight, both in Germany and other countries, and also the titles of the most important theological articles in periodicals of various lands and character. This is a most useful portion of the journal, and as it seems to be well and completely done, it puts it in the power of the reader to have a very full view of all that comes out in the world of letters bearing upon theology, or any particular branch of it in which he may be interested. This part of the *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, even more than the other, gives one an idea of the amazing activity of thought and literary production that exists in all parts of the field of theology in the present day. Altogether the journal is a most useful one; and as we do not know of any other that attempts to perform the same function, it may be said to be indispensable to those who wish in any department of theology to keep abreast of current literature, or to be guided to what is most valuable in it. It is now only in the second year of its existence, and deserves patronage and support from those interested in theological studies.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

OCTOBER 1877.

ART. I.—*The Consensus of the Reformed Confessions.*[1]

CRANMER'S PROPOSAL OF A REFORMED CONSENSUS.

IN the year 1552, while the Council of Trent was framing its decrees against the doctrines of the Reformation, Archbishop Cranmer invited Melanchthon, Bullinger, Bucer, and Calvin to a conference in London, for the purpose of framing an evangelical union creed. To this letter Calvin replied that for such an object he would willingly cross ten seas, and that no labour and pain should be spared to remove, by a scriptural consensus, the distractions among Christians, which he deplored as one of the greatest evils.[2]

In this noble sentiment Calvin expressed the true genius

[1] An Address delivered before the General Presbyterian Council at Edinburgh, 4th July 1877. By Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D., New York.

[2] "*Quantum ad me attinet, si quis mei usus fore videbitur, ne decem quidem maria, si opus sit, ob eam rem trajicere pigeat. Si de juvando tantum Angliæ regno ageretur, jam mihi ea satis legitima ratio foret. Nunc cum quæratur gravis et ad Scripturæ normam probe compositus doctorum hominum consensus, quo ecclesiæ procul alioqui dissitæ inter se coalescant, nullis vel laboribus vel molestiis parcere fas mihi esse arbitror. . . . . Mihi utinam par studii ardori suppeteret facultas!*"—See the correspondence in Cranmer's Works (Parker Soc. ed.), vol. ii., pp. 430–433.

of the Reformed Church, which has always been in favour of union on the basis of truth, and willing to cherish Christian fellowship with other evangelical Churches, notwithstanding minor differences in polity, worship, and even in dogma. Zwingli struck the key-note of this catholic spirit at the conference in Marburg when, with tears in his eyes, he offered the hand of brotherhood to Luther, though he could not agree with him on the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Calvin once declared, that even if Luther should call him a devil, he would still revere and love him as one of the greatest servants of God.

Cranmer, the moderate and cautious reformer and martyr of the Church of England, the chief framer of its liturgy and Articles of Religion; Melanchthon, the preceptor of Germany, the gentle companion of the heroic Luther, the author of the Augsburg Confession, and the surviving patriarch of the German Reformation; Bullinger, the friend and successor of Zwingli, the teacher and benefactor of the Marian exiles, and the author of the most œcumenical among the Reformed Confessions; Bucer, the indefatigable, though unsuccessful, peace-maker between the Lutherans and Zwinglians, and the mediator between the Anglican and the Continental Reformation; Calvin, the master theologian, commentator, legislator, and disciplinarian, who was then just in the prime of his power, and (in the language of John Knox) at the head of "the most flourishing school of Christ since the days of the apostles"—these representative men, assembled in Lambeth Palace or the Jerusalem Chamber, would have filled an important chapter in church history, and challenged the assent of the Reformed Churches for a common confession of faith that embodied their learning, wisdom, and experience.

But the conference was frustrated by political events, and a Reformed union creed remains a *pium desiderium* to this day. *Deus habet suas horas et moras.* It was the will of Providence that the Continental and the English and American branches of the Reformed family should grow up independently, and fulfil their special mission to their age and country. Each shaped its own creed, polity, and worship. Thus, instead of one confession and catechism which might have answered for all, we have as many confessions and catechisms as there are national Churches, and some had more than one.

The Reformed Confessions.

The Reformed Confessions may be divided into three classes—the ante-Calvinistic or Zwinglian, the Calvinistic, and the post-Calvinistic. The first represent the preparatory stage, and acquired only local authority in Switzerland. The second class were framed under the influence of Calvin's theology after the middle of the sixteenth century, simultaneously with the Tridentine Standards of the Roman Church, and in vindication of the protest against Rome. The third class were made in the seventeenth century, and arose from theological controversies within the Reformed Church.

The confessional development of the Lutheran Church began with the Augsburg Confession in 1530, and was completed, after stormy controversies, in the Formula of Concord, 1577. The Roman Catholic system of doctrine received its pyramidal apex only in our age, under the long reign of the first infallible pope, by the decrees of the Vatican Council (1870). The symbolic tendencies of Romanism and Protestantism are opposite—the former may indefinitely increase the number of dogmas to the maximum of belief, and can never give up or revise a single article without destroying its claim to infallibility; the latter diminishes the number to the scriptural minimum, and allows a correspondingly larger freedom to private judgment and theological progress.

The chief Reformed symbols of the sixteenth century are—The *Gallican Confession*, for the Protestants of France (1559); the *Belgic Confession*, for the Netherlands (1561); the *Second Helvetic Confession*, for Switzerland and other countries (1566); the *Heidelberg Catechism*, for Germany and Holland (1563); the two *Scotch Confessions* (1560 and 1581), which were subsequently superseded by the Westminster Standards; and the *Thirty-Nine Articles* of the Church of England (1563), which likewise belong to the Reformed type of doctrine, especially as explained and supplemented by the Lambeth Articles (1595), and the Irish Articles of Archbishop Ussher (1615), which prepared the way for the Westminster Confession.

The two chief symbols of the seventeenth century are the *Canons* of the Synod of Dort (1619), which give the results of the Arminian controversy on the five knotty points of

scholastic Calvinism, and the *Westminster Confession* and *Catechisms* (1647), which grew out of the mighty conflict between Puritanism and semi-Romanism, and sum up the results of what may be called the second Reformation of England. They present the ablest, the clearest, and the fullest statement of the Calvinistic system of doctrine. Although least known on the Continent, and given by Niemeyer merely as an appendix to his collection of Reformed Confessions, the Westminster standards are the most important of the Reformed symbols, and have shewn the greatest vitality. It is a remarkable fact that they were made by English divines for three kingdoms under the shade of Westminster Abbey, and around the warm hearth of the historic Jerusalem Chamber, where now the revision of the English Bible is being prepared for the use of all English-speaking Churches. These standards were rejected in the land of their birth, but became the corner-stone of the Churches of Scotland and of Churches beyond the Atlantic and Pacific. Failing in England, they have shaped the theology and religion of countries and nations unknown to the authors.

These Reformed Confessions form a very remarkable body of literature. They were composed by confessors and martyrs of the Reformed faith in times of the deepest intellectual and religious commotion, and in the face of cruel persecution. They are fraught with the memories of the most important period of church history next to the creative period of the apostles. They embody the biblical and theological learning and wisdom of the Reformers, and the ripe fruit of the gigantic struggle with the papal power which had kept the Christian world under discipline and in bondage for many centuries. They set forth, not abstract doctrines, but vital truths for which the confessors were ready to suffer exile, imprisonment, torture, and death. Some are indeed systems of theology rather than popular summaries of faith; but all are full of faith and enthusiasm for the truths of the gospel. They have fashioned the religious opinions and lives of many generations, and trained the most heroic races of Christians and the pioneers of civil and religious freedom—the Huguenots of France, the Burghers of Holland, the Puritans of England, the Covenanters of Scotland, and the Pilgrim Fathers of America. They will ever remain venerable monuments of a pure and

heroic faith from the creative period of the evangelical Church.

The Reformed (as also the Lutheran) Confessions were not intended by their framers to be binding formulas for subscription and checks upon theological progress. Otherwise they would have been made much shorter and simpler. They were originally apologetic documents or vindications of the evangelical faith against misrepresentation and slander. Hence some of them embody a large amount of controversial and metaphysical matter, and are too long and minute for popular use. They resemble the early Christian Apologies, with this difference, that they were directed against Romanism instead of Paganism, and represent a more advanced and mature stage in the development of Christian doctrine. Their official character and their intrinsic merits clothed them gradually with an ecclesiastical authority inferior only to that of the Holy Scriptures. They became the rule of all public teaching in the pulpit and the university. They were a sort of secondary rule of faith (the *norma normata*), derived from the primary rule of the Scriptures (the *norma normans*). They continued in force for more than two centuries, until most of them were swept away together with the faith to which they gave expression.

The Harmony of the Reformed Confessions.

The Reformed Confessions present the same system of Christian doctrine. They are variations of one theme. There is fully as much harmony between them as between the six symbolical books of the Lutheran Church, or between the Tridentine and Vatican decrees of Rome. The difference is confined to minor details, and to the extent to which the Augustinian and Calvinistic principles are carried out; in other words, the difference is theological, not religious, and logical rather than theological.[1]

The Reformed Confessions are Protestant in Bibliology; œcumenical or old catholic in Theology and Christology; Augustinian in Anthropology and the doctrine of predestina-

[1] The documentary proof of this agreement was furnished long ago by extracts from the Confessions themselves, in the *Harmony of Confessions*, prepared and published under the direction of Beza at Geneva, 1581, and translated into English, Cambridge, 1586 (also London, 1643 and 1842).

tion; evangelical in Soteriology; Calvinistic in Ecclesiology and Sacramentology; and anti-papal in Eschatology.

Let us briefly explain this.

1. *Bibliology or the Rule of Faith.*—The Reformed symbols unanimously teach, as a fundamental principle of Protestantism, the divine inspiration and absolute and exclusive authority of the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in all matters of the Christian faith and morals, in opposition to the Roman Catholic doctrine of ecclesiastical traditions, as a co-ordinate rule of faith and infallible interpreter of the Scriptures. This doctrine is most clearly and fully set forth in the first chapter of the Westminster Confession, which is an acknowledged masterpiece of symbolic statement.

The Lutheran Church and the Anglican Church maintain the same principle, but in practice they allow tradition and the voice of the early fathers and councils a greater authority and influence, especially in matters of church polity and worship, than the Calvinistic Churches.

2. *Theology and Christology.*—The œcumenical articles of the unity and tripersonality of the Godhead, the incarnation, and the theanthropic constitution of Christ's person, were expressly endorsed by all the Reformers; and hence the Apostolic Creed and the Nicene Creed (to a less extent also the so-called Athanasian Creed) were retained in the Protestant Churches.

Herein the Protestant symbols agree with the orthodox Greek and the Roman Catholic standards in opposition to ancient and modern Trinitarian and Christological heresies. A difference sprung up between the Lutheran and Reformed Christology in connection with the Eucharistic controversy, concerning the extent of the *communicatio idiomatum* and the ubiquity of Christ's body: but this subject belongs to the abstrusest corner of theological metaphysics, and does not affect the great truth of God manifest in the flesh, which is taught by both Churches with equal emphasis. The Reformed Christology is more simple and natural than the Lutheran, and accords better with the historical Christ of the Gospels.

3. *Anthropology and Soteriology.*—The Reformed symbols teach the Augustinian views of sin and grace, that is, the total depravity and condemnation of the whole human race in consequence of Adam's fall, and the absolute sovereignty and

sufficiency of divine grace in the work of salvation. They strongly emphasise these doctrines in opposition to the then prevailing Pelagianism of the Latin Church, with its mechanical legalism and meritorious works on which salvation was made to depend. The Reformers passed through the experience of St Paul; they felt the operation of the law upon the heart and conscience, as a schoolmaster leading to Christ. They started with an overwhelming sense of the awful fact of sin and the absolute need of redemption. Their theology was intensely practical, and turned on the question, What shall a man do to be saved, and how shall a sinner be justified before a holy and righteous God? To this the New Testament, and especially the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, returned the answer, Not by any works and institutions of man, not by any outward observances and performances, but solely by the free grace of God in Christ, which is the beginning, the middle, and the end of spiritual life. Thus salvation by grace became the central doctrine, the experimental or subjective principle of Protestantism, and the fountain of comfort and peace in life and in death.

The Reformed system went back to the ultimate source of free salvation in the ante-mundane eternal act of election, upon which the historical process of salvation in all its stages depends; while Luther made the experimental fact of justification by faith alone, the article of the standing or falling Church. The Reformed system, moreover, lays greater stress on holiness and good works, as the necessary manifestation of justifying faith.

In anthropology the Reformers were entirely under the spell of the anti-Pelagian writings of St Augustine, whom they revered as the greatest, soundest, and most evangelical among the fathers. But his anti-Manichæan and anti-Donatist writings are more on the Roman Catholic than on the Protestant side of the controversy. Zwingli, with his classical rather than mediæval training, was independent of patristic authority, and taught a milder view of hereditary sin and guilt than either Luther or Calvin. The Augustinian system always had some able advocates in the Latin Church, but was overshadowed by hierarchical, sacramentarian, and ascetic tendencies; while the Greek Church adhered to the less definite, we might say, semi-Pelagian views of the older fathers, and lays great stress on the freedom of will.

The Protestant soteriology differs from the Augustinian, at least in form, and is more evangelical. Augustine, who was poorly acquainted with Greek and Hebrew, and followed the Latin version of the Bible, had the Roman Catholic conception of justification, understanding it to be a gradual process of making just (which virtually identifies it with sanctification); while the Protestant divines, in accordance with the Hellenistic usage of the corresponding Greek terms (δικαίωσις and δικαιόω) viewed justification as a forensic or declaratory act of acquittal from the guilt and condemnation of sin, on the ground of the merits of Christ, and on condition of faith apprehending Christ, to be necessarily followed by gradual growth in holiness. Justification is the beginning of sanctification, yet distinct from it as a single act is from a gradual process, as birth is from the life which follows.

4. *Predestination.*—The symbols teach the positive decree of an eternal and unchangeable *election* of believers to holiness and salvation, and the perseverance of saints as a necessary means to that end; while the rest are left to the consequences of their sin. All men are justly condemned, but God in his sovereign mercy chooses to elect a part from this mass of corruption, and to reveal in them the boundless riches of his grace in Christ. This is the amount of the Reformed dogma of predestination as far as it has any practical religious value, and is taught directly or indirectly in all symbols. The negative decree of *reprobation* is wisely passed by, or mentioned only as a judicial act in view of sins actually committed. The fall of Adam is put under a *permissive* (not an *efficient* or *causal*) decree, and the blasphemous doctrine that God is in any sense the author or approver of sin is expressly and emphatically condemned.

This is the infralapsarian scheme of redemption which Augustine taught as a necessary consequence of his doctrine of universal damnation in Adam, and the total moral inability of man. The supralapsarian scheme which differs from the former in the order of the decrees, and, with a severer but terrible logic, represents the fall as a necessary negative condition for the manifestation of God's redeeming mercy on the elect, and his punitive justice on the reprobate, was held as a private opinion by some eminent Calvinists such as Beza, Gomarus, Twiss, but it is not taught in any Con-

fession; even the Canons of Dort, the Westminster Confession, and the Helvetic Consensus Formula, which are most pronounced on this doctrine, stop within the limits of infralapsarianism. And it should be noticed that the Westminster Confession expressly teaches the freedom of will as well as the sovereignty of God, leaving the solution of the apparent antinomy to scientific theology. It is also a remarkable fact, that in the Westminster Assembly, as the recently published Minutes shew, the scheme of a universal offer of salvation or hypothetical universalism found advocates among the ablest and most influential members such as Calamy, Arrowsmith, Vines, and Seaman.[1]

The subject of predestination holds a prominent, and we may say a disproportionate, place in the Calvinistic system. It was a necessary and wholesome reaction against the papal doctrine of human merit. It was considered the backbone of the doctrines of free grace, and was death to all pride and self-righteousness. It furnished an immovable basis in eternity for the salvation in time, and the most solid comfort to the believer in seasons of despondency and temptation. Hence we find it among all the Reformers. Luther's tract on *The Slavery of the Human Will*, against Erasmus, which he never recalled, but regarded as one of his best books, goes further in this direction than Calvin ever did. Melanchthon was at first almost a fatalist (tracing the fall of Adam, the adultery of David, and the treason of Judas to the will of God), but afterwards he suggested what is called the system of synergism (an improved evangelical form of semi-Pelagianism and an anticipation of Arminianism). The Formula of Concord, however, rejected it, and teaches total inability and unconditional election in connection with universal vocation, or the sincere will of God to save all men, and the resistibility of divine grace.[2] The difference between the Calvinistic and the

[1] See my work on *Creeds*, vol. i. p. 770.

[2] The later Lutheran divines since Hunnius endeavour to solve this contradiction of the Formula Concord by a distinction between the single *voluntas antecedens* by which God, from eternity foreseeing (not foreordaining) the fall of Adam, resolved to save *all* men, and the double *voluntas consequens* whereby, foreseeing that some would believe and some would not believe, resolved (likewise from eternity) to save those who would believe, though not *propter fidem*, but *per fidem* or *ex prævisa fide*, and, on the other hand, to condemn those who would not believe.

Lutheran symbols is, that the former are more consistent with the Augustinian anthropology, and give greater prominence to election, while the latter emphasise baptismal grace and a universal call to salvation. But, in point of fact, the vast mass of mankind never hear the sound of the gospel within the limits of the present life to which all orthodox systems confine the possibility of salvation. Calvinism reckons with actual facts as they appear to all observers, and traces them back to the inscrutable will of God, which is holy and wise, though we cannot fathom it.

5. *Ecclesiology.*—The Reformed symbols make an important distinction between the visible (actual) Church, which is manifold, and exists in various organisations or denominations, and the invisible (ideal) Church, which is one and universal, and embraces all the elect or true believers of whatever denomination or sect. They also distinguish in each visible church or congregation between communicant members which constitute the church proper, and the nominal members or hearers. They lay stress on the necessity of discipline for the preservation of the purity and dignity of the Church. They maintain the right of ecclesiastical self-government as distinct from the power of the civil magistrate, although in practice this right is more or less abridged wherever the Church is united to the State, and supported by the State. (For self-support and self-government go together; and he who pays wants to rule.) The Reformed standards teach the parity of ministers, the institution of lay-elders and deacons representing the people, and of presbyterial and synodical administration. The Presbyterian form of government was born in Geneva, and fully developed in Scotland and the United States.

Herein the Presbyterians differ from Episcopalians on the one hand, who maintain episcopacy and three orders of the ministry, and from the Congregationalists on the other, who deny the legislative authority of presbyteries and synods, and teach the independence of each congregation properly constituted according to the Word of God. But the questions of presbytery, episcopacy, and independency are questions of discipline, not of dogma. Moreover, the Church of England in her standards holds that episcopacy is not the only, but the best form of government, and necessary not for the being, but only for the well-being of the Church. She never officially denied the

validity of non-episcopal orders, and even expressly acknowledged it in various ways down to the period of Laud, the typical high-churchman, who when he first defended the principle of exclusive episcopacy was censured by the authorities of the University of Oxford. The unwise and unrighteous attempts of the Stuarts to force episcopacy upon the reluctant people of Scotland have made the difference much greater than it originally was in the mind of Calvin and Knox, as well as of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley.

6. *Sacramentology.* — The two sacraments of the New Testament are significant sealing ordinances, whose efficacy depends on the faith of the recipient. The *opus operatum* theory, the necessary connection of water baptism with moral regeneration, and all materialistic conceptions of the real presence, whether in the form of transubstantiation or consubstantiation, are rejected.

Here lies the only serious doctrinal difference between the Calvinistic and the Lutheran symbols. The former make spiritual regeneration independent of water baptism, so that it may either precede or succeed it or coincide with it, according to the divine pleasure; and they teach a spiritual real or dynamic and effective presence of Christ in the Eucharist for believers only, while unworthy communicants receive no more than the consecrated elements to their own judgment. The latter teach unconditional baptismal regeneration, and a corporeal real presence of the true body and blood of Christ in, with, and under the visible elements, for all communicants, worthy and unworthy, though with opposite effects. The Lutheran theory of the real presence and oral manducation requires for its dogmatic support either a perpetual miracle (as the Roman theory of transubstantiation), or the hypothesis of the ubiquity of Christ's body (taught by Luther and the Formula of Concord). This hypothesis is rejected by all branches of the Reformed Church as being inconsistent with the limitation of all corporeal substances, and with the facts of Christ's visible ascension to heaven and future return from heaven. Some of the ablest Lutheran divines, however, sustain on purely philological grounds the Reformed or figurative interpretation of the words of institution, and admit that a literal interpretation of them would lead to transubstantiation rather than consubstantiation.

The Church of England teaches in her formularies the Calvinistic theory of the sacraments in general, and of the Lord's Supper in particular; but in the baptismal service of the Book of Common Prayer she clearly teaches baptismal regeneration without qualification, and in practice she gives larger scope than the Presbyterian Churches to the sacramentarian principle.

7. *Eschatology.*—The Reformed (as well as all other Protestant) symbols recognise but two places and states in the invisible world—heaven for believers and hell for unbelievers, with different degrees of bliss and misery, according to the degrees of holiness and wickedness. They unanimously reject the mediæval fiction of an intervening purgatory for imperfect believers, with its gross superstitions and abuses. The doctrine of the middle state of all departed spirits between death and resurrection, which is distinct from the question of purgatory, was left unsettled, and is to this day a matter of theological speculation rather than positive doctrine. It is characteristic that the scriptural distinction between Sheol or Hades and Gehenna or Hell is obliterated in the Lutheran, the English, and other Protestant versions of the Bible.

The Theological Revolution.

This body of doctrine laid down in the Confessions maintained its hold upon the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, Germany, France, Holland, England, and America for more than two centuries, and is still a living power in the Presbyterian Churches of the Anglo-Saxon race. It was analysed, systematised, and developed in all its details by the scholastic theology, which forms a worthy parallel to the mediæval scholasticism of the Latin Church in its relation to the patristic doctrines, being nearly equal to it in metaphysical subtlety, and superior in solid scriptural learning. But all forms of scholasticism are apt to degenerate into a dry and sterile intellectualism, and to provoke a reaction.

After the middle of the eighteenth century, which may be called the century of revolution, a destructive tornado swept over the Churches of the Continent, and threatened to carry away the very foundations of Christianity. It began with Deism in England, which substituted a meagre skeleton of

natural religion for the revealed religion of the Bible; but the progress of Deism was checked by the Methodist revival, and the apologetic works of Butler and Lardner. In France Deism degenerated into a blasphemous Atheism. Voltaire and Rousseau, the apostles of infidelity and architects of ruin, undermined the foundations of Romanism, which had cruelly persecuted the Huguenots, cast out the Jansenists, and provoked the Revolution, with its reign of terror. In the Lutheran Church of Germany the negative movement assumed the more serious form of Rationalism, which, in its various phases and stages, revolutionised exegetical, historical, and systematic theology. The Reformed Churches of Great Britain and North America, owing to their isolation and their better organisation, remained, upon the whole, faithful to their doctrinal and disciplinary standards; but in the Reformed Churches of the Continent the symbolical books were nearly all abolished or reduced to a dead letter, and it seems impossible to restore them to their former authority.

This theological revolution or pseudo-reformation has done, and is still doing, an incalculable amount of harm; but it was a revolt of reason against the slavery of symbololatry, and proved a wholesome purgatory of orthodoxy. It dispelled old prejudices, and stimulated new and deeper inquiry; it advanced biblical philology and criticism, and enriched the stores of historical knowledge. It compelled the investigation and recognition of the human aspect and fortunes of Christianity in opposition to the exclusive consideration of its unchangeable divine aspect. Thus error is always providentially overruled for the progress of truth.

The Revival of Evangelical Theology.

The nineteenth century may be characterised as the century of revival and reconstruction. Rationalism is by no means dead; it continues, in the name of biblical criticism, speculative philosophy, natural science, and humanitarian culture, to undermine the historical foundations of Christianity and all faith in a supernatural revelation; it penetrates the masses by the endless ramifications of the periodical press, which has become a formidable rival of the pulpit. But the antidote is also at hand. An evangelical theology has sprung up

which is successfully combating error in all its forms; there is more vital energy and activity, and a great deal more charity and catholicity in Protestantism than ever before; Bible distribution, home and foreign missions, and benevolent institutions are steadily increasing. Germany has taken the lead in the theoretical part of this work of reconstruction, and has been for the last fifty years the chief workshop of evangelical theology, as it has been of Rationalism; while England and America have carried on mainly the practical work of religion, and are above all other nations intrusted with the preservation and spread of Bible Christianity to the ends of the earth. Both are coming nearer and nearer together through their literature and personal intercourse to their mutual benefit. The Teutonic and the Anglo-Saxon races united are a match for the world. We need not fear the final issue of the present conflict with superstition and infidelity. Christianity which has overcome so many foes, and grown stronger in every battle, will no doubt survive; its past is secure, and affords the best guarantee for the future.

The Relation of Modern Evangelical Theology to the Reformed Confessions.

The religious revival of the nineteenth century in the Protestant Churches is a return to the faith of the Reformation as laid down in the Bible and the symbolical books. But it is not a mere restoration of the old, it is also a free reproduction and an advance. The faith is the same, the theology is different. It is different in the form of statement and the relative importance and arrangement of topics. Every age must produce its own theology adapted to its peculiar condition and wants. Thus we have a patristic theology, a scholastic theology, a Reformation theology, and a modern evangelical theology, not to speak of the various shades of denominational theologies. Divine truth, as revealed in the Scripures, is unchangeably the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever; but it must be ever reproduced, newly appropriated, and represented in all its phases. The human understanding and exposition of the truth is steadily progressing with the Church itself, though passing through many obstructions and reactions. Every true progress in theology is conditioned by a deeper study and understanding of the Word of God, which is ever new, and

renewing the Church, and will ever remain the infallible and inexhaustible fountain of revealed truth. The Scriptures may have been studied more intensely and devoutly in former ages, but they were never studied so extensively and with such an array of facilities and advantages as at the present age. Every progress in exegesis must have its effect upon systematic theology and the symbolic statement of truth.

Let us endeavour to indicate the points of difference between the modern and the old theology of the Reformed Churches viewed from an œcumenical point of view, leaving room for considerable qualifications in detail. Upon the whole the Anglo-American theology is more orthodox in the historical sense than the Continental, but in some points it is more liberal. I have to take an average view before this Assembly which represents all sections, and I may be permitted to say that, within the last six months of travel through Europe and the East, I had special opportunities to ascertain the state of theological sentiment on all the leading questions on which I shall touch.

1. *Bibliology.*—On the fundamental and preliminary question of the divine authority and absolute sovereignty of the canonical Scriptures as the only infallible rule of faith, the position of the Reformed Confessions after an experience of three centuries stands unalterable and impregnable. This is to-day as it was in the sixteenth century the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ evangelicæ*, as the article of the divinity of Christ is the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ Christianæ*. "The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible," said Chillingworth, "is the religion of Protestants." Since the new development of Romanism and the rise of Rationalism it is all the more important to maintain our stand upon the immovable rock of God's truth without additions or deductions. Christ and his gospel are the sum and substance of evangelical Protestantism, as the Church and her traditions are the sum and substance of Roman Catholicism. Protestantism stands or falls with the Bible, Romanism stands or falls with the papacy. We cannot go back to Romanism, nor can we surrender ourselves to the icy embrace of Rationalism. We should indeed honour and consult the universal voice of Christendom, and allow it full weight in the interpretation of the Bible; nor should we despise reason, which God has given

us as the organ for ascertaining and understanding his revealed truth; but the final appeal must always be to "the Law and the Testimony." Tradition and reason are not the divine Light itself, but, like John the Baptist, they "bear witness of that Light," that "all men through them might believe." *Amicus Calvinus, amicus Lutherus, amicus Augustinus, sed magis amica veritas.*

If the Holy Spirit himself could not clearly and unmistakably point out the way of salvation, it is not likely that popes and councils, composed of sinful and erring mortals, can do it any better. If the teaching of our Lord in the Gospels does not contain the pure Christianity, we look in vain for it in the whole domain of ecclesiastical literature.

We must therefore maintain the true infallibility of God's Word against the pretended infallibility of the Vatican, which, like Pharisaism of old, obscures and paralyses the Bible by human additions, and against the fallibility of pseudo-Protestant Rationalism which, like Sadduceeism, mutilates the Bible, and substitutes for it the uncertain guidance of human reason.

The divine authority of the Scripture implies, of course, its divine inspiration, and has no sense without it. But as regards the mode of inspiration, which must be distinguished from the fact of inspiration, the mechanical or magical theory of the seventeenth century, which looked exclusively at the divine aspect of the Bible, and reduced the sacred writers to passive penmen of the Holy Ghost, has been abandoned for an organic theory which does full justice to the human and historical character of the Bible, and regards the authors as the free organs of the Spirit of God, representing the unity and harmony of eternal truth in a variety of gifts and modes of thought and style. The written Word is all divine and all human, and reflects the theanthropic character and glory of the personal Logos who became flesh for our salvation. As the recognition of Christ's full humanity, yet without sin, brings him nearer to us, so the recognition of the human element in the Bible, yet without error, ought to make it clearer to our understanding and dearer to our heart.

This view of inspiration was anticipated by Luther and Calvin; who with the profoundest reverence for the divine substance of the Bible, had a very liberal view of its human form; it is not inconsistent with the Reformed Confessions,

which simply assert the fact of the divine inspiration, without committing themselves to any particular theory of its mode. (The Helvetic Consensus Formula, which teaches even the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel-points, makes an exception and never acquired general authority.) The Westminster statement on this subject is as cautious and circumspect as it is clear and strong.

2. *The Theological Standpoint.*—The theology of the Confessions was anti-Romish, and directed against the unscriptural traditions and additions of superstition or misbelief; the modern evangelical theology is anti-rationalistic, and directed against the deductions and negations of unbelief. The former had to deal with an excessive supernaturalism, the latter with the denial of the supernatural and miraculous. The former was chiefly concerned with anthropological and soteriological problems; the latter has to vindicate the authenticity and integrity of the Bible against negative criticism, the personality of God against Pantheism, and the true divinity and historicity of Christ against the mythical, legendary, and humanitarian pseudo-Christologies.

Hence some doctrines which were most prominent in the Reformation period must give precedence to others which were then not disputed by the contending parties. Modern theology is neither solifidian nor predestinarian nor sacramentarian, but Christological. The pivotal or central doctrine round which all others cluster is not justification by faith, nor election and reprobation, nor the mode of the eucharistic presence, but the great mystery of God manifest in the flesh, the divine-human personality and atoning work of our Lord. In this respect modern theology goes back to the primitive confession of Peter (Matt. xvii. 16), and the criterion of John concerning the marks of Antichrist (1 John iv. 2, 3). The great question on which the very existence of Christianity depends is again asked, "Who do ye say that I the Son of Man am?" And to this question the experience of eighteen centuries returns the answer of the first confessor, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

All evangelical denominations in their ablest divines are verging towards a Christological theology, in which alone they can ultimately adjust their differences. For the nearer they approach Christ, the nearer they will come to each other

Christ is the true concord of ages, the divine harmony of human discords.

3. *Catholicity.*—The old theology was intensely polemical, denominational, and exclusive. It grew out of the gigantic struggle with the papacy, and in the heat of controversy did great injustice to the mediæval Church, which after all was the cradle of the Reformation, as Judaism was the cradle of Christianity. The war with Rome was followed by internal wars of equal bitterness between Lutheranism and Calvinism, Calvinism and Arminianism, Episcopacy and Presbytery, Presbytery and Independency. Disproportionate importance was attached to minor points of difference, and the element of truth on the side of the opponent was ignored or denied.

There is still, and ever will be to the end of the world, a great deal of sectarian bigotry with which even the gods fight in vain; but it has lost its former hold upon the Christian people. The experience of three hundred years, and the vast increase of our knowledge of church history, with its lessons of wisdom and charity, have widened the theological horizon. Denominations which formerly stood in battle array against each other have forgotten their old animosities, and learnt to co-operate freely and heartily in catholic enterprises, and against the common enemies of Christianity. The articles of agreement are magnified above the articles of disagreement. The Old and New School Presbyterians, after a thirty years' theological war, have concluded a peace, which it is hoped will never be broken; and the result so far has been increased vitality and energy. A similar union has taken place among Presbyterians in England and in Scotland. The Evangelical Alliance has done much towards individual Christian union; and I trust that the Presbyterian Alliance, while aiming to promote church union or a confederate union among the branches of the Presbyterian family, will not weaken but strengthen Christian union among believers of every denomination. Both Alliances were founded and are promoted by the same class of men, and are animated by the same spirit. The problem of Christian union and brotherhood is one of the great problems of the nineteenth century, and will work itself out in various ways until the great prophecy of the one Shepherd and one flock be fully realised.

4. *Moderation of high Calvinism.*—The scholastic Cal-

vinists of the seventeenth century mounted the alpine heights of eternal decrees with intrepid courage, and revelled in the reverential contemplation of the awful majesty of God which required the damnation of the great mass of sinners, including untold millions of heathen and infants, for the manifestation of his terrible justice. Inside the circle of the elect all was bright and delightful in the sunshine of infinite mercy, but outside all was darker than midnight. This system of doctrine commands our respect, for it has produced the most earnest and heroic Christians, but it is nevertheless austere and repulsive; it glorifies the justice of God above his mercy; it savours more of the Old Testament than of the New, and is better at home on Mount Sinai than on Calvary. "God is love," and love is the only key that can unlock the deepest meaning of his words and works.

The greater liberality of modern Calvinism shews itself especially in the doctrine of predestination and infant salvation.

(*a*) The problem of predestination and of the relation of divine sovereignty and human responsibility is not solved yet, either philosophically or theologically, and will perhaps never be solved theoretically until we see face to face. But there is a practical solution in which all true Christians can agree, namely, that all who are saved are saved by the free grace of God without any merit of their own—and this is Calvinism; and that all who are lost are lost by their own guilt in rejecting the gospel sincerely offered to them—and this is Arminianism. Good Calvinists preach like Methodists, as if everything depended on man; good Methodists pray like Calvinists, as if everything depended on God. St Paul himself represents the fact that *God* works in us both the will and the deed as the reason why *we* should work out our salvation with fear and trembling. This may be logically inconsistent, but finite logic is not the ultimate standard of infinite truth.

Election by free grace and perseverance of saints (viewed as a duty as well as a divine gift) will no doubt always remain distinctive features of Calvinistic theology as they are clearly and strongly taught in the Bible, but the decree of reprobation (except as a judicial act for the actual guilt or unbelief) is now rarely taught and never preached. If Presbyterians preach

on the mystery of predestination at all, which is very seldom, they never forget to mention human freedom and responsibility, and to trace man's ruin to his own unbelief. No Reformed Synod (at least on the Continent) could now pass the rigorous canons of Dort against Arminianism; which, after a temporary defeat, has silently leavened the National Church of Holland, and which, through the great Methodist revival, has become one of the most powerful converting agencies in Great Britain and America. The five knotty points of Calvinism have lost their point, and have been smoothed off by God's own working in the history of the Church.

(*b*) *Infant salvation.*—It has now become almost an article of faith in the Reformed Churches, that all infants dying in infancy are saved by the atonement.[1] This is a legitimate development of the Calvinistic doctrine of election which allows an indefinite extension of God's saving grace beyond the visible means of grace. All the orthodox systems which hold to the necessity of water-baptism for salvation lead to the horrible conclusion that all unbaptised infants dying in infancy, as well as all the heathen, that is by far the greatest part of the human race, are lost for ever. It is a poor relief if Augustine, who first clearly taught this dogma, makes a distinction between negative damnation or absence of bliss and positive damnation or actual torment, and assigns to infants "the easiest room in hell." Hell is hell, and was made only for impenitent sinners who refuse to be saved. Zwingli was the first, but the only one among the Reformers (except his friend and successor, Bullinger), who had the courage to oppose this dismal view, and to teach the salvation of all infants, and of a large number of adult heathen. The second Scotch Confession "abhors and detests," among the doctrines of the Roman Antichrist, "his cruel judgment against infants departing without the sacrament." The Westminster Confession teaches that "elect infants dying in infancy, and all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth." It is true, some of the older Cal-

[1] As far as America is concerned, Dr Hodge positively affirms that "he never saw a Calvinistic theologian who held the doctrine of infant damnation in any sense." See my work on *Creeds*, vol. i. p. 795.

vinists make a distinction between elect and reprobate infants; but the Calvinistic system allows the charitable assumption that all infants dying in infancy are among the elect, and that their removal from a world of temptation before committing any actual transgression and contracting personal guilt, is a proof of God's saving mercy to them. There can be no salvation without Christ, but salvation does not necessarily require a historical knowledge of Christ any more than damnation requires a historical knowledge of Adam's fall. It is the *will* of our blessed Saviour who took special delight in children, that "*none* of these little ones should perish."

5. *Religious Liberty.*—The Calvinistic (as well as the Lutheran) Confessions presuppose a Christian state and a uniformity of belief among the people, and assign to the civil magistrate the duty not only to support the Church and its ministry, but also to punish heresy as an offence against society. The principle and practice of persecution for religious convictions prevailed then almost universally, although the persecuted party always complained of the application on the ground of innocency. In the age of the Reformation the Anabaptists and Socinians were the only Christians who advocated toleration from principle. The burning of Servetus for heresy and blasphemy is the one dark stain on the fair fame of the great and good Calvin, but it was justified even by the gentle Melanchthon. Anabaptists were drowned and burnt by the score in Protestant as well as Roman Catholic countries. The Church history of England from Henry VIII. down to William III. is an unbroken history of persecution of Romanists against Protestants, Protestants against Romanists, Anglicans against Puritans, and Puritans against Anglicans. Even the virgin soil of New England was desecrated by the blood of Quakers under the theocratic rule of Congregationalism whose champions in the Westminster Assembly had advocated toleration within certain limits. All Protestant sects, with the exception of a few which never had a chance to rule, are guilty of intolerance and persecution, though in a far less degree than the Roman Church from which they inherited the principle, and which adheres to it to this day, as the Papal Syllabus of 1864 and the Pope's recent conduct in Spain abundantly prove.

The Act of Toleration in 1689, though far from the full conception of the rights of conscience, closed the dark chapter

of religious persecution in England, at least under its more violent form, and inaugurated the era of religious liberty among Protestants. The Baptists and Quakers made the doctrine of religious liberty an article of their creed. By a combination of various causes it has become almost a universal belief among Protestants, at least in Great Britain and in North America, that God alone is Lord of the conscience, that faith is a free thing which cannot be enforced, that all coercion in religious matters is evil, and evil only, and contrary to the teaching and example of Christ and his apostles. Spiritual errors must be spiritually judged by ecclesiastical censures, admonition, suspension, and excommunication. The civil magistrate has no control over heresies and schisms, and is bound to protect the liberty of conscience and of public worship as one of the fundamental and inalienable rights of all its citizens so far as this liberty does not interfere with the peace of society.

On this subject the Anglo-Saxon Protestants are ahead of the Continental Protestants. In the United States the Episcopal Church has changed the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the Presbyterian Church the Westminster Standards, so as to adapt them to this modern conviction; while in England and Scotland the objectionable clauses have become a dead letter, or are expressly disowned, or are liberally explained. The battles of Christendom must hereafter be fought out on the basis of freedom and equality before the law, and without those carnal weapons which are contrary to the spirit of the New Testament.

The Reformed Consensus and the Presbyterian Alliance.

This is I trust a fair historical statement of the consensus of the Reformed Confessions, and the present state of evangelical theology in relation to it.

We now approach the more difficult and delicate practical question of the relation of this Alliance to the Consensus. The constitution adopted in the preliminary meeting at London (21st July 1875) lays down as the doctrinal basis of the Alliance, "the Consensus of the Reformed Confessions." But it did not define this consensus, nor is there any recognised formula of the kind. The subject, therefore, will have to be settled sooner or later, and this is the proper time to discuss it, although we

may not be prepared to take final action. I shall confine myself to a few suggestions which I offer with modesty and some diffidence to the consideration of wiser heads.

To avoid misunderstanding, and perhaps unnecessary apprehension, I must remark at the outset, that the question before us is not the question of the revision of the Westminster Confession, or of any other single confession. That must be left with the particular Church or Churches which own that confession. This General Presbyterian Council has no jurisdiction or legislative authority. It may indeed define its relation to the historical confessions, or set forth a new one, but it would have no binding force upon any Churches except by their own act of adopting it.

We may state our relation to the Consensus in two ways—the one negative, the other positive.

1. The doctrinal consensus need not be formulated at all, but may be left an open question, which every delegate must decide for himself. The Council may trust the personal character of the individual members as a living guarantee for the doctrinal purity and soundness of the body. The Christian faith is older than the Apostolic Creed, and the evangelical faith is older than the Protestant Confessions. Sooner or later questions as to the precise nature and extent of the Consensus will probably spring up; but it is not necessary to anticipate future difficulties.

2. The doctrinal consensus can be formulated by the Presbyterian Council after long and mature deliberation. This again may be done in three ways—

(*a*) By a mere list of doctrines, or an index of the chief heads of doctrine on which agreement is desired and required as a condition of membership, without defining the doctrines themselves. There can be no doubt that the Reformed Confessions teach the same views on the divine inspiration and authority of the Scriptures, the unity and tripersonality of the Godhead, the divine-human constitution of Christ's person, the atonement by his blood, election and salvation by free grace, justification by faith, the church and the sacraments. Such a list would be similar to the Nine Articles of the Evangelical Alliance. The prevailing theology might shew itself in the order and the wording of the articles. But it would be merely a skeleton of a confession.

(*b*) By a historical statement, or brief summary of the common doctrines of the old confessions, without additions or changes. Such a summary has been actually prepared for this Council by my friend, Dr Krafft, professor of Church History in the University of Bonn, who is thoroughly familiar with the confessions, and in sympathy with their spirit. His paper would form a good basis for an official document of the Council if it should deem proper to adopt this course.

(*c*) By a new œcumenical Reformed Confession. By this I mean the Consensus of the old Reformed Confessions freely reproduced and adapted to the present state of the Church; in other words, the creed of the Reformation translated into the theology of the nineteenth century, with a protest against modern infidelity and rationalism. This would be a work for our age, such as Cranmer invited the Reformers to prepare for their age, and would thus fulfil the joint wish of these great and good men.

A new confession would be a testimony of the living faith of the Church, and a bond of union among the different branches of the Reformed family, as the Apostolic Creed is among all Christians, or as the common English version of the Scriptures is among English-speaking denominations. It would not necessarily interfere with the provincial authority of the numerous confessions over which this Council has no control. It would have to be prepared by a body of able, wise, and godly divines, representing all the Churches of the Presbyterian Alliance, for *quod tangit omnes debet tractari ab omnibus*. Its authority would of course depend upon the general consent of the Churches.

The preparation of such a confession would afford an excellent opportunity to simplify and popularise the Reformed system of doctrine, to utter a protest against the peculiar errors and dangers of our age, and to exhibit the fraternal attitude of this Alliance to the other evangelical Churches. It ought to be truly evangelical—catholic in spirit. A confession which would intensify Presbyterianism and loosen the ties which unite us to the other branches of Christ's kingdom I would regard as a calamity. We want a wall to keep off the wolves, but not a fence to divide the sheep; we want a declaration of union, not a platform of disunion.

The right to frame a new confession or to revise the old

ones is beyond dispute. The desirableness of a common doctrinal bond of union among the Reformed Churches is likewise apparent. But the expediency of such a work at the present time is, to say the least, very doubtful. The pear may be ripening, but it is not ripe yet. If we were ready for it; I would say, let us take this course: but we are not prepared for it. Let me state the reasons.

In the first place, creeds and confessions of faith which have vitality and power, spring from great doctrinal controversies and deep religious commotions. They cannot be made to order like political platforms. No amount of theological learning and literary ability is sufficient. They require a religious fervour and enthusiasm that is ready for any sacrifice, even the death of martyrdom. They are solemn acts of faith and the product of a higher inspiration.

In the second place, our theology is in a transition state, and has not yet reached such clear and definite results as could be embodied in a form of sound words. It would be impossible to unite all the Reformed Churches under an elaborate confession. The new *formula concordiæ* might become a *formula discordiæ*. The Anglo-American Churches would require a maximum of orthodoxy, the Continental Churches would be content with a minimum. The recent Continental confessions framed by the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud, 1847 (thirty printed lines), the Free Church of Geneva, 1848 (seventeen articles, one hundred lines), the General Synod of the Reformed Church of France, 1872, of the Free Church of Neuchatel in 1844 (a dozen lines), of the Evangelical Church Association of Switzerland, 1871, of the Free Church of Italy, 1872 (eight articles, thirty-eight lines), are very brief, and leave room for a great variety of views.[1] So are the Nine Articles of the Evangelical Alliance.

[1] We give as a specimen the Confession of the "Evangelical Church of Neuchatel, independent of the State," which is as follows:—"Faithful to the holy truth which the apostles preached, and which the reformers brought again to light, the Evangelical Church of Neuchatel acknowledges as the source and only rule of its faith the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. It proclaims with all the Christian Church the great facts of salvation, condensed in the Creed called the Apostles' Creed. It believes in God the Father, who has saved us by the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, His only Son, our only Lord; and who has regenerated us by the Holy Spirit. And it confesses this faith in celebrating, according to the

It seems to me, therefore, that the most we can do in the present Council is to intrust this whole subject to the hands of an able and comprehensive Committee, with instructions to gather all the necessary information about creeds and subscription to creeds within the bounds of this Alliance, and to report thereon to the next triennial meeting.

One word in conclusion. A creed is a response of man to the questions of God; but God's Word is better than the best human creed. A creed is a confession of faith, but faith is better than the confession of it, and without faith the best confession is but "as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." Much as we esteem doctrinal unity, there is a higher unity, the unity of spiritual life, the unity of faith, the unity of love which binds us to Christ, and to all who love him of whatever denomination or creed. Let us, with Peter and Thomas, confess Christ first and Christ last, and let our confession be an act of worship, an act of personal and collective self-consecration to him who saved us from sin and death, and leads us to immortality and glory. Let us not forget what the most logical and the most theological of all inspired apostles says, that now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face; that now we know in part, but then we shall know in full even as we are known. "And now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love."

PHILIP SCHAFF.

ART. II.—*The Testimony of Paul to Christianity, according to the Tübingen School.*

THE subject of the following article is the testimony of Paul to Christianity according to the Tübingen school, and more especially according to Baur, its acknowledged head and founder. It will be our duty first of all to discover what is the residuum of facts and New Testament books, bearing on the apostle, which have been left to us by the criticism of that

institution of the Lord, the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper." The new French Confession, which is similar to this, see in my work on *Creeds*, vol. i. p. 500; the Geneva Confession, in vol. iii. p. 781; the Free Italian Confession in vol. iii. p. 789.

school; and in the next place, from this residuum to estimate the trustworthiness of the witness, and the amount and value of his positive testimony. Accordingly, our theme may be described as an apologetic argument for the substantial truth of Christianity, the results of the Tübingen school of criticism being accepted as our data; or, viewed in another aspect, it may be regarded as a contribution towards the statement of a Fifth Gospel, the Gospel according to St Paul.

Christianity is eminently an historical religion in the ordinary sense of the expression, and as such it has its foundation in certain great events which came down upon the arena of history, and formed a new point of departure for the future. We refer, of course, to the incarnation, life, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord. This historical element in Christianity furnishes it not only with the essential facts of an atonement and an authoritative example, but also with other advantages of a most important kind. It evidently meets a necessity in human nature; which, as a general rule, has a great difficulty in thinking of a purely spiritual God, and strives after some visible embodiment or symbol as an aid to thought concerning him. There can be little doubt, that much of the idolatry in the world owes its existence simply to an attempt to make the Deity more thinkable to the feeble minds of unspiritual men, and that the same explanation lies at the root of much of the image-worship of the Church of Rome. Men in general break down before the thought of the absolute and formless God, who is completely above all history and event. By reason of his highness they cannot endure, and seek some conceivable form and history under which to think of him—all which is furnished in the highest degree in the incarnation, life, and death of our Lord. Nor need we hesitate to say, that this outbreak of the divine on the plane of common history furnishes another and a historical proof for the existence of God. It makes his existence capable of historical proof as well as that of any personage distinguished in history, such as Cæsar, or Alexander the Great; for whatever difficulties may be advanced in reference to miracles, there can be no doubt that there is a universal instinct in humanity which regards, and will ever regard, them as the appropriate and naturally to be expected signs of a divine revelation. Accordingly, the historical facts which really form the founda-

tion of Christianity bring the Divine or Supernatural within the realm of history, and make it capable of historical proof.

But this historical element also necessarily brings with it the possibility of subjecting Christianity to historical criticism: and by none has this criticism been applied with greater learning, acuteness, and mercilessness than by Baur and the Tübingen school. Belonging to the side of the Hegelian left, Baur entertained that *a priori* unwillingness to believe in the supernatural, which that party naturally brought with them to the study of theology from their peculiar interpretation of their master's philosophy. It is undeniable, notwithstanding all their loudly proclaimed freedom from prepossession, that the theological chiefs of the party had practically settled the possibility of the miraculous or supernatural as a question in the sphere of philosophy, before they came to the fields of theology and New Testament criticism.[1] They held, in short, the impossibility of the miraculous, and therefore the whole of this element in the New Testament must be rejected and explained away, and the only question was how this was to be accomplished most effectively. Baur selected as his stand-point what he called the purely historical one; and declared that the object of his criticism was to account for the origin of Christianity as the result of common history; which,

[1] Strauss expressly declares this. He lays down the following as one of his fundamental canons:—"Dass ein Bericht nicht historisch, etwas Erzähltes nicht so geschehen sein könne, wird sich vor Allem daran erkennen lassen, wenn es mit den bekannten und sonst überall geltenden Gesetzen des Geschehens unvereinbar ist." This canon he proceeds to apply to the supernatural in every form, and he rests it entirely on the basis of philosophy and "experience."—*Leben Jesu*, vol. i. p. 103, 2d ed.

Baur in like manner determines the question of the supernatural simply on the ground of philosophy. It is a "rein philosophische Frage."—*Kritische Untersuchungen*, p. 225.

As representative men belonging to kindred schools, we may adduce the cases of Renan and the author of *Supernatural Religion*. Both of these writers have previously determined the question in like manner, as one belonging properly to the sphere of philosophy, before they come to New Testament criticism. This is apparent from the following sentence of Renan:—"Que les évangiles soient en partie légendaires, c'est ce qui est évident, puisqu'ils sont pleins de miracles et de surnaturel."—*Vie de Jésus*, p. xv. 12th ed. The author of *Supernatural Religion*, not to speak of the order of his book, indulges in such expressions as these, that the miraculous is "antecedently incredible," "contradictory to complete induction," "emphatically excluded by the whole constitution of the order of nature," &c., vol. ii. pp. 480 f., 3d ed., vol. iii. p. 2.

according to him, admits of natural factors only, and excludes the supernatural.[1] The special form in which he carried out his historical criticism is what is known as the Theory of Tendencies, and of works written with the deliberate purpose of supporting these different tendencies. He held that in the original Church there were two streams or tendencies of Christianity, which had their roots in the character and teaching of Jesus, in whom we find united the two opposite elements of Jewish particularism and a universalism which embraces all humanity. These he called the Jewish or Petrine, and the Gentile or Pauline tendencies. By the former he meant that especially Jewish type of Christianity which insisted on the permanence and necessity of the Mosaic law, which was in fact only the law spiritualised and universalised, and of which the Apostle Peter was the head; while by the latter he meant that more general and universal type represented by the Apostle Paul, which regarded Jew and Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, as all alike in the eye of the gospel, which declared the abolition of circumcision and the Mosaic law, and proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith alone.[2] To this double stream of tendency there supervened in course of time a third or union tendency, whose object was to break down the rougher edges of both sides, and by all possible irenic means to bring them into one. This was the Mediating or Catholic Tendency, and was that which prevailed, and finally issued in the Catholic Church. The different books of the New Testament were written with the deliberate intention of supporting these different tendencies. This intention varied in its shades from the use of traditional facts or doctrines with a strong bias in favour of the special tendency of the writer, to a very unscrupulous treatment of history, or

[1] "Ich kann meinen Standpunkt nur als den rein geschichtlichen bezeichnen, und die Aufgabe ist demnach, das Christenthum schon in seinem Ursprung als eine geschichtlich gegebene Erscheinung aufzufassen und als solche geschichtlich zu begreifen."—*Kirchengeschichte der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, p. x.; cf. also p. 1; *Die Tübinger Schule, u.s.w.* pp. 13 ff.

[2] According to the Petrine tendency, Christianity has "Seine absolute Bedeutung nur darin dass es das vergeistigte und verallgemeinerte Gesetz ist, mit dem neuen Bunde der Vergebung der Sünden, welchen Jesus, als der Messias, durch seinen Tod stiftet." Again, "Die zweite (or Pauline) Form stellen die paulinischen Briefe in dem Gegensatz des Gesetzes und Evangeliums dar," u.s.w.—*Krit. Unt.* pp. 311 f.; *K. G. d. drei ersten Jahrh.* pp. 51 ff.

the unlimited manufacture of incidents and speeches for the glorification of his tendency; in short, what we should call literary falsification and forgery. As specimens of these so-called *Tendenzschriften*, we may mention that Baur regarded Matthew and Revelation as belonging to the Jewish or Petrine tendency; Luke and the Pauline Epistles, so far as genuine, as belonging to the Gentile or Pauline tendency; and the pseudo-Pauline Epistles to the Mediating or Union tendency, while in the Gospel of John we have a specimen of this last, now catholic and triumphant.

We may briefly remark that it seems impossible not to trace distinctly in all this the influence of the philosophy of Hegel, and more especially of the Hegelian left. According to that school history is merely the necessary evolution of the unconscious "Idea" or "Spirit" on its way to conscious freedom; a view which appears to exclude the miraculous, both by the necessity of the evolution and the unconsciousness of the "Idea." It is apparently from this source that Baur has drawn his view of history, and therefore of historical criticism, according to which everything except mere natural factors and necessary development is excluded from its sphere. It is also apparently to the influence of the same school of philosophy that we are to trace his theory of the three tendenices, which has just been stated, and which forms the distinctive feature of his criticism. It will be remembered that the great formula of the Hegelian philosophy of history, in accordance with the favourite threefold "dialectical rhythm" of the system, is that of the three states, momenta, or tendencies, as we may call them. There is first the infinite, the absolute, the legal, represented in the history of the Oriental world; secondly, there is the finite, the individual, the incipient free, the opposite of the preceding, represented in the Græco-Roman world; and thirdly, there is the reconciliation or union of these two opposite states or tendencies, as represented in the modern Christian world, and especially the Germanic part of it. These three fundamental states or momenta constitute the general formula of the Hegelian philosophy of history, and are its explanation of the course of history. But it seems tolerably plain that Baur's theory of three tendencies as a means of accounting historically for the origin of Christianity is cast in the mould of this Hegelian formula; the Jewish or

Petrine tendency corresponding to the first; the Gentile or Pauline tendency to the second; and the Mediating or Catholic tendency to the third momentum of the formula. We mention all this merely in passing in order to justify our previous statement, and shew how closely the criticism of Baur is connected with his philosophy.[1]

The name of Strauss is very intimately associated with that of Baur in the minds of most readers. There can be no doubt that as they both came to the study of Christianity through the same portico of the Hegelian left, they had very much the same prepossessions and prejudices. They set themselves largely to the same critical task, the elimination of the supernatural from Christianity. But still the methods of the two men were quite distinct, nay, almost antagonistic. It is true that Strauss was the first to startle Europe by the publication of his *Leben Jesu* in 1835, and he afterwards claimed to have prepared the way for Baur; but, on the other hand, Baur expressly repudiated his dependence on Strauss in any way, and declared that he had begun his investigations long before him, and had set out from an entirely different stand-point. A very little reflection will be sufficient to shew that the last statement is true, and that the methods of the two men are not merely independent, but almost antagonistic to each other. The root idea of the Straussian criticism is the myth; that of Baur the intentional, not to say forged, composition in favour of a special tendency. The myth is a natural growth; it has nothing of the intentional about it, least of all the deliberate intention to deceive. The truth, or supposed truth, which lies at the foundation of it, as it passes from mind to mind and from mouth to mouth, grows and acquires a form according to certain instinctive and natural laws, so that it has a natural history. It is therefore completely opposed to a conscious aim, and certainly to a deliberate process of deception and forgery to carry out that aim. The theory of tendencies, on the other hand, implies that the New Testament writers belonged to certain schools as partisans, and that they deliberately moulded or forged their materials with a view to further their particular tendency. There is therefore all the difference between the radical principles of Strauss and Baur that there is between

[1] See Hegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, pp. 21 ff., 102, 109, &c., ed. 1837 Professor Flint, *Philosophy of History*, pp. 515 ff., 176 ff.

the natural and artistic, the unintentional and the deliberately intentional. It is true that Baur at times speaks of certain materials as legendary or mythic; but this in no way affects his great principle.

Though Baur first maintained his theory at length by a criticism of the generally accepted writings of Paul, he proceeded in due course to apply it to the four Gospels in his very learned, acute, and elaborate work, entitled, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, which was published at Tübingen in 1847. We do not require at present to dwell upon the contents of this book. Suffice it to say that he labours in it to prove that all the Gospels except Mark are pronounced *Tendenzschriften*, and written between A.D. 130 and 170, the earliest being Matthew, and the latest John. The inclination, however, among adherents of the Tübingen school of late has been to assign to the different Gospels decidedly earlier dates than the above. Hilgenfeld, who may be regarded as at present the head of the school, in his *Einleitung in das neue Testament*, published in 1875, sees reason to regard Matthew as written immediately (εὐθέως, Matt. xxiv. 29) after the destruction of Jerusalem; Mark between A.D. 81 and 96; and Luke about the close of the first century—all within what he regards as the Apostolic age. John, he holds, may have been written between A.D. 120 and 140.[1] While there is a general agreement in the school that Matthew is Petrine, Luke Pauline, and John Catholic, there is the greatest diversity in regard to Mark. Baur assigns it a position of neutrality, Volkmar a Pauline, and Hilgenfeld a Petrine tendency; and we may remark that a similar if not equal diversity shews itself in regard to other books of the New Testament, a fact which may well suggest to us the insufficiency of the theory to account for all the books.

But it was more especially within the circle of the Pauline writings that Baur began his criticism, and in them it appears to have its chief foundation. The results of this criticism were summed up in his elaborate work, *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi; sein Leben und Wirken, seine Briefe und seine Lehre*, of which the first edition was published at Stuttgart in 1845, and the second at Tübingen in 1866, by Zeller, his

[1] *Einl.*, pp. 197 f. In like manner, Renan holds that the first three Gospels were written between A.D. 76 and 94 (*Les Evangiles*, chaps. vii. x. xiii.).

disciple and son-in-law.[1] In this work he passes under the most sifting review, in the fierce light of his tendency-theory, all the writings in the New Testament bearing on Paul. He begins with the Acts of the Apostles. It is a strongly unionist production from the Pauline side, in which the writer garbles, falsifies, and deliberately invents in order to secure his end. In the earlier portion of the book he invents apparent facts to glorify Peter, and makes him the first preacher of the gospel to the Gentiles, and the first to receive Gentiles as such into the church. He next proceeds in the second portion of the work to invent similar incidents for the glorification of Paul, so as to make him clearly the equal of Peter. These incidents run closely parallel to those forged in reference to Peter, and he makes him always preach to the Jews first in every city to which he went, while he represents him also as keeping Jewish festivals and performing Jewish vows. All this is obviously designed for union purposes, to bring the Petrinists and Paulinists together. The book was written by some unknown author, and at an indefinite date, toward the middle of the second century.[2]

We pass over at present the Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians. The Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians Baur joins together, and rejects as belonging clearly to the post-apostolic age. They date from a period when Gnostic and Manichean ideas were in wide circulation, and are decidedly unionist in tendency. Philippians, which is characterised by poverty of thought, has also a very distinct flavour of Gnosticism, is written for the glorification of the apostle, and is altogether a forgery. The Epistle to Philemon is a little romance, serving to convey the genuinely Christian and Pauline idea of the brotherhood of master and slave in Christ. In regard to the Epistles to the Thessalonians he held two different views, first that they were written about the middle of the second century, and afterwards that they were written not long after the destruction of Jerusalem; but in neither case, of course, could they possibly be of Pauline origin.

[1] This work is generally quoted in this article from the translation in the *T. T. F. L.*, as is the case also with Zeller on the *Acts*.

[2] *Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 6 ff. Schwegler says that the aim of the Acts is "ein irenisch-apologetischer in paulinischem Interesse," and written about A.D. 140.—*Nachap. Zeitalter*, vol. ii. pp. 112 ff.; cf. *Sup. Rel.*, vol. iii. pp. 69 ff.

The three Pastoral Epistles he summarily dismisses as simple forgeries, and of a late age, as shewn by their developed Episcopacy, and by the fact that they controvert the Marcionite type of Gnosticism. "What gives [all] these epistles their claim to the name of the apostle is simply the circumstance that they profess to be Pauline, and make the apostle speak as their author," and "the forging of such epistles must not be judged according to the modern standard of literary honesty, but according to the spirit of antiquity."[1] Such is a very brief summary of Baur's results in regard to these nine epistles, which accordingly are excluded from our consideration, with the exceptions which are afterwards to be mentioned.

But while Baur rejects with much arbitrary self-confidence the books of the New Testament mentioned above, he accepts with no less confidence the four epistles of Paul which stand first in order in the Canon. He places them in a different and probably the correct order—Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, and Romans; but he has no doubt whatever of their being genuine and authentic compositions. He says, "In the Homologoumena there can be reckoned only the four great epistles of the apostle, which take precedence of the rest in every respect, namely, the Epistle to the Galatians, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Romans. There has never been the slightest suspicion of unauthenticity cast on these four epistles, and they bear so incontestably the character of Pauline originality, that there is no conceivable ground for the assertion of critical doubts in their case. All the rest of the epistles which are commonly ascribed to the apostle belong to the class of Antilegomena."[2] The only exception which Baur

[1] *Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 110 f.

[2] *Paul*, vol. i. p. 246. "Die paulinischen Briefe scheiden sich in Homologumena und Antilegomena. Zu den Homologumena können nur die vier allen andern in jeder Beziehung vorangehenden Hauptbriefe des Apostels gerechnet werden, der Brief an die Galater, die beiden Korintherbriefe und der Brief an die Römer. Gegen diese vier Briefe ist nicht nur nie auch nur der geringste Verdacht der Unächtheit erhoben worden, sondern sie tragen auch den Charakter paulinischer Originalität so unwidersprechlich an sich, dass sich gar nicht denken lässt, welches Recht je der kritische Zweifel gegen sie geltend machen könnte."—*Paulus, der Apostel*, p. 276.

In like manner, Schwegler: "So können denn unter allen uns erhaltenen Schriften des neutestamentlichen Kanons eigentlich nur fünf, die vier grösere paulinischen Briefe und die Apokalypse, mit Sicherheit jenem Zeitraum (the apostolic age) zugewiesen werden."—*Nachap. Zeit.*, vol. i. p. 90; cf. *Sup. Rel.*, vol. iii. p. 323.

makes is in reference to the last two chapters of the Epistle to the Romans (xv. and xvi.), which he denies to be of Pauline origin, and declares to have been the production of a Paulinist of similar sentiments with the author of the Acts of the Apostles.[1] With this exception, he holds that these epistles are trustworthy, and the only trustworthy documents for the life and teaching of the apostle, and the entire relation in which he stood to the church and age. In other words, the strongly destructive criticism of Baur leaves the Epistles to the Galatians, the Corinthians, and the Romans up to the close of the fourteenth chapter, as authentic works of Paul beyond the possibility of reasonable doubt. He further acknowledges that the apostle died a martyr's death at Rome, under Nero, at the close of the so-called first imprisonment, in the year 64.[2] Our data, accordingly, so far as Baur himself is concerned, are the epistles just enumerated, with the exception stated, and the further most important fact, that they were all written prior to the year 64.

While these are the views of Baur himself, they are not exactly the views of the present head of the school. Hilgenfeld, in his recent *Einleitung*, in addition to the above epistles, maintains, against Baur, the Pauline origin of the last two chapters of the Romans, all except the three concluding verses of the Epistle.[3] He not only accepts the First Epistle to the Thessalonians as genuinely Pauline, but agrees with the common view that it is the earliest of all the apostolic epistles which have been preserved in the Canon. Philemon is also authentic, and was written probably during the imprisonment at Cæsarea. He further accepts the Epistle to the Philippians as a genuine work of Paul, written during the imprisonment at Rome (A.D. 62–64). He regards the Epistle to the Hebrews as written certainly before the destruction of Jerusalem, and probably before 66. Though it is certainly not the work of Paul, it is very likely the work of Apollos, and belongs in any case to the Pauline circle of doctrine.[4] He also accepts as genuine the portions of the Acts narrated in the first person, xvi. 10–17, xx. 5–xxi. 18 (except the parting address at

[1] *Paul*, vol. i. pp. 353 ff.; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeit.*, vol. i. p. 296, vol. ii. p. 123.

[2] *Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 234 f. So also Hilgenfeld, *Einl.*, p. 348.

[3] *Einl.*, pp. 320–327. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 380.

Miletus), and xxvii. 6–xxviii. 16, and regards chapters xiii. and xiv. as also a portion of an original document proceeding from the same author, who was probably Luke. Still, in all these portions, there are occasional interpolations by the unknown author of the Acts, who wrote about the beginning of the second century.[1] In these results of Hilgenfeld's criticism we have a most important addition to our data; but we mean to use it sparingly, to place it in a secondary position, and in every case when drawing upon it to indicate the fact distinctly.

We have seen above what are the results of Baur's criticism in regard to the Gospels, and more especially the books bearing on the Apostle Paul, and we naturally inquire what were his views in regard to the substance of Christianity. What then according to Baur was the original Christianity? Although his method is altogether destructive rather than constructive, we find his views expressed with considerable clearness in the first section of his well-known work on the ecclesiastical history of the first three centuries. The original Christianity he regards as neither more nor less than the absolute morality. It penetrates beneath the merely external, sensuous, and material, and has its deep foundations in the inmost nature of man, in his moral consciousness. It rises above the defective, the restricted, the one-sided, and the finite of all other religions, and does away with all their particularism. Accordingly it differs from all the forms of heathenism by taking up a position of unyielding opposition to polytheism, and from Judaism by rising above all external ritualism and traditionalism. The sum and substance of its essential truth is to be found in the beatitudes, and in the highly spiritual moral teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. It differs from the old law rather quantitatively than qualitatively; but it does differ from it very decidedly in opposing the internal to the external, the disposition to the act, the spirit to the letter, and in this are found its fundamental principle and essence. The life which it demands consists in keeping or fulfilling the law and will of God, which can be accomplished on earth as well as in heaven, and it has the doctrine of free forgiveness superadded because of transgressions. Christ Jesus no doubt claims to be the Jewish Messiah; but he is only a mere man, and it is his

[1] *Einl.*, pp. 606 f.

teaching, not his person, that is of prime importance. The whole movement is to manifest itself in a kingdom of God, called the Church, of which the basis of unity is the absolute morality or obedience to the will of God. Such was the original Christianity, and as such it was merely a natural growth. It derived the idea of universalism from the instinctive feeling of universality, which the world-wide dominion of Rome introduced and nurtured. It derived its inwardness, its subjectivity, and its intensely introspective cast from Socrates and the Greek philosophies. It got its rigid monotheism from Judaism, purified from the strongly anthropomorphic colouring of the Old Testament through contact with the abstract and philosophic thought of the West. From the same source it derived its doctrines of the Messiah and the Church, which is simply the Old Testament theocracy spiritualised. It had an especially close relationship to Essenism in its spirituality, its philanthropy, and practical drift, and in some of its peculiar institutions, such as voluntary poverty and community of goods.[1] Such is the essence of primitive Christianity, according to Baur, and such its origin. We need scarcely say that it is not the Christianity of the New Testament, nor even of the four epistles of Paul, which he unhesitatingly admits to be genuine.[2]

We have already referred to the general position taken up by Baur in reference to the supernatural; but as the question is one of cardinal importance, and as we are engaged in giving a summary of his general results, we deem it proper here to indicate his position more in detail. It is by no means so easy to give a categorical statement of his views on the question as of those of Strauss, for at times he appears to adopt a somewhat hesitating and even evasive tone, shifting from the objective truth of the supernatural to the subjective belief of the early Christians, which with him is a very different thing.[3] On

[1] Schwegler actually speaks of Essenism or Ebionitism as indicating an ecclesiastical period rather than a sect: as a stage in the lineal development of the Catholic Church, which lasted far into the second century. *Nachap. Zeit.*, vol. i. pp. 91–113 and 192. See all this annihilated by Lightfoot in the "Dissertations on the Essenes," in his *Commentary on the Colossians.*

[2] For the substance of this paragraph see *K. G. d. drei ersten Jahrh.*, pp. 6, 9, 12, 26, 28, &c.; *Die Tüb. Schule*, p. 30.

[3] See especially *K. G. d. drei ersten Jahrh.*, pp. 39 f.; *Die Tüb. Schule*, p. 16.

the whole, however, his position must be practically described as that of the denial of the supernatural as an historical fact. He distinctly declares his stand-point to be the "purely historical" one, and he expressly defines it in such a way as to exclude the supernatural at every stage. The supernatural breaks the natural continuity of history, is in short unhistorical, and, as we have seen, it is the object of his criticism to explain the origin of Christianity by simply natural elements or factors.[1] The ordinary church view of the Gospels is one which is teeming with the miraculous, and has nothing of a sure historic ground. Christianity is merely the result of the natural forces of the age, and it is altogether unreasonable to regard it as a supernatural phenomenon. Nevertheless, at times he seems to hesitate. He is especially perplexed in view of the resurrection of our Lord, and appears to be in doubt whether to regard it as an objective or a psychological miracle.[2] There is no doubt, however, that he regards it merely as a miracle in the latter sense. But by this he can only mean a difficult psychological problem, all the factors of which are simply natural though unknown; for he elsewhere declares that "we cannot believe in the direct operations of the higher causality in the sphere of the spiritual life."[3] Still more emphatically he says, "If there be any sphere in which the notion of (supernatural) miracle must be discarded, it is the psychological sphere."[4] In like manner he speaks of the conversion of Paul as a miracle, but only in the secondary sense of a strange insoluble natural problem.[5] Accordingly we find him invariably attempting to explain away, by some means or other, the obvious references to supernatural gifts and events in the acknowledged works of the apostle. Sometimes the explanation is that such was Paul's way of looking at things and representing them to his own mind,[6] and sometimes that he had a good deal of the ecstatical in his nature.[7] At other times he ventures to affirm that the apostle thought he had the power

[1] *K. G. d. drei ersten Jahrh.*, pp. x. and 1. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[3] *Paul*, vol. i. p. 79.

[4] *Paul*, vol. i. p. 75. "Ist irgendwo die Annahme eines Wunders an sich verwerflich, so ist sie es gewiss auf dem psychologischen Gebiet," u.s.w.—*Paulus*, vol. i. p. 86.

[5] *K. G. d. drei ersten Jahrh.*, p. 45.

[6] *Paul*, vol. i. p. 67, vol. ii. p. 124.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 277; cf. *Sup. Rel.*, vol. iii. pp. 393 ff.

of working miracles, but was completely mistaken.[1] Sometimes he tries to explain the statements down to the level of the natural after the manner of the older Rationalists,[2] and at other times he takes refuge in the psychological miracle, which we have just seen is really no proper miracle at all. The most that can be said is, that he regards the universal belief in our Lord's resurrection, and the conversion of Paul, as mysteries which have not received a satisfactory solution, although he tries to solve them, and believes that they could be solved, on the lines of mere nature, provided only we had all the elements or factors.

Our special course of argument does not require us to enter into a detailed criticism of Baur's great Theory of Tendencies. Before proceeding, however, to the second and more positive part of our subject, we deem it right to make a few remarks upon his leading principle. That his theory has a measure of truth in it, like most other theories even though highly erroneous, is not to be denied. To maintain this is quite consistent with any reasonable view of inspiration, which always makes allowance for the special type, or idiosyncrasy, or, if the reader will, the tendency of the writer. But to say that an author sets out with the deliberate intention of giving an account of Christianity and of facts, and that this account is unconsciously tinged with his special tendency or view, is one thing; and to say that he starts with the primary and deliberate intention of supporting his tendency, and knowingly manipulates doctrines, statements, and facts for that purpose, is a totally different thing. That Christianity should have taken the complexion of Judaism among the Jews was quite in keeping with its own nature as taught even by the Apostle Paul; for the Jews were allowed by it to practice Jewish ceremonies, so long as they did not regard them as essential to salvation, and endeavour to force them upon others. That there should have arisen Judaisers who regarded the Judaic element as essential and necessary was only what was to be expected; though it should be borne in mind that this party existed only at the outskirts of the church, and gradually gravitated off towards an outside sectarian position, such as we find in the Ebionites. But that there were two fiercely hostile camps or tendencies in early Christianity,

[1] *Paul*, vol. i. p. 299. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 173.

such as Baur represents, which were united together in the Catholic Church toward the close of the second century, is for the most part a dream. The genuine writings of the period, whether canonical or uncanonical, furnish no such statements as would be necessary to support the sweeping theory of Baur.[1] The parties in the Church of Corinth were four, and not two, as Baur labours to prove under the bias of his theory, and they seem to have disappeared very speedily, and were already a thing of the remote past when Clement of Rome wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians.[2] Hegesippus, who was not an Ebionite as Baur affirms, but an orthodox Jewish Christian, never could have written as follows if the Tübingen theory had been true:—"Until the time of Trajan the church continued a pure and uncorrupted virgin, and if there were any heretics who perverted the sound rule of the gospel, they did so in secret. It was only after the sacred company of the apostles became extinct, and the generation who had heard them passed away, that false teachers began to spread their errors systematically." "In every succession (of bishops—διαδοχή), and in every city the doctrine prevails according to what the law, the prophets, and the Lord preach."[3] So he writes probably about A.D. 160, and after a journey extending from the East by Corinth to Rome. Such a testimony by such a man seems to us inconceivable on the supposition that the theory of Baur is correct.

But we also believe that a detailed criticism of the different books of the New Testament most triumphantly shews that it is quite unreasonable to regard them as *Tendenzschriften*, or forgeries in support of the different parties. In re-perusing the works of Baur we have been struck more than ever with the biassed, arbitrary, and violent way in which he forces every incident and statement into accordance with his view.

[1] We exclude, of course, the Clementine Homilies (of which the Tübingen school makes so much use), as having their origin in the Ebionitic sect outside the church, and would only remark that they shew us what the books of the New Testament would have been if the tendency theory had been correct.

[2] Clem., *Ep.* I. c. 47. He speaks of τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς περιβοήτου φιλαδελφίας ὑμῶν.

[3] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 22; cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vii. 17. See also Lechler, *Ap. u. Nachap. Zeitalter.* pp. 461 ff.

Even in his criticism of the Acts, which of all the books has the greatest appearance of being a tendential composition, this conviction has impressed us very strongly. We are convinced that every event and statement can be accounted for far better, and in a much more natural way, by accepting the book as a genuine record. It is true that the writer represents Peter as eating with the Gentiles; but so does Paul most explicitly in the second chapter of Galatians. It is true that the Acts always makes Paul preach to the Jews first; but this is quite in keeping with his own statement, "to the Jew first, and also to the Greek" (Rom. i. 16). It is true that it makes him accommodate himself to their peculiarities in keeping festivals and vows and such like; but this is in accordance with the express statement of the apostle himself, who says, "Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law" (1 Cor. ix. 20). The writer of the Acts represents a state of agreement as existing between Peter and Paul in regard to doctrine; but this is only what is done by the apostle himself in the second chapter of Galatians. We find there the Judaisers, who are denounced as false brethren, and are clearly distinct both from Cephas, James, and John, and even from the church (ver. 4). We find there the two types of Christianity in the apostles of the circumcision and of the uncircumcision, of the Jews and of the Gentiles; but we also find their unity in doctrine and substantial agreement as to practice most distinctly implied. Paul consulted with them in regard to his gospel, and there was no divergence manifest. He calls Cephas, James, and John acknowledged pillars; he received from them the right hand of fellowship, and they agreed to an amicable division of the field of labour. Peter evidently lived at Antioch as a Gentile Christian until he was led away by external influences, and the whole force of Paul's rebuke turns upon the glaring and undeniable inconsistency (*κατεγνωσμένος*) of his conduct with his principles and general course of action (vers. 11–14). It is clear from the statement of Paul and the form of the rebuke, that Peter not only "lived after the manner of Gentiles," but actually held the same doctrine of justification "by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law" (vers. 14–16), as was held by Paul. We believe that the careful and unbiassed

study of this chapter furnishes the key to the whole apparent difficulty.

It must strike the most cursory student of Baur's theory, that it does not account for the residuum of material which is common to the writers of all the supposed tendencies. This appears most obviously if we contemplate the different Gospels, and more especially the Synoptists. It is perfectly clear from these that there is a large, a firmly and universally believed body of acknowledged facts in regard to Christ underlying all the Gospels. We find substantially the same facts and doctrines in Matthew the Petrinist, in Mark the neutral, in Luke the Paulinist, and to a certain extent in John the Catholic. This is obvious beyond all contradiction. Now, when we find men belonging to antagonistic tendencies agreeing in regard to facts, when we never find them accusing each other of falsifying the facts, we may surely believe with the utmost confidence the facts that are common to them all. We have the testimony of antagonists to the same thing, and the facts must have been able to stand all the scrutiny and fire of hostile criticism. We may perhaps venture to take an illustration from the philosophic school to which Baur himself belonged. We find in the year 1860 three special Hegelian lines or tendencies, the left, the right, and the central; but who does not see in a moment that these three directions presuppose an original Hegel and an original Hegelianism from which they started? Who does not see also that all the points on which the three schools or tendencies agree as to Hegel's teaching must be accepted as his genuine teaching on the threefold testimony, which is all the more trustworthy because of its very nature? In like manner it is obvious that the alleged tendencies in the church, supposing them to have actually existed, must presuppose an original Christianity, and afford the strongest possible testimony to all the facts and doctrines which are common to the different tendencies. At all events the theory of Baur cannot of itself explain the materials common to the different tendencies, and must call in to its aid either the mythical or some other explanation.

But we think we may go a step further and say that this system of forgery and falsification carried on all round, and accepted all round, is, in the circumstances, well-nigh incredible. For what is the process presented to us by Baur, and which we

are required to believe? We have two hostile parties, the Petrine and the Pauline, existing in fierce antagonism over-against each other, and we may be certain that they were animated by the same spirit of jealousy which is only too common in such cases. But by-and-by a few of the more liberal and managing men of both parties began at the same time to entertain the idea of union, or at least of approximation. They both adopted the self-same method, and that method the most extraordinary in the circumstances for such a purpose, the method of forgery and falsification. The Paulinists forged epistles and other works to bring over the hostile Petrinists. We should naturally expect that the jealous Petrinists must have known that the books palmed off upon them in the name of men whom they knew to have been dead for two or three generations were forgeries, and could not possibly belong to Paul or other apostolic men. In such circumstances, one would have supposed that they would have torn the forgeries to pieces, held up the unfortunate Paulinists to scorn, and regarded them with greater jealousy and hostility than ever. But directly contrary to all this, Baur would have us believe that the Petrinists quietly accepted those Pauline compositions, which were not only so far antagonistic to their views, but which they must have known to be forgeries. Nor is this the whole. We look now at the Petrine side, and see the same process beginning and going on at the same time, and with the same results. The Petrinists manipulated or forged compositions, and palmed them off in the name of Peter and other apostolic men, in order to win over the jealous Paulinists. The latter, instead of shewing up the forgeries and overwhelming their opponents with merited contempt, quietly adopted those works as part of their accepted Scriptures. And even this is not all: for we find an author of the Catholic tendency, neither distinctly Petrine nor Pauline, coming forward and forging that religious romance which we now call the Gospel according to John, and yet we see it adopted by both parties alike, without a murmur or a doubt. All this is highly improbable. The more decided and jealous the parties were, the more certainly would they pry with critical and sceptical eyes into every work that came from the opposite ranks, so that the existence of the hostile tendencies, instead of explaining the forgeries, only makes the forgeries all but impossible. We

only need to reflect for a moment how this machinery would work between hostile sects for union purposes in the present day, in order to see that it is in the highest degree impracticable, unnatural, and incredible.

We now come to the second and more positive part of our investigation; in which, it will be remembered, we are restricted to the critical results of the Tübingen school as our data, and more especially to the Epistle to the Galatians, the First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Romans as far as the end of the fourteenth chapter. Accordingly, in the remaining portion of this article, it will be our endeavour to shew that even if our New Testament were reduced to those four epistles, we should still have all the fundamental facts and doctrines of the gospel clearly stated, and at the same time supported by the highest evidence.

Of course, our primary duty must be to ascertain the value of the witness. In doing so we have to begin by ascertaining the condition and character of Paul before his conversion. We learn that he was a Jew. He speaks of himself as a Jew by nature (Gal. ii. 13). In contrasting himself with the false teachers, he says, "Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I" (2 Cor. xi. 22); and in Rom. xi. 1, he further declares that he was of the tribe of Benjamin. As to his religion, he tells us that he was of the "Jews' religion," and was "more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of his fathers" (Gal. i. 14), which points to the fact that he was a Pharisee. He made pre-eminent advancement in his Jewish studies, was what we would call a most promising student, and had every expectation of preferment. "I made progress," he says, "above many who were my equals in years in mine own nation" (Gal. i. 14). To crown all, he was a bitter persecutor of Christianity, and gloried in wasting the church. To this fact he refers again and again. He not merely says of himself, "I am not meet to be called as apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God" (1 Cor xv. 9), but refers to his persecuting zeal and activity as both excessive and notorious: "Ye have heard of my former way of life in the Jewish religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the Church of God and wasted it" (Gal. i. 13). Here then we have a bigoted Jew, full of his own Pharisaic

self-righteousness, with the highest hopes of preferment in connection with his own religion, and at the same time a well-known and furious persecutor. His position is the most directly antagonistic to Christianity which the imagination can conceive; his education and his interests are all against it: he has taken up his position in the most public and decided manner possible; and consequently, if such a man ever become a Christian, we may conclude that the reasons and causes which lead to his conversion must appear to his mind of the most convincing and overwhelming kind.

But the conversion of Paul to Christianity did take place; as appears from the four epistles, beyond the possibility of a doubt. Baur admits frankly that he was suddenly converted on the way to Damascus, and that "the Apostle recognised in his conversion a supernatural event, a miracle, a thing incomprehensible even to himself."[1] But he also fixes on the expression, "It pleased God to reveal his Son in me"[2] (Gal. i. 16), to explain it as a mere dawning of the supposed truth concerning Jesus on his consciousness in a natural way, and regards this expression as the germ which afterwards grew up into the legend of the Acts.[3] Still, of the fact of his sudden conversion, and its thorough genuineness, Baur does not entertain the shadow of a doubt. It is written in letters of sunlight on all the pages of the four epistles. The burden and spirit of them all is Christ. "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

But not only does the genuineness of Paul's conversion appear from the statements and general tone of his epistles; it was also tested in the most thorough manner conceivable and possible. The witness was sifted, cross-questioned, examined, we might almost say, by torture, and yet he adhered unflinchingly to his conviction and his testimony. He was a Jew, and gave

[1] *Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 269, 275.

[2] We understand this expression to refer not to his sudden conversion, but to what followed it. His conversion is referred to in the "calling" of ver. 15. So Meyer, Lightfoot, and Beyschlag, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1864.

[3] *Paul*, vol. i. pp. 65 ff.; *K. G. d. drei ersten Jahrh.* pp. 44 ff.

up his people for the society of the hated Nazarenes. He was a Pharisee, and gave up his old religion for the religion of the despised and crucified Jesus; his own legal righteousness for salvation by grace through Christ. He gave up friends and property and prospects of a worldly kind, for hostility and loss and worldly ruin. He who before had been a mad and malignant persecutor, not only became a Christian, but exposed himself to all manner of persecution in turn for his new religion, and bore it willingly, unflinchingly, exultingly. He submitted not only to hatred, shame, and contempt at the hands of Jews and Gentiles, but to scourging, imprisonment, and, as even Baur admits, to a martyr's death at Rome. Space does not permit us even to refer to, far less quote, all the passages which may be adduced from the epistles in illustration of his manifold trials and persecutions. We need only to refer in passing to such a well-known passage as that occurring in 2 Cor. xi., beginning at the 23d verse. And if it be asked how the apostle took these trials and persecutions, he is ready with his reply: "I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake" (2 Cor. xii. 10). Surely when we see such a transformation taking place, the furious and bigoted persecutor becoming himself the persecuted Christian; when we see him so tested and cross-examined by trial, and suffering, and death, we may certainly conclude that his belief in Christianity was of the deepest and intensest kind, and that he regarded it as the undeniable, irresistible truth of God.

But we go on to say that if Paul believed Christianity to be true, then it must have been substantially true, for he had every possible means of attaining to certain knowledge. As Baur himself admits, he died in the year 64, four years earlier than the date usually assigned. Accordingly he must have been contemporary with the events connected with the founding of Christianity; for in the Epistle to the Galatians, which was written in A.D. 56 or 57, we have mention made of seventeen years (three and fourteen, Gal. i. 18, ii. 1), which had elapsed since his conversion, not to speak of the unknown years between the close of these seventeen years and the date at which the epistle was written. This plainly points to some year before A.D. 40 as the time of his conversion; and when we remember that he was old enough to have become a notorious

persecutor before that date, we see that he was certainly contemporary with the events recorded in the Gospels. His very position and occupation as a persecutor must have brought him into close connection with the Sanhedrim, and have given him the very best opportunity of becoming acquainted with the facts, of sifting them thoroughly, and hearing all that could be said by the most able and learned Jews against them, or in explanation of them. He tells us also distinctly of his intercourse with Peter and John the Apostles, and with James the brother of the Lord, who were eye-witnesses of our Lord's life, and must have had the best opportunity of examining into the historic facts of that life (Gal. i. and ii., and 1 Cor. xv.).[1] He must have come into personal contact with some of the five hundred brethren referred to in 1 Cor. xv. 6, the greater portion of whom were still alive, and to whom he confidently appeals for testimony. He actually saw the risen Lord for himself, and received his revelations directly from him. He speaks of miracles taking place in the circle of his own experience, he is conscious of possessing the power, at least at times, if not always, of working miracles, and obviously declares that he wrought such miracles himself. We adduce these facts just now only for the purpose of shewing that Paul had the best conceivable means of arriving at the truth, and therefore the facts and doctrines to which he testified by his teaching and his suffering, his life and his death, must have been true.

We do not overlook the objection which may at first sight be started to the statement now made, namely, that many men have suffered and died as martyrs for beliefs which we now know to have been quite unfounded. This is no doubt the case; but it is not the case before us, not the case of the Apostle Paul. The martyrs referred to died for mere opinions or beliefs which were founded only on inferential and indirect evidence which might be and was fallacious; but the apostle died for facts for which he had the most direct, overwhelming, and infallible evidence, and in regard to which he could not possibly be mistaken. He suffered and died, in short, not for *opinions*, but for *facts*, which he might have learned, and undoubtedly did learn, from the most direct witnesses, and to many of which he had the testimony of his own senses and

[1] See Baur, *Paul*, vol. i. p. 91.

his own consciousness. He could not possibly be mistaken in regard to what he saw with his own eyes and heard with his own ears, or felt within the circle of his own natural consciousness, or actually wrought with his own hands, as in the case of his own miracles. We say he could not be mistaken in such a case, unless he was positively insane; and when we find him suffering shame, loss, scourging, imprisonment, and death itself, for the facts and doctrines to which he testified, we must surely accept his plain statements as the plain truth. Accordingly, while the ordinary martyr by his sufferings and death only proves the genuineness of his *belief*, the Apostle Paul by his sufferings and death proves not only his own invincible belief, but also the moral *certainty* of the facts for which he suffered and died. In short, he had such means of arriving at the truth that he could not possibly be deceived; and hence, when he testifies to the historic facts and doctrines of the gospel, his testimony must be allowed the greatest weight conceivable and possible.

We proceed now to consider the substance of his testimony in detail; and, first of all, in reference to the supernatural, which may well be regarded as the burning question of the age. We think that no one can read the four epistles with which we have specially to do without becoming completely convinced that Paul bears his clear and emphatic testimony to the supernatural and miraculous. It is sometimes supposed that he says very little about the matter in these epistles, but most erroneously so; for the truth is, that this element appears far more largely in them than in the so-called pseudo-Pauline Epistles of the Tübingen School.

One of the simplest forms in which the supernatural or miraculous element is presented to us in our epistles, is that of direct and special revelation of the truth. Baur endeavours to explain this away by rationalising it into a mere dawning of the truth on the apostle's mind in a natural way by means of ordinary logical processes. It was merely his method of representing the matter to his own mind, and expressing it to others. There can be no doubt, however, as to the meaning of the apostle. When he says, "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it (by man), but by the revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. i. 11, 12), his

meaning is expressed both negatively and positively, and is clear beyond all contradiction. He means, and can only mean, if we are to let him speak for himself, and not read between the lines, a direct supernatural revelation from heaven. What makes this still more certain is the fact, that the apostle was accustomed to distinguish clearly, and with a true critical spirit, between his own opinions and the revelations of the Lord. Of this we have repeated and most instructive examples in 1 Cor. vii. In speaking there concerning marriage in "the present distress," we find him using such expressions as the following: "Unto the married I command, yet not I but the Lord" (ver. 10); "but to the rest speak I, not the Lord" (ver. 12); and once more, "Now, concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my judgment" (ver. 25). Such statements as these shew us most clearly that the apostle was accustomed to distinguish carefully and critically between his own opinions or thoughts and the revelations of the truth received from Christ; and, accordingly, we are shut up to the belief that, when he speaks of such revelations, he means real supernatural revelations.

We pass from the question of special revelation to the gift of tongues. We do not mean to inquire into the exact nature of this gift, nor is it necessary. We may say in passing, that in view of Paul's statements in 1 Cor. xiv. 11, and his quotation in a succeeding verse (21), we incline to the traditional and common opinion. But in any case, we think it sufficiently obvious, whatever its exact nature, that the gift was something supernatural or miraculous. It is distinctly declared to be a gift of the Spirit, and classed along with supernatural gifts, such as the working of miracles, in 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28. We think that no one can read the whole of 1 Cor. xiv. without coming to the conclusion that it describes something which is not natural, but clearly supernatural. Here, then, we find a supernatural manifestation widely diffused in the Corinthian Church. Paul appeals to those who knew all about it from observation and experience, and must have known the truth of the matter. He declares that he himself possessed the gift more than any of them (ver. 18), and therefore he had the testimony of his own consciousness, so that the evidence

delivered by the apostle is not only of the indirect, but also of the most direct kind.

We find the apostle declaring most distinctly in two passages that he had a real objective sight of the Lord from heaven, which of course must be regarded as a supernatural or miraculous incident. In 1 Cor. ix. 1, he says, "Have not I seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" and again, in 1 Cor. xv. 8, he says, "And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time." These statements can only refer to the plain objective sight of Christ by the physical eye. This is undeniably the natural meaning of the language. He is speaking of the other apostles as having seen the risen Lord, and then he speaks of himself as having seen him in the selfsame way. There is nothing to lead us to suppose for a moment that it was only a subjective vision or a mere trance, but the very opposite.[1] We find elsewhere that the apostle can distinguish, and does carefully distinguish, between objective and subjective vision—vision by the eye and vision by the mind. We find him, in 2 Cor. xii. 1–4, referring to revelations and visions (ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις) of the subjective kind, with which he had been honoured in his own experience. We do not adduce the vision mentioned in that chapter, because it was in itself clearly a supernatural incident, but to shew that the apostle had critical acumen enough to distinguish, and did distinguish, between objective and subjective vision.[2] He speaks of it as a vision or revelation; whether he was in the body or out of the body, he could not tell; only he was rapt (ἡρπάγη), caught up into paradise. Such language is very plain, and can scarcely be mistaken. The apostle then obviously distinguishes with care between the subjective vision of the soul in a state of rapture or ecstasy, and objective vision by the physical eye. We conclude then that the sight of the Lord Jesus, to which he refers in the texts adduced, was the sight of the objective Saviour with his eyes, which we believe to have taken place at the time of his conversion, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. We further think that in his sight of the Lord Jesus he means to describe, and does describe,

[1] Cf. *Sup. Rel.*, vol. iii. pp. 551 ff.

[2] See an excellent article by Beyschlag in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1864, p. 197, "Die Bekehrung des Apostels Paulus," in which he enters at length into this matter. Cf. also issue for 1870, "Die Visionshypothese," u.s.w.

a supernatural or miraculous event, which took place in his own experience, and in regard to which he could not be mistaken.

We come now to the grand miracle of Christianity, the resurrection of our Lord. Baur frankly admits that the resurrection of Christ was firmly believed by the primitive disciples, and that this belief formed the foundation of the ancient church; but he thinks that this resurrection consisted only in the revived faith of his disciples, in a figurative or spiritual resurrection. That the Apostle Paul believed in the real resurrection of our Lord is undeniable, and, of course, is admitted by Baur.[1] We not only find it mentioned in numerous texts, but we find it made the basis of elaborate reasoning, as in 1 Cor. xv., and what is perhaps of still greater importance, we find it everywhere assumed as an admitted and fundamental fact in Chistianity. For this fact he adduces a variety of testimony. He refers for proof of it partly to the testimony of the apostles and other contemporaries who were still alive, with whom he himself had come into closest contact, and who still might be cross-questioned in regard to the matter. He declares "that Christ was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve; after that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that, he was seen of James; then of all the apostles" (1 Cor. xv. 4–7). Nothing can be plainer than this testimony. The apostle adduces the witness of those whom he knew, with whom he had come into close relationship, with whose gospel he had compared his own to see as to its absolute correctness (Gal. ii. 2, 6, 7), and who were eye-witnesses of the very highest character. They were witnesses also who belonged to some extent to the school which, according to Baur, was antagonistic to Paul, and in any case the Corinthians had the means, and some of them had the will, to shew up the falsity of these statements had that been possible. If the apostle does not enter into details in regard to these different appearances, it is because he had detailed them to the Corinthians previously (1 Cor. xv. 1, 3), and no more than a passing reference was either natural or necessary. But he

[1] "The apostle regards the resurrection (of Jesus) as the principal doctrine of the Christian faith," &c.—*Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 216 ff.

advances beyond the testimony of others, and adduces his own as well:—"Last of all, he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time" (1 Cor. xv. 8, ix. 1). In other words, he declares categorically, that he had his own personal testimony to the risen Saviour; for, as we have already seen, his language means that he had an objective sight of the Lord with the physical eye. Accordingly we see that Paul had the best possible testimony on the part of others to our Lord's resurrection; he had the testimony of his own eye-sight, and thus the great fundamental miracle is fully proved as one of the things to be most surely believed among us.

But the apostle also speaks in the most significant way of miracles as undeniable historical facts, which took place in his own experience and that of the church. We do not refer at present to the testimony in Rom. xv. 19, as to the "signs and wonders" which had been wrought among the Gentiles by other apostolic men as well as himself; for as we have seen already this chapter is rejected by Baur. But passing on to his undisputed epistles, we find him in a chapter teeming with the supernatural, speaking once and again of "gifts of healing" (*χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων*), as a well-known fact in the church (1 Cor. xii. 9, 28, 30). It is true that Baur endeavours to explain away the evidently supernatural here in a manner that savours very strongly of the method of the older Rationalism, but his attempt is altogether vain.[1] In the same chapter the apostle refers to miracles once and again as well-known facts in the church:—"To another (is given) the working of miracles" (*ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων*, verse 10); "God hath set in the church miracles (*δυνάμεις*), then gifts of healing" (verse 28); "Are all (workers of) miracles" (*δυνάμεις*, verse 29)? We find him in like manner, in Gal. iii. 5, referring to him "that worketh miracles among you" (*ὁ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν*); he appeals to the fact as undeniable, and founds his argument upon it even when reasoning with those who were hostilely disposed. Still more to the point, he affirms that he himself had the power of working miracles, and did work miracles, and appeals to them as proofs of his apostleship even when arguing with his opponents. In proof of his apostleship, he declares in writing to the Corinthians, "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty

[1] *Paul*, vol. ii. p. 173.

deeds" (ἐν ὑμῖν[1] . . . ἐν σημείοις καὶ τέρασι καὶ δυνάμεσι, 2 Cor. xii. 12). There can be no doubt that he here appeals to miracles which were wrought by himself at Corinth and were well known, and appeals to them in proof of his apostleship, as a proof that he was "in nothing behind the very chiefest Apostles." It is true that he does not give a detailed narrative of any of these miracles, for the facts were notorious to the Corinthians; and evidently such detailed narratives intruded unnecessarily and unnaturally, would have savoured more of the forger than of the genuine author. Now the conclusion from all this is plain. He refers to miracles in such a way as to shew that they were in a sense common in the ancient church, and universally accepted. He appeals to the very churches in which hostile elements were at work, such as those of Galatia and Corinth, and founds his arguments on the fact that miracles had taken place among them. He appeals to his own miracles in proof of his apostleship, and that in reasoning against his opponents; and if he had never wrought any such real miracles, would not this have been sheer madness? Would not the Judaisers and their perverts soon have shewn up the hollowness and deception of his reasoning if there had been the least possible doubt about the matter, and thus have made the latter end worse than the first? Surely the only conclusion warrantable in the circumstances is, that such miracles were facts undenied, and undeniable even by his enemies. When in addition to this we consider that we are dealing with a special declaration of the apostle in regard to himself, in which he could not possibly be deceived unless he was insane, we shall see ground for accepting the fact of the miraculous as beyond all reasonable doubt, if historical testimony is to be accepted in the case.

Such is the testimony in regard to the question of the miraculous or supernatural as gathered from the four epistles, so far as they are accepted by Baur. If we glance at the critical results of Hilgenfeld as previously stated, we shall find a considerable addition to this testimony. According to our plan, however, we mean to assign only a secondary place to everything lying beyond the data furnished by Baur, and consequently we content ourselves with a mere reference to a few passages and incidents. This additional field furnishes us with

[1] For the meaning of ἐν ὑμῖν here, cf. 1 Cor. i. 10, 11, ii. 2, iii. 18, xv. 12; 2 Cor. i. 19, x. 1. See also Acts v. 12, vi. 8, xv. 12.

the reference to "mighty signs and wonders" in Rom. xv. 19, already noticed in passing. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews testifies that the gospel "was confirmed unto us by them that heard [the Lord], God also bearing [them] witness, both with signs and wonders, and divers miraculous powers (*δυνάμεσι*), and distributions of the Holy Ghost" (Heb. ii. 4). When we turn to the Acts, it becomes apparent that the portions which proceed directly from the hand of Luke, the companion of Paul, and which are accepted by Hilgenfeld, contain as much in the way of supernatural incident as the rest of the book. In these accepted portions we have the narratives concerning Elymas the sorcerer, who was struck blind (xiii. 8–12); the healing of the impotent man at Lystra, who had been "a cripple from his mother's womb" (xiv. 8–10); the expulsion of the spirit of Python from the damsel at Philippi (xvi. 16–18); the restoration of Eutychus to life at Troas (xx. 6–12);[1] Paul's escape from the expected fatal results of the viper's bite in Malta, and the healing of Publius and others of their diseases in that island (xxviii.).

When we turn to our Lord's life we find the fundamental historical events in it referred to most distinctly by the apostle in the four epistles. If any one thinks that the references of this kind are strikingly few, it is at least a sufficient answer to reply that they are more numerous in the four epistles than in all the other books of the New Testament, the Gospels and the Acts excepted. The facts to which the apostle testifies are mainly these. Our Lord was not only a Jew (Rom. ix. 5), but of the seed of David according to the flesh (i. 3). If the statement that he was "made of a woman" (Gal. iv. 4), does not imply the miraculous conception, it is still more certain that the other statement that he was of the seed of David, does not exclude it as Meyer supposes.[2] He lived most obviously in the first part of the first century, for he had already ascended before Paul's conversion, which took place as we have seen before A.D. 40, and yet not long before this, for James the Lord's brother was a contemporary of the apostle. Our Lord had certain brethren (1 Cor. ix. 5), sons of Joseph and Mary

[1] Baur admits that the author narrates this as a miracle, *Paul*, vol. i. p. 192. So also Zeller, *Acts of the Apostles*, vol. ii. pp. 62 f.; Meyer and Lechler, *Komm., in loco.*

[2] *Komm.*, Rom. i. 3; cf. Gen. iii. 15.

as we understand, and one of them was called James. He gathered around him twelve apostles (1 Cor. xv. 5), chief among whom were Cephas and John, "who seemed to be pillars." He lived a life which was at once sinless (2 Cor. v. 21), and yet deeply marked by sufferings (2 Cor. i. 5). At the close of his ministry he was betrayed at night, after instituting the Sacrament of the Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23 ff.), and apparently at the season of the Passover (1 Cor. v. 7). He died by crucifixion as we learn from various references (1 Cor. i. 23, ii. 2, 8, &c.). He was buried and rose again the third day, and appeared to Cephas and to James, twice to the twelve, and to more than five hundred brethren at once (1 Cor. xv. 3–7). The apostle refers also to the fact of our Lord's ascension: "It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us" (Rom. viii. 34). Indeed, the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ are everywhere interwoven with the texture of the epistles. We further agree entirely with Baur, when he says, "He who could speak so definitely and in such detail about matters of fact in the gospel history as the apostle does, could not have been unacquainted with the rest of its chief incidents."[1]

The views of the apostle in regard to the person of Christ obviously imply both a human and a divine element. No proof is needed that the former is the case, and accordingly our attention must be directed to the latter. It is quite certain at first sight, that the person of Christ occupies a very different place in the Christianity of Paul from what it does in that of Baur. With the latter, the person of our Lord is next to nothing; he is only a man, dead for eighteen centuries, and we may hold the absolute Christianity without much or any reference to the person of Jesus at all. But with the Apostle Paul, the person of Jesus is everything.[2] "Christ Jesus was made unto us from God, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption" (1 Cor. i. 30). "Other foundation can no

[1] *Paul*, vol. i. p. 91.

[2] Baur of course admits this: "The entire absolute importance of Christianity resides, in the apostle's view, in the person of Christ."—*Paul*, vol. ii. p. 124. "Seit der den Sohn Gottes in ihm enthüllenden Offenbarung lebt er nur in der Anschauung des Gekreuzigten, er weiss von keinem Andern, ist mit ihm gekreuzigt, sein ganzes Gedankensystem hängt an dieser Einen Thatsache."—*K. G. d. drei ersten Jahrh.* p. 45.

man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. iii. 11). "I am determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified" (1 Cor. ii. 2), and he speaks of his gospel as the "gospel of the glory of Christ" (2 Cor. iv. 4). He everywhere makes salvation depend on our relation to the personal Saviour: "There is therefore now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus" (Rom. viii. 1); and "If any man be in Christ, [he is] a new creature" (2 Cor. v. 17). Such a person as this implies must be more than human, and accordingly, while Baur holds that we have no trace of the Logos of John in our epistles, he nevertheless admits that we cannot believe Paul to have regarded Christ's personality as originating only at his human birth.[1] The apostle speaks of Christ as the Son of God, God's own Son (τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ, Rom. viii. 32), in a way which evidently implies his exalted nature. He contrasts his human nature with the "Spirit of holiness" (πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, Rom. i. 4), in which his Sonship had its sphere. He speaks of God as sending his Son in such a way as clearly to imply his pre-existence, and calls him, as distinguished from "the first man," "the second man [the Lord] from heaven" (1 Cor. xv. 47). It is true Baur rejects the well-known text, Rom. ix. 5,[2] as a reference to the divinity of our Lord, but his conclusion is evidently determined to a large degree by adherence to his "theory of vigour and of rigour."[3] We still maintain that the natural and grammatical reference is to Christ, and this view, which was held by all the ancient fathers,[4] and even by Socinus himself, would never have been set aside but for dogmatic prepossession.[5] The apostle speaks of Christ as the "image of God" (εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ, 2 Cor. iv. 4), in whose face the glory of God is seen (ver. 6). He is the "Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him" (1 Cor. viii. 6), a statement which Baur ingeniously but vainly endeavours to explain away. The apostle places him in the Trinity of the apostolic benediction even before the

[1] *Paul*, vol. ii. p. 240.

[2] Καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

[3] *Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 240 f.

[4] See Meyer, *Komm.*, *in loco*, who however takes the same view as Baur, not without dogmatic reasons.

[5] See Alford; Lechler, *Ap. u. Nachap. Zeitalter*, pp. 63 ff., and especially Liddon's *Bampton Lectures* for 1866, pp. 312 ff., 5th ed.

Father (2 Cor. xiii. 14), and distinctly regards him as an object of worship and prayer, invoking grace and peace, and other spiritual blessings from him equally with God the Father (Gal. i. 3, &c.). He describes Christians as those "who call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord" (1 Cor. i. 2); and again, he says, "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord (Heb., Jehovah) shall be saved" (Rom. x. 13, quoted from Joel ii. 32, LXX.), a verse in which he clearly refers to Christ, and practically applies to him the name Jehovah. Christ is also reigning Mediator (1 Cor. xv. 24 ff.), and is to be final Judge (Rom. xiv. 10; 2 Cor. v. 10). But the fact is that no reference to a few select texts can possibly convey any idea of the importance and dignity of Christ's person in the eyes of Paul. He plainly looks upon our Lord's divinity as an axiomatic gospel truth, and we have only to read the four epistles with the purpose of discovering his views in regard to this question, in order to have this fact borne in overwhelmingly on the mind.[1]

When we come to the grand doctrines of Christianity, we find them all written in the clearest language in our epistles, in such a way as to demonstrate that the Christianity of Paul was diametrically opposed, as to its contents, to the cold and meagre ghost put forth by Baur. We find there the doctrine of the fall: "By one man sin entered into the world and death by sin" (Rom. v. 12). We find the universal sinfulness of man clearly taught: "for all have sinned" (Rom. iii. 23). Our Lord's death is sacrificial and substitutionary: "Him who knew no sin, God made sin for us, that we might become the righteousness of God in him" (2 Cor. v. 21). He died for all, so that all died in him (2 Cor. v. 14). He is the propitiation (Rom. iii. 25), our Passover Lamb who is sacrificed for us (1 Cor.

[1] If we extend our survey to the data furnished by Hilgenfeld, we have the proof passage in Phil. ii. 6 ff.: "Jesus Christ, who though subsisting in the form of God, deemed not his equality with God a thing to be eagerly grasped at, but emptied himself," &c.; and also Heb. i.

Renan sums up Paul's view of Christ as follows, and his references are all to 1 Cor.:—"Pour Paul, Jésus n'est pas un homme qui a vécu et enseigné; c'est le Christ qui est mort pour nos péchés, qui nous sauve, qui nous justifie; c'est un être tout divin: on participe de lui; on communie avec lui d'une façon merveilleuse; il est pour l'homme rédemption, justification, sagesse, sainteté; il est le roi de gloire; toute puissance au ciel et sur la terre va bientôt lui être livrée; il n'est inférieur qu'à Dieu le Père."—*Saint Paul*, p. 309.

v. 7); and he "redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us" (Gal. iii. 13). All this is distinctly admitted by Baur as the real teaching of the apostle. He says, "In this sense (of a propitiatory sacrifice) the apostle calls the death of Christ a ἱλαστήριον, an atoning sacrifice. The righteousness of God had to be satisfied, and this was done by the penalty of sin being actually borne."[1] The salvation wrought out by Christ becomes ours by faith. "A man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ" (Gal. ii. 16). The doctrine of the sovereignty of God is clearly taught (Rom. ix. and xi.), and the need of the Holy Spirit to quicken the merely natural soul (1 Cor. ii. 14). He inculcates the necessity of sanctification (Rom. vi.), and clearly teaches the doctrines of the resurrection, the final judgment, and everlasting life in heaven (1 Cor. xv.). It is obvious also that he regards his gospel as a finality, as the ultimate revelation, so that there is no room for change in regard to its substance: "Even though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed" (Gal. i. 8).

While we find in the four epistles a full statement of the system of Christian doctrine, we find a no less complete statement of the system of Christian ethics or morality. We do not require to enter into this at length, for it is beyond the possibility of doubt. The root of Christian morality, according to the apostle, is "faith working (ἐνεργουμένη) by love" (Gal. v. 6). He inculcates perfect holiness of body and spirit towards God (2 Cor. vii. 1), and a complete surrender of ourselves to his service (Rom. xii. 1; 1 Cor. vi. 20). Towards our fellowmen "love is the fulfilling of the law" (Rom. xiii. 10; 1 Cor. xiii.); and he teaches us to carry it out into all the relations of life, not forgetting the conscientious discharge of our duties as citizens (Rom. xiii.). In short, while the true root of our morality is love, the perfect pattern of it is Christ (1 Cor. xi. 1; 2 Cor. iii. 18).

We also find in these epistles tolerably distinct teaching in regard to the church, its sacraments, and office-bearers. The apostle recognises the existence of a "Church of God" (Gal. i. 13), broken up into distinct churches or congregations (Gal. i. 2; 1 Cor. xvi. 19). This church is composed of those who are

[1] *Paul*, vol. ii. p. 152.

believers or consecrated ones (*οἱ ἅγιοι*, 1 Cor. i. 2, vii. 14), who are evidently admitted within its pale by baptism (Rom. vi. 3; 1 Cor. i. 13 ff.). He refers once and again to the Lord's Supper, and gives the full and well-known account of its institution which we have in 1 Cor. xi. 23–29. The Lord's Day is apparently the day of worship in the church (1 Cor. xvi. 2), and the services consist in offerings, praise, prayer, and preaching. When we come to the office-bearers, it is true that we have no specific mention in the four epistles of elders or bishops and deacons by name. Baur lays great stress upon this silence, and rejects the pastoral epistles largely because of the developed form of church government which they contain. But the argument *e silentio* is always precarious, and that the apostle should make no mention of elders and deacons by name in our epistles is not more wonderful than that there should be no mention of them in Ephesians, Colossians, or 1 John, and no mention of the Lord's Supper in Romans or Galatians. But we think we find a church constitution plainly taken for granted in our epistles. In Rom. xii. we have distinct references of this kind. The man who is charged with the ministry (*διακονίαν*) is to wait on his ministry; the teacher on his teaching; and he that ruleth (*προϊστάμενος*) is to do so with diligence (vers. 7, 8). In 1 Cor. xii. 28 he mentions "teachers," "helps" (*ἀντιλήψεις*), and "governments" (*κυβερνήσεις*), which we may reasonably suppose to embrace the two departments of the office of the presbyter, and the diaconate. In Gal. vi. 6 he speaks of the teacher having a right to temporal support, and he inculcates submission to those who "have set themselves to minister unto the saints" (1 Cor. xvi. 16). Of course, if we extend our view to Hilgenfeld's data, we find Paul and Barnabas "electing elders in every church" (Acts xiv. 23); we read of the "bishops and deacons" of the church at Philippi (Phil. i. 1); we find respect inculcated towards spiritual rulers (*προϊσταμένους*, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; Heb. xiii. 7), and even submission and obedience (Heb. xiii. 7).

We close our investigation in regard to the Christianity of Paul as contained in the four epistles with a brief reference, for the best of reasons, to the Apocalypse. This book is accepted by Baur and the Tübingen school generally as written in the apostolic age, probably before A.D. 69; as the work of the Apostle John, one of the Boanerges; and as a composition

strongly Petrine or anti-Pauline in its tendency,[1] notwithstanding its denunciations of those disturbers of the church, "who say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan" (ii. 9, iii. 9). According to Baur, it is Paul who is referred to under the false apostles mentioned in the Epistle to the Church at Ephesus (ii. 2); and his party who are condemned as Nicolaitanes (ii. 6, 16) and followers of Balaam, and "that woman Jezebel" (ii. 14, 20).[2] However that may be, we find in this work of John the Petrinist, the apostle and eye-witness of Christ, substantially the same Christian teaching as in the Epistles of Paul. Our Lord is possessed of a human nature, is sprung from David (xxii. 16), was crucified (xi. 8), and rose again (i. 18). But he is obviously more than man. He is "the Word of God" (xix. 13), "the beginning of the creation of God" (iii. 14), "the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last" (xxii. 13), and the object of the highest adoration (i. 5, 6, v. 11, 12). The doctrine of the atonement is distinctly taught. Christ is the "Lamb that was slain" (v. 12, &c.), who "redeemed us by his blood" (v. 9), who "loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood" (i. 5). The followers of the Lamb are "called, and chosen, and faithful" (xvii. 14), whilst all the "unbelieving" are doomed to the "second death" (xxi. 8). The present system of things is to be wound up with a resurrection and general judgment in which Christ will be Judge, and is to be followed in the case of the saints by a blessed immortality (xx., xxi., xxii.). We have even the trace of church government not merely in the four and twenty elders, but in the angels of the churches; for in them, according to Baur, we have an expression of the idea of the episcopate.[3] In all this we have only touched on a few points; but they are sufficient to shew us that the Christianity of John, the eye-witness of Christ, and supposed adherent of Judaic Christianity, is substantially the same as that of Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles, even although he

[1] "Das unzweifelhafte Resultat, auf das wir durch alle hier zusammengestellten Züge geführt werden, ist die Identität des Apostels mit dem Apokalyptiker."—Baur, *Krit. Unt.*, p. 376; *K. G. d. drei ersten Jahrh.*, p. 147; Hilgenfeld, *Einl.*, pp. 447 ff.; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeit.*, vol. i. pp. 66 ff.

[2] *K. G. d. drei ersten Jahrh.*, pp. 80, 81; *Krit. Unt.*, p. 368; Hilgenfeld, *Einl.*, pp. 413 ff.; cf. also *Sup. Rel.*, vol. iii. pp. 314 ff.

[3] *K. G. d. drei ersten Jahrh.*, p. 272.

may nowhere make special mention in so many words of justification by faith.[1]

The conclusion to which our investigation has conducted us admits of very brief and simple statement. The negative criticism of the Tübingen school has its source in its peculiar philosophy, and is mainly an attempt to make the phenomena of the New Testament square with that philosophy. It is therefore a system of negation founded not so much upon the merits of the case, as upon an antecedent philosophy; a denial not so much because the facts are false, as because the philosophy requires them to be explained away. Furthermore, we have seen in passing that, admitting a certain amount of truth in the theory, it nevertheless fails utterly to account for all the facts and phenomena of the case. Still further, we have seen that, even supposing all the books cleared away by the Tübingen criticism to be untrustworthy, yet in the residuum left we have the entire substance and system of Christianity remaining untouched. We have in the first four epistles of Paul the principle of the supernatural, the main facts of our Lord's life, the complete system of Christian doctrine and ethics, and the institution of the church most clearly and fully taught and represented. Last of all we see that John, the so-called antagonist of Paul, and eye-witness of Christ, bears his testimony substantially to the same effect, so that at the mouth of these two witnesses alone we may consider the truth as thoroughly established. And we regard it of the utmost importance that intelligent men should have a clear perception of what is left to us in the way of New Testament literature and Christian doctrine even by the most negative school of criticism. In an age like the present, when such criticism is attempting to cast doubt on one book of Holy Scripture after another, it is natural for many in the church to get into a state of uneasiness and panic. While their eyes are filled with the dust and their ears with the din of battle, they can perceive nothing for the time but the contested field or fortalice, and are apt to think that that is the whole domain, and if it be taken, then all is lost. In their panic they forget for the moment that after all the great domain of Christianity is quite independent of that small fortalice, and were it even lost, not one single doctrine or

[1] See Lechler, *Ap. u. Nachap. Zeit.*, pp. 199 ff.

important historical fact would require to be surrendered. And surely it should go far to allay such uneasiness to remember that the most pronounced and able school of negative criticism frankly admits that the first four epistles of Paul, to which we may add the Revelation of John, are absolutely unassailable, and to know that these books contain within themselves the system of Christianity in all its circular completeness.

We have now drawn our argument to a close, and finish with the remark, that, in Germany at least, the Tübingen school, as a compact and distinctive school, has apparently passed its culmination, and after contributing in its own way to New Testament criticism, is beginning to break up and disappear. This is the opinion not only of competent witnesses in general, but apparently of Zeller himself, as may be seen from the preface to his work on the Acts, where it is expressed by him, of course, in his own peculiar way. Even Hilgenfeld, the present head of the school, distinctly acknowledges that Baur went too far in the negative direction, and we have seen clear proofs of this conviction in the preceding essay.[1] The school, whatever its future influence may be, is not likely as such long to survive that special philosophy from which it sprang, and the very university to which it owed its birth, its original home, and its name, we believe, may almost be said to know it no more.

ALEXANDER MAIR.

ART. III.—*Church Life in the Nineteenth Century—Geneva and Scotland.*

Genève Religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle. Ou Tableau des Faits qui, depuis 1815, *ont accompagné dans cette Ville le developpement de l'Individualisme Ecclesiastique du Reveil, mis en regard de l'Ancien système Théocratique de l'Eglise de Calvin.* Par le BARON H. DE GOLTZ, Chapelain de l'Ambassade de Prusse à Rome. *Traduit de l'Allemand, sous les yeux de l'Auteur.* Par C. MALAN-SILLEM, ancien Pasteur à Hanau et à Gênes. Pp. 593.

IT is a singular fact that Geneva, a small and in itself an unimportant city and canton, should have, for three

[1] "Es lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass die Baur'sche Kritik über das rechte Mass hinausgegangen ist, und dem kirchlichen Glauben gar zu tiefe Wunden geschlagen hat."—*Einl.*, p. 197. See also Renan, *Les Evangiles*, pp. xxiii ff.

hundred years, held so prominent a place, and exercised so powerful an influence in ecclesiastical questions, upon the whole of Europe.

The individuality of Calvin, no doubt, which stamped itself upon the whole community in the sixteenth century, has contributed largely to this result. He came to the city as a stranger, and made it for himself a congenial home, not without struggle and personal trials. Driven out from it in exile by the forces which he stirred up in opposition to himself by his strength of character and bold resolution, he was recalled with acclamation, and spent the last nine years of his life in consolidating the structure which he had reared. That structure stood, because he sought to build it upon the Rock. Animated by the force of divine truth, as it was apprehended by him, he resolutely cast down the gorgeous fabric already existing under the name of the Church of God; and, clearing away the rubbish, laboured with a manly energy in his chosen work of rearing another which should be more worthy of that name.

He lived in a heroic time of the world's history, and was himself but one of the band of heroes who then rose against a spiritual tyranny, and laid anew the foundation of civil and religious liberty. To him, more distinctively perhaps than to any other of the Reformers, the Reformation meant the *reconstruction* of the Church of Christ. His great idea was the "Re-establishment of the entire public life of a Christian community, of which the renewal of evangelical worship and life only formed the foundation." Though he found a republic already established in Geneva, and a Protestant congregation, yet his personal influence and abundant labours were such, both in confirming the republic, and organising the church, that his name is indissolubly connected with that city, and has drawn the attention of the world to it.

But there is evidently something in the very position and circumstances of Geneva itself to account for the continued interest with which thoughtful men have for so long regarded it. Like one of the old cities of refuge in Judea, with its walls and gates, its rampart and fosse, and surrounded with its suburbs, it was so placed, as to give ready access and secure protection to all who were obliged to fly from their own countries, at various crises in their history. More especially during the times of persecution for religious convictions, it proved a safe asylum

for men from all the neighbouring countries of Europe. France contributed the largest number of these refugees; and they mostly settled in Geneva, with their families, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They were the most enlightened and liberal of their countrymen, as well as the most skilled in science and the arts; and their presence was a great gain to the republic. In like manner, at all the periods of political struggle since then, it seemed to be the natural course to follow that men should repair to Geneva for greater liberty to express their opinions, and for personal security in holding them. And thus it has come about, that Geneva may well be regarded as a "world in miniature," where, in small compass, the great struggles of social, political, and ecclesiastical questions may be closely observed, and their results accurately marked.

This is more specially true in all that respects the *spiritual* kingdom, in which Calvin's work chiefly lay. As, in the kingdom of nature, there are particular spots where the greatest variety of plants and animals is to be found, and the naturalist selects these as fields for his careful observation, so, in this kingdom, the varieties shew themselves most clearly in precisely such circumstances as those which the history of the Church of Geneva exhibits; and the man who would accurately observe, and faithfully record, the different phases of spiritual life in the world, has a most favourable field presented to him in this little Swiss Republic. As if by common consent, men representing every sect in Christendom, and every shade of religious opinion that has found expression for itself during the last sixty years, even the Mormonism and Spiritualism of America, have made their appearance there. So that, if we wish to know how the currents of spiritual life and of religious opinion, are flowing, and what are their results in the aspect presented by the church at large, we may receive help from the careful observation of what has already occurred, in the conflict of opinion, in this restricted territory.

It was such a motive as this which led the Baron de Goltz to Geneva, and which urged him to give to the world the results of his inquiries and observation, during a residence of two years there. He had access to all the documents bearing upon the church of Calvin, and its relation to the national life. He had personal intercourse with many of those who had

taken part in the prolonged struggles which had recently followed the entrance of spiritual life into the dead organism. And he was thus enabled to enter into the hidden springs of action, and to appreciate, at its full value, the force of evangelical truth in the various stages of its progress. As a stranger, looking on with an impartial eye, and with all the interest of one who was himself coming in contact with much that was new to him, giving him "new teachings," he tells us, there is a clear freshness in all that he says, and he imparts to his readers the conviction, that, as an observer and narrator, he may be thoroughly trusted. The German edition of his book, published in 1861, was intended to help in the struggle then anticipated in Germany, as one that would lead to the entire separation of Church and State. As it was to be expected that a French edition would be more widely read than the other, the translation by M. Malan, published immediately after the other, and received with eager interest in France, was carefully revised by the author, and made virtually his own, with alterations to suit his special purpose. And it is thus his contribution to contemporary church history, presenting its relation to the past, and indicating its bearing upon the future. He presents to his readers the results of his inquiries, in order that they may learn for themselves the lessons which the facts are fitted to teach; or rather, as he says, "which the Lord himself may teach, through them." And it is in an earnest and devout spirit that he recognises the great fact, of life from above imparting spiritual convictions, and changing the course of the church's history. It is as a theologian and a politician that he speaks, for he tells us that he has had no experience as a pastor. With a thorough appreciation of the variety of elements which came into play during the period elapsing between 1815 and the date of his work, he traces them out, and follows them to their issues, with great accuracy and precision. The "individualism," whose development he follows, is, with him, not only the force of a personal conviction of the truth, which seeks for itself freedom of expression, it is also the force of the natural man, throwing off the restraints of recognised truth and established order, and pursuing a course of its own towards what it deems a higher unity. While, therefore, he guards himself against being supposed to advocate for indi-

vidualism, he keeps himself and his readers in the attitude of careful observers, watching the outcome of events, as the indication of the Lord's will, and seeking to be themselves living stones in the building of his temple. At the same time, his own point of view may be regarded as expressed in the very last paragraph of the book, where he says, "All the institutions, all the ordinances of men, the old as well as the new, will never have any but a relative value. But the kingdom of God remains for ever; and, under the different forms of human life, it works in secret, like a fruitful seed, till the day when it will manifest itself glorious, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The period which passes under his inspection most closely is the same which has witnessed, in our own country, the revival of spiritual life; and in all its stages of progress there has been a marked similarity. The restoration of peace to Europe, after all the convulsions of the French Revolution, and the wars of the empire, brought tranquillity to men's minds, and the long continued anxieties and distresses, following upon the stirring movements of the time, predisposed them to receive new light upon many truths, and to open their hearts to fresh convictions. Whatever stirred the minds of men deeply throughout Europe, roused a ready echo in Geneva; and, in conformity with all its oldest and most powerful traditions, it was mainly in a religious direction that expression was given to the profoundest convictions of minds so stirred. The growth and development of the variety of "individualisms," which sprang up during the first part of this century, were at once and deeply influenced by the various political crises which have occurred from time to time. Civil and religious interests seemed to be affected together. The spiritual and the secular appeared to yield to the same impulses from without. The new organisms which arose were framed according to new laws of being; and yet, in both spheres, they followed in the same lines the prevailing forces peculiar to each.

It is necessary, in order to understand the nature of these growths, to know something of the soil from which they sprang. As, in nature, the ingredients of the soil pass into the plants which grow in it, so, in the spiritual kingdom, the habits of thought, the opinions, the doctrines, the practices of bygone generations, affect the beliefs of those which follow.

And even after seed has long lain dormant, a time of quickening suddenly comes, and it springs up into plants, which draw their strength from ground which has long remained unstirred. It was, perhaps, with some such object in view that M. de Goltz begins with an account of the church of Calvin, and traces its history down to the time when fresh life began to enter it, and to change its character, while still shewing the effect of the old traditions. This forms one of the most interesting and instructive parts of his work; and the information which he gives is drawn from authentic documents. He designates the church of Calvin a theocratical system; and he shews how it was developed, and how it fell. We have said already that Calvin's personal influence was powerful in the republic of Geneva as well as in its church. In his thought, both republic and church were combined in "one unique conception." In thus confounding the two distinct spheres of civil and religious life, he, like most other Protestants of his time, shewed that it was "a last tradition of that middle age whose chains had scarcely been broken." We may well be thankful for the degree in which the cause of civil and religious liberty was understood by the men of that time, who had to contend for it against such fearful odds. And we may best shew our gratitude for the inheritance which they purchased for us at so great a cost, by carrying out to their legitimate issues the great principles for which they contended. It shews no want of appreciation of their efforts, but the contrary, when we discern, by the clearer light of this nineteenth century, and by the teaching of experience, that these two spheres must be kept distinct, in order that each may best accomplish the end of its being.

We have not here to do with the system of doctrine set up in the church of Calvin. That has held its ground, and will continue to do so, by the force of the truth which it contains, as that is in conformity with the word of God. We have a picture presented to us of the way in which Calvin sought to carry out the great aim of his life, the establishment of a Christian community, in which the effects of his doctrinal teaching should be made to appear. The Republican Government sympathised with him in all his views, and passed laws in accordance with them. The famous ordinances of the city of Geneva make us understand how they sought to regulate

the whole life of the citizens, even to the minutest details. It is impossible to read these without seeing how they contained, within themselves, on the principle of true religious liberty, the germ of their own overthrow. The real growth of individual life refuses to be regulated by the surveillance of police. Spiritual freedom resents the interference of external authority, however well meant it may be. Yet it was in accordance with traditions, not yet shaken off even by the noblest spirits of that time, that a higher life could be shaped by the compulsion of human authority; and that it belongs to the province of law, to bring all the acts of private life into conformity with one definite standard.

There was a law commanding the frequent and devout attendance upon the preaching of the word, chiefly on the Lord's day, and on Thursday, the day for prayer. There was a penalty of sixty sous imposed upon those who should accompany a child to baptism, or a bride and bridegroom to the church for marriage, and fail to take part in the services, and hear the preaching. Prayer to God, before and after meals, was ordered to be offered by hosts and hostesses, on pain of sixty sous for each time it was omitted. No citizen or inhabitant having a house in the city was allowed either to eat or drink in any tavern. Very particular prohibitions were given in regard to dress and ornaments; no gold or silver was allowed in chains or bracelets; no precious stones or other adornments; no silk dresses for artizans and other people of mean condition. Women were prohibited from dressing up their hair, and putting ornaments on their heads. Women of quality were forbidden to wear more than four gold rings, except brides on their marriage-day and the day after; and the wives of tradesmen were forbidden to wear any at all. The number of dishes allowed at entertainments was carefully limited. Feasts at betrothals and baptisms, which were allowed only to people of quality and of means, were restricted to ten guests. And at marriage festivities the lower class could not invite more than ten guests, the middle class no more than twenty, and the higher class no more than thirty. Such were some of the laws enacted; and the records of the consistory and of the councils are still in existence, to prove that they were, during a long time, put into execution with the greatest rigour. The ecclesiastical tribunal exercised

its power in correcting offences under them, by church censures; and when these failed, they were reported to the Council of State, and were punished as breaches of the civil law. The fact that these ordinances were passed with the deliberate and unanimous consent of the General Council, composed of the whole body of the people of Geneva, supplies the reason for their enforcement being possible.

"But what must happen," asks M. de Goltz, "as soon as this good-will of all should fail—as soon as the State should begin to separate itself from the laws of religious life, and to follow its own tendencies towards views purely earthly—as soon as the church itself, while still maintaining the ordinances, should have lost the spirit which made their life, and by that very fact, should have seen its influence over the population disappear? Evidently this entire edifice rested only on this supposition, that on the one side the bourgeoisie—that is to say, the mass of the people—and on the other, the flock of believers, were one and the same thing. From the moment, then, that the historical development came to demonstrate the falsity of this proposition, all this organism so wisely arranged, became necessarily no more than a law without force, a form without life, a helpless corpse."

At first, however, there was no misgiving as to the system being one which could not fail to secure most beneficial and lasting results. And we find so competent a spectator as John Knox thus writing his impressions of what he saw at Geneva:—

"I have always desired in my heart, and I cannot yet give up this desire, that it should please God to bring you to this place, in which, as I hesitate not to say, you will find the best Christian school which has appeared on the earth since the days of the apostles. I admit that elsewhere also Christ is preached in truth, but nowhere else have I seen the Reformation extend its influence so deeply upon the whole state, social and religious."

For three centuries, to judge from external appearances, the church of Geneva continued faithful to the ecclesiastical institutions of its founder. But during that period there occurred continual changes in its internal organisation; and each change of century coincided with a time of crisis. In what remained of the sixteenth, the personal influence of Beza continued what Calvin had begun. The living forces of the Reformation reigned paramount over the convictions and consciences of men. As the result of the intensity of its religious life, Geneva at the same time reached its highest

point in political importance. The development of the church's life was assured by the absolute protection which the State granted to it, and by constant and intimate relations with foreigners. The most glorious souvenir of this period, which continued to be celebrated in the republic down to the time of the French occupation, was the "Escalade," when the citizens victoriously repelled a sudden and insidious attack by the neighbouring House of Savoy in 1602, plotting in concert with all the Catholic powers, to take and destroy the great stronghold of Protestantism.

After the death of Beza in 1606, or rather at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618, began the distinguishing feature of the seventeenth century, which inaugurated the reign of theological formulas. Then the theocratic system degenerated, and became a system of ecclesiastical absolutism. External authority, the authority of the letter, obtained ascendancy over the spirits of men, and over their faith. But, in proportion as strength was sought in measures of external compulsion, it came to pass, of necessity, that the internal life continued to grow more and more weak.

The appeal of the younger Turrettin in 1697 against dogmatism seems to mark, not only the approach of a new century, but that of a new era. And the speciality of the eighteenth century, in the history of the theocratic system, is, that it became nothing but a dead formalism. It was during its course that Voltaire set himself, during the twenty years of his residence near the city, with deliberate and exquisite ingenuity, and with greater success than that of the Savoyard escalade, to sap the foundations of the ancient severity of morals at Geneva; and to declare open war against the Christian religion, and even against every kind of truth specially religious: while Rousseau, a native of Geneva, and joining the citizens in their defence against the common enemy, maintained the cause of natural religion, and directed his talents and eloquence, with equal force, against a divine revelation, and against the company of pastors, whose belief in the divinity of Christ had then become more than doubtful. The government, both in Church and State, had become that of an aristocracy. The pastors, appointed by the company, were selected according to prevailing principles; and, in the records which contain the reasons for the various appointments,

we find that a "man of merit" and of "good family" are synonymous terms, and that the services of a father or grandfather were the strongest arguments to establish the claim of a son or grandson.

The French Revolution, with a sudden crash, broke up the quietude of the dead organism. Its waves dashed upon Geneva, and overthrew its dearly-loved independence. A fierce inroad of Jacobins laid it low, and by a military *coup de main* of the Directory, the Republic was incorporated with the "Grande Nation," and became only the chief place in the department of the Leman in the Republic of France. During its "captivity" of sixteen years, until 1814, Geneva came under all the influences which were then at work throughout France, and these affected the Church as well as the State. The funds of the old republic, which the Revolution had spared, were put into the hands of the Economical Society, composed of old citizens of Geneva, charged to employ them for the support of the churches and schools. This society became the principal centre of the national souvenirs and conservative interests of the country. But the great mass of the people were in danger of losing the last remains of its pious respect for the church of their fathers; and, in their almost total neglect of public worship, the pastors in the empty churches were reduced to deplore, along with the loss of independence, "the ruin of the piety and the virtues of our fathers."

The restoration brought with it a kind of life to the church. The love of country, which had held its ground during the years of misfortune, and which had found in the church its refuge and its defence, blazed up into a delirium of enthusiasm, when the entry of the Austrians, on the last day of 1813, brought back the public liberty. And when there followed the re-establishment of the Genevan Republic, and its union with the Swiss Confederation, there was a new outburst of patriotism, which drew all parties together, recognising "only one desire, that of peace, and but one need, that of order."

The true life of the church, however, was wanting. The spirit of Calvin no longer dominated in it. The truth which he had taught was no longer believed by its ministers. The true divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ was denied. The sole ground of a sinner's hope was not preached in its pulpits. But He whom Calvin had served so faithfully, and who watched

over His own cause in a city so peculiarly associated with divine truth, provided the needed remedy.

Already, even in the course of the eighteenth century, the Moravians and the followers of Wesley had come to proclaim in Geneva the doctrines of a pure gospel. Count Zinzendorf, at the head of a band of about fifty, arrived in 1741, and left behind him a community numbering more than six hundred members. Their influence contributed much to prepare the ground for the revival which the early years of the nineteenth century brought with them. A visit from the famous Baroness de Krüdener at that time contributed greatly to the stirring of men's minds in the direction of spiritual life; but it also materially helped to determine the attitude of bitter opposition which the representatives of the church of Geneva then assumed, and which they continued to shew, more and more, as life began to flow into the church. A pamphlet by Empeytaz, a young and zealous man, one of her disciples, and animated with her mystic fervour, became the signal of conflict. It made a direct attack upon the venerable company of pastors, and pointedly charged them with teaching false doctrine on the vital truth of the divinity of Christ. Public attention was effectually roused by the controversy which followed. One of its results was, that Empeytaz was forced to quit Geneva. The friends who had taken part with him were confirmed in their faith by Richard Wilcox, an English merchant and Calvinistic Methodist, who then resided for a year in the city. In his teaching, he dwelt chiefly upon the "eternal love and compassion of the Father, and upon the certainty and unchangeable strength of the salvation accomplished by the Son." His work was chiefly blessed in awakening the life of prayer in the students of theology, with whom he had met. On leaving them, he united with them in earnest supplication to God, that He might soon send them a spiritual guide, who should instruct them in the way of salvation. This prayer was answered in the person of Robert Haldane, who arrived on a visit to Geneva at the very time when Wilcox left it. The influence exerted by him was more powerful and lasting than that of any other; and it lay chiefly in the bringing the word of God into contact with the hearts and minds of those who had been awakened to see the necessity of finding life in Him, whom they had come to recognise as a divine

Saviour. The doctrine of justification by faith, the centre of personal and practical Christianity, was that to which he chiefly directed their attention. Gaussen and Malan, ministers in the national church, who had been already converted to orthodoxy, owed to their intercourse with Haldane their saving conversion as living Christians. Merle d'Aubigné, Frederick Monod, Emile Guers, Henry Pyt, Charles Rieu, and others whose names are less known, were among the students who then realised the beginning of a new life in their souls. And in their life-work, begun and carried on from that time, we can understand how it was the commencement of a new era in the history of Geneva. From the pen of Malan we have a graphic picture of the way in which the meetings with the students were conducted. They were Bible readings, at which Haldane himself spoke little, while he encouraged them to bring forward all their objections and difficulties. "It was his forefinger that spoke," he says, "for, according as his Bible, from constant use, opened at once here or there, his finger rested upon the passage, and while I read, fixed me to it, as if he wished to deepen the impression which the sword of the Spirit made upon my soul."

It is impossible here to follow minutely the varied phases of the struggle which ensued. Gaussen and Malan began boldly to preach the doctrines of the Reformation. Haldane thus described the effect of a sermon preached by Malan, upon the necessity of salvation by grace, and the impossibility of meriting anything from God by good works: "It was like a clap of thunder. I shall never forget the surprise, the pain, the irritation, and the indignation which appeared in the faces of some of those who were present." Haldane himself was the only one who went to see the preacher at his house. He shook him warmly by the hand, exclaiming, "God be praised! The gospel is again preached in Geneva." Everywhere else, and even among the relations of the young preacher, that discourse roused the most lively indignation.

This scene helps us to understand the actual position of things. The fundamental doctrines of the gospel, which were again with fresh energy proclaimed in 1817, were the very same which were announced at Wittemberg in 1517, and a few years later at Geneva. And they had to encounter the very same opposition from the natural heart of man, putting into action all his strength to resist the humbling truth, that

salvation is from the Lord alone. It is sufficiently striking to watch how the very church which Calvin had organised for the purpose of maintaining these truths now set itself, in its turn, to prevent by all means in its power, their being preached by its ministers, and disseminated among its members. It is instructive to follow the course of the contest during the next twenty years, and to see how, time after time, those who clung to the national church, with all the force of patriotism and love for its old traditions, were yet compelled, by the strength of their convictions, and the impossibility of holding them within its pale, to take up a position of separation. And it is with a sense of sadness that we trace the issue of it all, when the operation of the same principle of the identification of Church and State which, in Calvin's hands, and with the predominance of Bible truth, had once produced good results, led to a fatal subversion of what, in his day, was highest and most powerful. In 1846, a revolution took place in the Republic of Geneva. The Radical party, long kept down with difficulty, obtained then a bold and resolute leader; and, with the help of the Catholics, whose number had largely increased during the French occupation, they possessed themselves, by force of arms, of the whole power of the State, and settled everything anew, in accordance with their principle, of the ascendancy of the people. In 1847, they remodelled the church, and gave it a new constitution. The ordinances of Calvin were abolished. The appointment of the pastors was taken out of the hands in which it had been for three hundred years, and was given to the people. Universal suffrage prevailed here as in everything else. The first results of this change have seemed to be good. Owing to the purer atmosphere around them, the choice by the people has proved to be better than it had been under the former system. But all is dependent upon the character of the electors, who consist of all "Genevese citizens adhering to the national church." The political and the secular have a fatal ascendancy given to them. The National Church of Geneva is no longer the church of John Calvin, it is the church of James Fazy. And the very city has changed its character and outward aspect under this new dictator. One who remembers the city thirty years ago, and who, when paying his two sous at the gates on entering or quitting it after ten o'clock at night, at the same time paid homage to the

ordinances of Calvin, now finds an entire change. The gates have all disappeared. The broad ramparts around the city, on which the aristocratic citizens were in the habit of promenading on holidays in gay crowds, have all been levelled, and the fosse filled up, and their place is now occupied by blocks of houses for the sovereign people. Fazy has stamped his individuality upon the modern Geneva as completely as Calvin did upon the ancient. The whole aspect of things is different. The provision for the *pleasures of the people* takes the place in prominence which once was given to their exercises of religion. A public gaming-table was even established, to complete the overthrow of all that was most dearly cherished under the old regime. What then can be expected from all these influences upon the people, as to the right exercise of their electoral privileges in the State Church? We may, indeed, believe that "a living dog is better than a dead lion." But there is no law of development yet known to science by which the dog can be expected to grow into a lion. And there is no law of development, in the spiritual kingdom, whereby it can be expected that a church, based upon the political principle of universal suffrage, can rise up into a church that is founded upon the living Rock of foundation.

But the truth which Calvin had taught became once more the seed of the kingdom in the hearts of men, springing up into forms more or less varied, but shewing a gradual progress towards a regular organisation, by which the church of Christ may be discerned, and by which it can make its influence bear powerfully upon the world. The force of circumstances determined the new starting-point. Instead of beginning with the church and with the community, as Calvin had done, and thus reaching down to the individual; it became a matter of necessity, to begin with the individual, and so to rise up into a Christian church and a Christian community. The end desired was the same; the means of accomplishing it were different. The authority of law was depended upon by Calvin to secure his purpose; the force of free growth and spiritual development was now trusted to accomplish the will of Him who is the only Giver of life. The first method was followed by more rapid results; the second led to a slow and gradual progress. In the one, the kingdom of heaven was as the grain of mustard-

seed, growing into a great tree, supplying shelter, and shewing outwardly the power of divine truth; in the other, the same kingdom was as the leaven, working secretly, and extending its influence from man to man, until the whole mass be pervaded with the saving power of the gospel of Christ.

The special design of Baron de Goltz being to shew the development of "individualism," its first stage is presented as the *religious*, in the entrance of true spiritual life into Geneva. In the farther progress of events, the *ecclesiastical* individualism is developed. And there is another stage reached, when the *theological* individualism enters the evangelical church, and threatens to overthrow the entire structure, by removing the word of God, on which the truth of the gospel rests. There is, however, a deeper view of these developments which the course of events presents to us, and to which he would certainly have drawn attention more fully than he does, if the experience of a pastor had been added to the clear spiritual insight which he shews, in observing the different currents of thought and feeling. There is evidence supplied of the distinction between *individuality* and *individualism*. In the one, there is the true life of Christ in the soul prevailing over the idiosyncrasies of the man; in the other, there is the stronger power of what is individual and personal in the man asserting itself over a professed subjection to Christ. The one leads to a true submission to the will of God; the other asserts man's will as his guiding principle of life. The one prepares for the true growth of the "body of Christ" into His manhood; the other isolates the individual Christian, and separates him from his fellows. In fact, we see in this vital distinction the beginning of the great struggle, which must of necessity go on in the world, between the God-man and the Man-god, between the Christ and the Antichrist; a struggle which, we know, must end in the personal coming of Him who shall "consume that Wicked with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming."

It was natural that, when difficulties arose with respect to their position in the national church, those who had already owed so much to Haldane, should be influenced by his known opinions as a Congregationalist and Baptist. Hence we find the first organisations take the form of Congregationalism;

and there are separate groups, divided on the question of adult or infant baptism. Malan secured for himself a position of independence, and of greater freedom to act as a witness for the truth in his "Church of the Testimony," by connecting himself with a Presbyterian body in Scotland. He boldly took up the position of being the true representative, in his own person, and in those who adhered to him, of the church of Calvin; and to the very last maintained his separate position, refusing to abate the strictness of discipline, and to consent to infant baptism being made an open question.

At first, the efforts for the propagation of the gospel were individual. Bost, Neff, and others, went forth to evangelise, impelled by their own zeal, and aided by the prayers of their friends. But when the Revolution of 1830 brought a fresh political agitation, and opened up France as a field for evangelisation, the Evangelical Society of Geneva was constituted. In point of fact, this society exercised all the functions of a church. It established a school of theology, where students were received from all countries. It had a place of worship, where services were regularly conducted, and the young specially cared for. It had its board of missions, sending out its trained missionaries to all the French-speaking populations throughout the world. But it was not till 1849, after the national church had received its new constitution, that the Free Evangelical Church of Geneva was regularly formed. In it were included all the different congregations which were prepared to adopt the Profession of Faith, containing sixteen propositions, involving all the essential truths of Christianity. The word of God was made the broad basis; and all the distinctive doctrines of evangelical truth, the same which had formed the ground of the struggles of the preceding years of conflict, were expressed in clear and emphatic terms. As to the vexed question of baptism, it was tersely expressed thus: "The church baptises infants; but if she has within her bosom brethren who think it duty to await a more advanced age for this act, she does not think that this difference ought to be a cause of division among her members." The venerable Malan stood almost alone in declining to take his place in the new organisation, and had the pain of seeing great part of his congregation prefer to join their brethren. But the respect and love which had always surrounded him, on account of his

noble stand for evangelical truth, still retained a number of attached hearers, to whom he continued to preach till the very last, in 1864, with all the fatherly affection of a large and loving heart.

It was indeed more than time to gather up the fragments of the scattered dissentients from the national church. Another leaven had been at work besides the true leaven. Individualism, in the sense of *selbständigkeit*, had been long at work among those called the Brethren, and Mr Darby came to inoculate them with the principles of the Plymouth sect. So great success had followed his efforts, that M. de Goltz reckons that of all those who had quitted the national church, one half were Darbyites, as they then began to be called. The fact of their formally separating themselves from the congregation to which they had the nearest affinity, was that which at last made it possible for union to be secured by the various evangelical bodies in the city. This was a healthy movement, and brought together, in a regular church organisation, those who were already united in sentiment and opinion. The disintegrating influence of the individualistic principle became more and more evident, in the breaking up of the Brethren into as many sects as those out of which the scattered remnant were now being incorporated into one church. And no greater contrast could be presented than that between these separate parties, in which the opposing principles were at work—union in Christ, separation in self. The true hope for the regeneration of Geneva, and for the spread of the gospel into France through the instrumentality of Geneva, must lie only in connection with a church so organised as to check the natural workings of self, and bind its members together in united action for promoting the great end for which the church of God exists.

The ecclesiastical individualism of Vinet of Lausanne had made the subject of separation between Church and State a familiar one to those whose patriotism made it a trial to contemplate dissent. His principle represented it to be essential to a true personal conviction of Christian truth, to assert and maintain individual liberty to profess it, free from all interference by secular influences. This holds good in connection with a republican form of government, as well as with any other. And when Radicalism had secured the

control of all the secular authority, and had seated itself within the church herself, it then became a simple matter of necessity to organise a separate Free church, which should be based upon scriptural principles, and of which the members should be members of the body of Christ, and not mere citizens of the State.

No sooner had the church become organised, than a further development took place in the theological individualism of Scherer. He was one of the professors in the theological school, and, as a scholar, the ablest and most talented of all. His influence over the students was great; and he was beloved for his amiability of character and invariable kindness. He belonged to the individualistic school of Vinet, and carried out his system to its extreme point. Vinet was more orator than theologian; and when appealing to *conscience* as the seat of religious convictions, he brought the *person* of Christ into relation with it in a contemplative method, instead of the dialectic one of Calvinism. The greatest fault of his theology was its wanting the historical sense, and consequently a basis truly biblical. Scherer not only maintained Vinet's principle and carried out his method, but acted upon a favourite thought of his, that every Christian ought to bring the fullest sincerity and frankness into the manifestation of his religious convictions. He had also adopted the system of Schleiermacher, and his own natural character laid him peculiarly open to the influence of his mysticism. Combining in himself both the German and the French characteristics, the views which in a German would have remained theoretic, became in him animated with a practical force urging him on, with his peculiarly subtle and penetrating intellect, to the full outcome of the principle with which he started. He seemed to himself to be opening up to the evangelical church a fuller spiritual freedom in maintaining gospel truth, when he cast off all authority whatsoever, and made conscience itself the *source* of the truth. His first assault was upon the canon of Scripture. Laying entirely aside the Old Testament, he maintained that the authority given to the canon of the New Testament was only the remains of Catholicism retained by the Reformation; and that the idea of infallible authority had its origin in the need of an *external authority* which is innate to human nature. But in rejecting the literal authority of the Bible, he would not give up the gospel, which,

he said, does not consist in a written revelation, but in the living person of Jesus Christ himself. The apostles were the immediate witnesses of his life, his teaching, his death, and his resurrection; they received the Holy Spirit, and with Him the comprehension of the work and the doctrine of their Master; and the New Testament has only the authority of its being the primitive and authentic testimony of Christianity, and in no respect specially inspired. With regard to the effect of this upon Christians, he says: "I do not see what harm there is for the piety of the Christian, to exchange the letter of a code for the living products of the apostolical individuality, an authority for a history, a cabalistic ventriloquism for the noble accent of the human voice." He thought thus to assert a liberty for the human spirit, to rise higher in the divine life; but the result was very different. As he himself said, a few years later, with a tone of deep sadness: "I feel that there is in human things a sure downward path that we never remount. I see myself dragged, by the convictions of my spirit, towards a future which inspires me with neither interest nor confidence." One by one, he had been forced by the tendency of his views to give up all the distinctive doctrines of the gospel, and even to doubt the *supernatural character* of the person of Christ and of salvation. Scepticism had followed upon his mysticism. He gave up the authority of the Bible, as being the "letter that killeth," forgetting that the words of the Lord Jesus, as they are recorded there, are "spirit and life" to the souls of men. This last development of the principle of individualism shews, in as clear a manner as possible, what is really involved in it, as distinguished from the individuality of the living Christian, daily fed by the living word of the living God. It is the predominance of the *human* element, not in any of its grosser forms, not even in an offensive self-assertion; it is the natural man, rejoicing in his liberty to think and to act for himself, in his highest concerns, dreaming of progress and activity, and awaking at last in darkness and sorrow, without Christ and without hope.

It was a cruel crisis in the history of the newly formed church. When Scherer left the theological school, in the beginning of 1850, his intimation of changed convictions having been made to his colleagues the preceding June, he was followed, three months after, by ten of the most zealous students

Every effort had meanwhile been made to retain him, the importance of the change in him not being at first believed. A special course of lectures on inspiration had been given by Gaussen, Merle, and La Harpe, to the students; but without any effect upon those who had come under the influence of the new teaching. The hearts of men were deeply stirred; their minds were exercised upon the subjects now discussed, with a fuller insight into the truth. And the result of the crisis was permanent good. The old traditional views were rudely shaken. The necessity was felt, more and more irresistibly, for a more *historical* and a more *methodical* study of Scripture, as well as for a more spiritual apprehension of doctrine. And there was also a concentrating of attention upon the *person* of Jesus Christ, considered in his humanity, as well as his divinity, which proved of great practical value in the progress of the true Christian life. It seemed as if the tree, which the Lord had anew planted in Geneva, was being thoroughly shaken into its place, while being watered with the water of life, in order that it might strike its roots more freely and deeply into the soil, and thus grow up again into a great tree for the glory of the Husbandman.

We are conscious of having given but a brief and imperfect view of the doctrinal discussions of the period embraced in the work of Baron de Goltz. Yet enough has been said to shew that he has been justified in selecting Geneva as a field of study, in order to arrive at a correct idea of the present position of the church of Christ throughout the world. It would be interesting to know what his fresh experiences are since he has occupied the position of chaplain to the Prussian Embassy at Rome, after having had the opportunity of observation in the "Protestant Rome." He is evidently one who is fitted to understand how the great Head of the church is Himself directing the course of events everywhere, in order to the overturning of all that man has built up, and the establishing upon its ruins of that which He will cause to stand the "baptism of fire," by which every man's work shall be tried of what sort it is. "The seed is the word of God," and how true does it ever prove to be, that "that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die." Death must come first, in order to the upspringing of the living stem, and the bearing of the fruit unto per-

fection. And yet good men are ever so unwilling to believe that this seed must so die. "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth." *He* died that we might live. The written word has been given to us, the record of God's will; and all human systems which embody its truth must die, in order that the living truth of God may spring up with fresh power. And when the seed becomes the "children of the kingdom," sown out into the field of the world, all that is carnal in them must die, that the imparted life may bring forth its fruit; nay, they must themselves die, that their testimony may remain to the faithfulness and truth of Him who was their all. The work of men, even the ablest and most distinguished of their time, must submit to the universal law of the spiritual kingdom, so that all that was right and true in it may the more clearly be made manifest to be the work of God.

The study of the church at Geneva bears very closely upon that of the church of our own country. Scotland had her great individuality, John Knox, who left a stamp of himself deeply set upon the constitution both of Church and State. We have already seen the impression made upon his mind by what he witnessed in the city of Calvin. It was that impression which determined him to bring to bear upon his own country the same vital influences. And he followed the same example; he carried out the same procedure, so far as existing circumstances would permit. He had not, indeed, the same facilities as in a republic, for influencing the minds of the people, and thus, through them, determining the action of the national government. But, by means of the power of the truth which he preached, he gained an ascendancy over men of all ranks and conditions; and, by his force of character, guided the course of events for the overthrow of the Church of Rome, and the establishment of the Church of Scotland. It was natural that he should attach the same importance to the power of the secular arm in maintaining the truth of God, as Calvin had done. It belonged to the traditions of the times. It seemed to all the Reformers, that in this they were bound to follow the theocratic system of the Jews, the ancient church of God; and that in this they had the direct sanction of the word of God. The actual course of history would seem to draw attention to the fact, that God also teaches by His providence; and that He guides those who are careful to mark the events which

He brings to pass, into a true interpretation of that Scripture, which even the wisest of men are ever apt to read wrongly.

There is a close parallel between the onward progress of the Church of Geneva and the Church of Scotland. In both, the church resembled, in the seventeenth century, a nurse who, by taking a surfeit of theology, overlaid the infant truth committed to her care, and who, on awaking to the fact, in the eighteenth, that the child was dead, carried it about, like the Bambino at Rome, with superstitious reverence, until the crash of the French Revolution made her drop it from her arms. And when the nineteenth century brought new life to her nursling, her course of treatment has shewn the very same characteristics. The stirring life annoyed and troubled her; she had a ready blow for the disobedient, and instant expulsion for him who would not say his catechism. And now, as the century has grown older, she has learned to believe that there may be a true meaning in the persistent cry for spiritual freedom, and a more thorough search into the word of God. She allows the youth of the period to draw in their chairs beside her, and she is ready to inquire, and to bear patiently, and to acknowledge all that approves itself to be the eternal verity.

The period of revival corresponded in Scotland with that in Geneva, and it had some of the same agents. Indeed, the two brothers, James and Robert Haldane, had already completed their work in their own country before the latter paid his memorable visit to Geneva. The Highland districts had already been largely quickened, apart altogether from their instrumentality. But in the north, before the century began, their itinerant meetings, and the Sabbath schools, which for the first time were by them established there, proved the means of awakening many to the reality of the gospel; and the effect remains to the present day. The determined opposition of all the churches to the novelty of laymen addressing their fellow-men, and teaching the children, shewed how much the form had been put in place of the substance, even among those who had, on other grounds, seceded from the national church. The Haldanes were the first pioneers in many districts of the country, besides the chief towns; and their chief concern was, to bring men to Christ as a living Saviour for them, and to instruct them in the living Word of truth. It was nothing but the impossibility of carrying on

their work in face of the opposition by the church, that compelled them to quit her, and to form Congregationalist churches, founded on the principle of individual conversion.

There was a powerful influence exerted upon the religious life of Scotland by some of those who had been brought under the power of the truth in Geneva. Visits from Malan, and other well-known men, shewed the power of action and re-action in the forces of the spiritual kingdom, which is so plainly designed to be for the world, and not for any particular nation only. The simplicity with which they had received the saving gospel of Christ communicated itself in their preaching, and in their intercourse with private Christians. The results shewed how great is the advantage to be gained by the free intermingling of men of different national characteristics. The hard Scottish intellect sensibly melted under the power of burning words, proclaiming the familiar doctrines, but presenting them in a new and clearer aspect. The far-reaching and powerfully-drawing love of the Father, the fulness and completeness of the work of the Son, the reality and power of the person of the Spirit—these were the great topics of that time. Christians were called to earnest persevering prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost; and many responded to the call. The answer to prayer was not withheld. Chiefly in the west, in 1830, there were wonderful manifestations of spiritual power upon the spirits of men, and the kingdom of God was brought nigh in the experience of very many. In 1824, the first appeal for special prayer had been issued; and now it seemed as if a new era had begun. Nothing belonging to man can be free from his natural imperfection; and very soon extreme opinions began to be brought forward, and to startle the orthodox. Individualisms of various kinds presented themselves, according as one or another of the great gospel truths assumed an exaggerated importance in different minds. And, unhappily, it was a time when ecclesiastical questions began to engross the attention of the church. Thus it came about, that Scotland saw an increase made to the number of its "heresies," instead of receiving the full benefit of the new life which had been given. Yet, even thus, it is impossible to estimate the effect produced upon religious thought in the country, by the general attention being directed to the subjects then debated.

Where there has been no divergence from the doctrines of the Confession of Faith, yet these have been more freely subjected to the supreme authority of the word of God, in the exercise of personal responsibility, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. And thus men have learned to hold fast the truth, as it has been brought with power to the conscience, instead of being content to profess only what the church has prescribed.

The church herself now began to awake into life. Men of individuality of character, and themselves under the power of a spiritual influence, commanded respect for the gospel which they preached. The evangelical party gradually gained an ascendancy. The true work of the church began to be realised, and to be done. And, of necessity, difficulty and opposition arose from within and from without; and thus the crisis of 1843 came. Revival had prepared the way for it, and revival followed it. There are districts in various parts of Scotland to which never, up till that time, had there been opened up a channel for the new spiritual life of the country to flow since the Reformation. And seeing that, at that time, the influence of the chief proprietors of the soil mainly told upon the inhabitants, either in the direction of keeping them under the old superstitions, or transferring them to the Protestant Church, it may well be supposed that there had been little change effected but that of outward form. It is not difficult to distinguish these districts, even down to the present day. The Registrar-General announces them, every quarter, to every one who will listen. There is no mystery about his terrible lists. The figures shade off from those places where the dead organism of John Knox's church has been lying longest, breeding corruption, to those which have been longest under the influence of a life-giving gospel. A single generation is not enough to overcome the corrupting influence of the preceding nine. Even where the new channels were opened up, it did not follow that they were filled with only the water of life. The individualism of human nature is the very spirit of sect and party; and it was but natural that, in many an instance, it proved to be in stronger force than the deeper current of a spiritual life. And yet the individuality of an honest conviction, which asserted itself in breaking off from an inert formalism, placed men in a position

where they might at least be within the reach of vital influences.

These influences continued to act upon the minds and hearts of men, in connection with the greatly-increased appliances of evangelical effort throughout the whole extent of Scotland. All the churches shared in the additional impulse given, in the direction of bringing the power of the gospel to bear upon life and doctrine. And, in answer to believing prayer, the Lord himself gave evidence of the reality of his own declaration, "Lo, I AM with you alway, even unto the end of the world." In 1859–60, there was a very evident stirring of men's minds all over the country. The kingdom of God was again brought very near, in the experience of greater numbers, and in a greater number of localities, than on the previous occasion, thirty years before. The churches were now better prepared for it; and there were fewer ecclesiastical hindrances in the way. But yet, in many districts, it was but natural that "surprise, pain, irritation, and indignation" should be plainly discerned in those who could not at first perceive, that Christ as "The Life" had come to seek and to save that which was lost. Perhaps this was most conspicuous in the north-east, where there was, for the first time in its history, a break-up of the old superstitions and formalities. There are two different races there, with wholly different characteristics—the rural population, thinly scattered, and the fishing class, dispersed in masses along a seaboard of thirty miles. Among the former are to be found specimens of the old Scottish character, uninfluenced by much contact with their fellows, with all the sturdy independence of their race. Self-reliance, which has led to such noble results in all the interests to which it is rightly applied, becomes the great hindrance, in man's relation to God, to his yielding himself to the humbling truths of the gospel of Christ. And it is a most interesting study to watch the slow and gradual, but most sure progress of the spiritual kingdom, when it comes in power to vindicate its claims to the entire submission of the heart and life to God. The fishing population are excitable and sympathetic, and a religious enthusiasm seizes them with an irresistible force, and rushes along the whole coast, like a storm-wave on its rugged outline, bringing foam and noise with it, and then passes away, to leave no marks behind

but those of a rising tide. A most true revival broke upon them suddenly in 1860, and experience has abundantly proved that genuine spiritual life was then imparted to very many. It was consolidated by trial, and nourished by the Spirit and the word of God, so long as little notice was taken by others. But when revival degenerated into revivalism, and evangelists of all sects and parties came in upon the population, the results quickly shewed how human influences, even when exerted with the best intentions of good men, can bring hindrance instead of progress. The first simplicity was marred. Self became prominent, and was soon supplied with sufficient reasons for its own assertion. The "water of immersion," the "brotherhood in Christ," the "liberty of private judgment," the "necessity for public confession of the truth," —these all contributed to the disintegration which followed. It would seem as if here the analogies between the kingdoms of nature and of grace convey most important practical lessons. Whatever obscures the rays of the sun prevents the due growth of plant and animal. Whatever obstructs the free access of the Sun of Righteousness to the souls of men, of whatsoever nature it may be, thereby hinders growth in grace, and in the unity of the body of Christ.

The experience of the past seventeen years seems to shew the same truth for the whole of Scotland. Everywhere the turbid stream of revivalism has mingled its waters with the river of the "water of life" which has been flowing through the land. Calm, earnest, Christian men, whose souls were stirred within them by the evidence of the joyful truth, that the Lord had visited his people, have come to tremble, lest the power of SELF should overturn what He has wrought for them so graciously. They see with grief and pain what the keen-eyed world sees with satisfaction, when its own image is so distinctly reflected upon the human surface, that it disdains to shew anything but contemptuous indifference. Truly it is a restoration of the religion of Scotland that is first required. Scotland needs to be made clean, and sober, and true, and honest; and its religion needs to be set free from the human elements in it, which prevent it from exerting a truly spiritual power over men. The spirit of sect has proved to be the great evil in the past, and its removal is most earnestly to be sought by every one who truly loves his country. It was the great aim of the

Reformers' work to bring the living truth of God to the conscience, in order to the renovation of the whole man, and the moral, spiritual, and intellectual elevation of the community. And it was the distinguishing feature of the Scottish Reformation, that it was based upon the religious convictions of the mass of the people. In Scotland, as in Geneva, the individual must be the basis of a new church structure. The personal, spiritual union of every Christian with the living Christ, must be the recognised fact for each church member. The person of Christ, in his perfect humanity, as well as his perfect divinity, must be made most prominent, as the Living Foundation on which each must rest by faith. The God-man, touching human nature at every point, and elevating it into such a true union with himself, is the true Source of that culture which is aimed at by those who have been tracing out the effects of Hebraism and Hellenism upon the human race. And when He acts upon men by His Spirit given unto them, it is not the religious emotions that are stirred only, the whole man is raised up into a new life, which grows continuously into the manhood of Christ.

Such a religion as this, and this is the religion of the Bible, must form the life of such a church as shall inherit all the ancient glories of the national church. Its reconstruction is now the great question of the day. If the Reformation basis, as we have seen in the case of Geneva, was not really cleared from all the traditions of the past; if we now, in the light of experience and fuller knowledge, recognise the presence of human principles, mixed up with what was divine; then there cannot be a mere building on the old basis. We have the same Word as the reformers had; we have the same Rock; and on that Rock, and guided by that Word, the church of Christ must be again built up. If the "shadow of good things to come," of which the apostle speaks, really means a shadow projected upon the Jewish nation by a coming substance; the question arises, Has that substance already come? or, Is it still to come? The setting up of the church of Christ, in his Person, and by the ministration of the apostles, was the Rise of the kingdom, with its spiritual realities. But no one can say that the Constantine period completed the structure, and supplied the substance still awanting for the conviction of the world. And no Protestant will say that the Roman Church, with its grand dream of worldly conquest, at last supplied the true

ideal. When the Reformation therefore came, and the church was framed on the principles of the Jewish theocracy, according to Romish traditions, did it not thus become the shadow of a shadow, and is not the true substance still in the future? The whole history of the past three centuries seems to prove that that shadow has been gradually diminishing. In the present century, the progress has become more and more rapid. Notwithstanding all the efforts of men, unwilling to lose hold of the past, clinging with all their might to every pin of the tabernacle, it has been slipping out of their hands. The shadows are swiftly fleeing away; because the substance, the Kingdom of heaven, is at hand.

Truly it would seem that now again, in these latter days, "The axe is laid at the root of the trees," and "The fan is in the hand of Him, who will throughly purge his floor." He will baptise still more with the Holy Ghost and with fire; and a beginning has already been made. In the days of his flesh, it was the raising of Lazarus which determined the final issue with the authorities of the Jewish church, and hastened the crucifixion. May it not again be the case, that the raising of the church to new life and freedom will determine the final conflict, and issue in the final victory? As it was the work of the bystanders to take away the stone from the grave where he lay; so it has been the work of past generations to remove the outward hindrances in the way of civil and religious liberty. And when, after the word of life had been spoken, and Lazarus came forth, "bound hand and foot with grave-clothes, and his face was bound about with a napkin; Jesus saith unto them, Loose him and let him go." Even so, it would seem as if the work laid upon the bystanders of the present generation to do, is to remove the graveclothes of traditions, and prejudices, and whatever hinders freedom of motion and of action; and to take away the covering from the eyes, that the living may see clearly, and work freely in the service to which they are called. The chief difficulty is, to persuade the quickened that they are kindly hands which are trying to obey the Lord's command to set them free. And it is hard to convince those, whose prejudices are deeply rooted, that it is but graveclothes that are being removed, and not things essential to the very existence of their faith. But yet the work must be done by men, because men are commanded

to do it. The individuality of a strong personal conviction must grapple with the individualisms which mar and obscure the image of Christ in his people, and thus the will of the Master shall be done.

There appeared lately, in the *Contemporary Review*, an article upon the "Progress of Religious Thought in Scotland," which presents an entirely misleading view of the actual state of the case. It is indeed quite true that the "old, hard crust of Scottish theology has been broken up." But the whole article abundantly illustrates this other truth, that it has been melted into the slime of ecclesiasticism. And, when we have penetrated through the thick layer of this slime lying on the surface, we become aware that there is no current flowing beneath; we feel no course of progress whatever; we are conscious only of stagnant water, which has been lying for more than twenty years, and on which time and casual passers-by have thrown the accretions belonging to more recent periods. It must be the description of a pool in the neighbourhood of St Andrews; but it equally describes similar pools to be met with in other parts of Scotland. As facts have more force than mere argument, and as we have relied upon the evidence of facts hitherto, it may be necessary to state, that we became very familiar with such a pool twenty-five years ago. The party of "progress" had repudiated the doctrine of the Confession of Faith, and the peculiar tenets of Calvinism. Their "religion" was a pietism, dissociated from the spiritual and moral life, and priding itself in its superiority to that of others. It became necessary to drain the swamp, in order to the due cultivation of the field in which it lay; and the old machinery was put into use for this purpose, so long as it would hold together. The "catechising" both of old and young was then an existing institution, and it was employed for some years. But upon a fresh addition being made to the party, by the intellectual activity which accompanied the entrance of spiritual life, it soon appeared that the Shorter Catechism had no power to touch the conscience. Nothing but the word itself expounded freely, and the statement of the great distinctive doctrines of the gospel, on the authority of Paul instead of Calvin, had any influence in changing the opinions of men. "The sword of the Spirit, piercing to the dividing asunder of *soul* and *spirit*," was found to be of avail, when all church

authority had utterly failed. The real progress of thought is all in the direction of the doctrines of the Confession of Faith. The deepest current runs unquestionably in the old channel. Even revivalism shews little tendency to depart from the true gospel of Christ, though it tends so often to produce a selfish grasping at an offered salvation, and thus contributes to the many errors, which the self-deceived and the self-seeking find to be necessary to support their false peace. The greatest safeguard against its human weaknesses is its genuine belief in the power of prayer. And, in gracious answer to such prayer, it cannot but be that its stream will be purified; and that all who know the gospel of the cross of Christ shall be able freely to rejoice in the advance of the kingdom of truth and righteousness.

It is evident that there are assaults made upon the Confession of Faith, which spring from a real hatred in the human heart to the humbling truths which it contains. But it is also evident that there is a growing sense, on the part of those who loyally accept these truths, and submit themselves to them, that the Confession, as a statement of evangelical truth, and as an expression of the church's life, belongs to the past; and that it must now be replaced by a simpler, and more direct and postive, declaration of what the church of Christ holds as the teaching of the word of God. It is not a "revision" that is needed. The Confession is the standard under which Presbyterianism has fought its hardest battles, and won its noblest victories; and it should be handled with all the honour and reverence that are due to its past history. Like the old, weather-beaten colours of a regiment, it should be placed among the church's most cherished relics, when the fresh exigencies of new conflicts require new colours to be provided. These are required, not because of any change in the line of truth to be defended, but because of the new hosts of enemies seen to be the most formidable, and the necessity for taking a more advanced position in prosecuting the church's work. It was natural that those who had struggled out from the errors of the Church of Rome, at so great a cost, should have had their minds so filled with a sense of their power, as to think that none but these should form the chief elements in the great Antichrist of the latter days. Hence there runs all through the Confession a line of

defence against these, and a statement of truth adapted to meet them. In accordance with this tradition, the Church Militant has continued to dress its front with an eye to the Romish host too exclusively; and has not been careful to guard its rear against other enemies, which experience has too clearly shewn to have been coming in like a flood from the opposite direction. The conviction seems to be growing stronger in thinking minds, that the Scripture description of Antichrist, which corresponds no doubt with the actual claim of the Pope of Rome, has yet a deeper and more universal application to the Man-god, the principle in every human heart which rejects the living God, and refuses to submit to His Christ. It is the growth and consummation of "the serpent's" husbandry from the beginning of the human race—a husbandry from the root of *self-worship* which he inserted at the fall; and which will become developed in the future, in a manner, and to an extent, which, to all present appearance, the system of Popery cannot be expected to reach.

If the Evangelical Church of Geneva has found it possible to unite its scattered bands into an organised body, with a Profession of Faith consisting of sixteen propositions; it may surely be considered a task easily within the reach of the churches in Scotland, to unite upon a similar statement of received truth. The compulsion to this, on the side of "brethrenism," is not indeed so strong as it proved to be there. As a sect, it has tried its strengh long enough among us to prove that it lacks the force of coherence and true union. But it must not be overlooked that it has become an indigenous growth in Scotland. It is the outcome, pure and simple, of the individualism whose progress we have been tracing. Not long since, a conversation with the leading Plymouthist of a neighbouring fishing village recalled vividly a similar one with Mr Darby in Geneva, nearly thirty years ago; and the comparison was certainly in favour of this village shoemaker, in the clearness and animated fervour with which he stated his views. The Scottish intellect easily assimilates such a style of teaching; and the Scottish self-assertion very dearly loves it. The national parsimony, too, finds it a most convenient doctrine, that all the churches are unnecessary, and all their costly machinery prejudicial to truth.

If the power of the Spirit of God upon the spirits of men

has now come to be realised as the great fact in the church life of the present day, the direct application of it, through suitable machinery, becomes as necessary to the progress of the church's work, as the application of the force of steam has already proved itself to be in the material world. The old machinery must be adapted to the new state of things, or be replaced by that which will do the work more efficiently. The Inspired record is the great instrument put into the church's hands; and there are evident signs that it is being exposed to such a handling, on the part of scholars, as will issue, by God's blessing, in a far greater confidence being felt in its divine origin, and also in its full adaptation to human nature, coming into contact with it at all points, and revealing God in Christ unto men. The present conflict in Scotland is not such a crisis as was at Geneva. But it is as necessary as it proved to be there, that our *bibliolatry* should be overthrown, in order that we may come into a fuller enjoyment of our inheritance; and that we may really *possess* the Bible as the word of God, purged from the old Popish traditions concerning it, which shew their influence in the magnifying of the "inspired men," in place of simply receiving the "inspired Scripture." The spirit of sect makes the Scripture to be of "private interpretation," contrary to the declaration of the apostle. The church, as the body of Christ, has the Scripture addressed to her by her Lord, as His word of "doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness." The more freely she submits herself, in the person of all her members, to its searching scrutiny, the more "perfect" will she become, and the more "throughly furnished unto all good works."

On the reconstruction of a national church the case of Geneva has a significant bearing. The admission of the "popular element" of late into our State church is an imitation, on a humble scale, of James Fazy's bolder stroke of policy. All the best traditions of the Church of Scotland effectually forbid the possibility of such a radical change in its constitution, as one by which mere citizenship gives a man the rights of patronage, becoming the basis of union with other churches. These churches have already a sufficiently hard struggle to keep the "popular element" from interfering with the spiritual work which they have to do. The true theory of the Presbyterian government of the church presupposes the existence of real

spiritual life in all the members and office-bearers, so that the "mind of Christ" himself may, through them, become known. But if that life be overborne, to any large extent, by the individualisms which are found in every body of men, there is a fatal preponderance of the carnal and earthly. If self-display in the pulpit call forth self-applause in the pew, the same wooden sound must be given forth by both. The life-giving gospel of Christ will not be heard as a "joyful sound." The conventional "popular sermon" has already produced most injurious effects upon the true life of the church of God. A purer, higher mode of bringing saving truth in power to the conscience will more and more commend itself to the enlightened sentiment of the quickened church. The realised presence of the Lord himself in the congregations, the sessions, the presbyteries, the synods, the general assemblies of the organised body of Christ, will more and more lead to its being "edified": "Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." W. T. KER.

ART. IV.—*On Revision of the Westminster Confession.*

PRINCIPAL CUNNINGHAM was in the habit of saying, that the question about revising or superseding the Westminster Confession must soon rise for determination, that he personally wished not to be a partaker in the discussion, but that his younger contemporaries would have to make up their minds to face the question, and settle it somehow.

The question abstractly ought not to be formidable to Scottish Presbyterians. The Westminster Confession itself is a monument of the willingness of the Scottish Church to set aside a good old confession in favour of a better new one. The old Scottish Confession of the first Reformation time was a noble confession: at this hour some of its utterances are referred to by continental writers on symbolism as rarely noble. Yet the Scottish Church of the second Reformation set aside that grand old Sccottish Confession in favour of the Westminster Confession of Faith. It thus appears that willingness to abandon a good old confession in favour of a better new

one is with us Scottish Presbyterians a tradition of loyalty to the faith confessed.

Then concretely there is no good reason why we should not face the question, and dispose of it in some way. It has been suggested that the theological thinking of our time is so loose and disjointed, that we of this generation are not qualified for the work of writing a confession, as we are not qualified for the work of building Gothic cathedrals. But this suggestion is more poetical than just. A leading purpose of a church's confession is to set forth to the world's view the church's faith. If our thinking have come to be so loose and disjointed as to be no longer represented by the Westminster Confession, then we have no moral right to retain that Confession as the confession of our faith; for on that supposition the Westminster Confession is not a *bonâ fide* confession of our faith, but a *malâ fide* concealment of our incoherency or dubitation.

A church in a chaotic or nebulous state of thought will naturally cling to an inherited confession, whose utterances are clear, coherent, and firm. But the natural tendency here is not morally warrantable. No church has moral right to retain for a day a confession ostensibly of her faith which is not, in a reasonable sense, the exponent of what really is her faith here and now. The seventeenth century was the golden age of systematic theology. We may vehemently admire the Westminster Confession as a representative of the most advanced attainments of that glorious golden age. But, I repeat, we have no moral right to retain it as the confession of our faith, unless at this hour we hold the faith it represents.

From this it would follow, that if the churches have lapsed from the dogmas of Westminster, they are morally bound to advertise out of connection with the Westminster utterance of dogmas. It is to the good cause a great calamity if a church lapse from belief of Christian truths once ascertained and professed. But a continued profession of adherence to articles of faith no longer believed would be, not an alleviation, but an aggravation, of the calamity. For here applies the maxim, *falsus in uno falsus in omnibus*. A church professing to believe any one thing she really does not believe is not and cannot be trusted as a witness regarding those things which she really does believe. A *falsetto* confession is thus virtual

suicide in relation to one most important function of a church, witness-bearing for Christian truth to the world.

We thus are bound to face, and to settle in some way, the question about revising or superseding the Confession, even though we should not have consciously ceased to believe the Westminster doctrines. But in fact the Westminster system of doctrine is that which is believed and taught in our Presbyterian Church. As student, minister, and professor, I have had good opportunities of knowing the state of mind in the Free Church during thirty years. I have never seen cause to believe that the substance of belief and teaching in our church is not just what is set forth in the Westminster Confession. There are two types of theological thinking in our church—liberal and conservative—as there always must be in any church of living men. But there are not, and there have not been in my time, two schools of opinion. This and that man may have inadvertently stumbled against some dogma of the Confession. One or two ministers may have slid away from the church because consciously hostile to her faith as set forth in the Westminster symbol. This or that man may be implicitly heterodox according to that standard, and there may be a crypto-heretic here or there. But there never has been, on the part of any section of our church, any confessed departure from the Westminster scheme of doctrine. I think that since the Disruption no minister of the Free Church has been deposed for heresy.[1] It is to me a plain fact of experience, that our Free Church has full moral right to set before the world the Westminster system of doctrine as *bonâ fide* embraced by her. The Free Church, therefore, can well take up the question of revision or supersession of the Confession without any fear of appearing disposed to lapse away from the faith confessed.

So of the United Presbyterian Church. That sister church has been providentially called to look at the question about the Confession in her supreme court. The discussion in the last meeting of the United Presbyterian Synod was fitted to give profound satisfaction to those who believe the dogmas of the Westminster Divines, and who desire that these should be maintained by the churches. Two or three men had said

[1] Mr William Scott, minister of St Mark's, Glasgow, was deposed by the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1845 for unsound doctrine.—*Ed.*

things painfully offensive in relation to the Confession and its doctrines. One or two men said foolish things at the Synod meeting. But the Synod as a whole, while shewing high capacity for dealing with such a question, at the same time shewed that the powerful church which the Synod represented is sound at heart in relation to the doctrinal system of Westminster, that this powerful church has in her heart the theology of the Secession fathers. That church, therefore, as well as the Free Church, can easily take up the question of revising or superseding the Confession without fear of being suspected of disposition to lapse from its doctrines.

About the Established Church in Scotland I have not right to speak as I have spoken of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches. The Free Church I know, as one of her ministers. The United Presbyterian Church has had occasion to speak out to the world through her highest court. The relative utterances of the Established Church do not give good ground for confident opinion; but I suppose that her good people would conform to the type of Scottish Presbyterian thinking.

Thus far the platform is clear for judicial consideration of an important question. But there has of late been a circumstance which may tend to make judicial consideration among evangelical Christians in Scotland unattainable in our life-time. The circumstance I refer to is a series of unmannerly assaults on the Confession by ministers who have subscribed to it as the confession of their faith—ministers whose assaults were apparently against the faith confessed by the mass of evangelical Christians in our land. We know how those assaults have been disposed of, and ought to hold that in grateful remembrance. Readers of Homer's *Iliad* can never forget the pleasure they had in seeing how the mean villain Thersites, man in name but dog in nature, was disposed of by a quiet person, who thought of himself mainly as the father of Telemachus and husband of Penelope. This quiet Odysseus was, perhaps, the most heroic of the heroes round Troy. Thersites liked to go biting and snarling at the heels of heroes. One day he snarled and bit at the heels of puzzled Agamemnon, "king of men." And Odysseus gave profound satisfaction to the heroes by, so to speak, kicking the dog, breaking his teeth, and sending him howling away. That good service has been

done to all churches on some recent occasions. But even that good service—kicking the dog, breaking his teeth, and sending him howling away—has not, I fear, left the churches in a judicial frame of mind in relation to the present question.

Many of our best Christians, revolted by such unmannerly assaults on their creed, in its substance (apparently) as well as in its form of words, and deeply satisfied with that heroic treatment of the assailants, may now be prepossessed unduly, in a really unchristian way, against consideration of the question about revision or supersession. They love and honour the good old Confession as a full and clear exhibition of the Christian truth; as having emanated from the most illustrious Christian council that has ever met within the seas of Britain; as being the sacred symbol beneath whose shadow heroic generations have fought the noble fight of the faith; as being the visible connecting bond of a great Presbyterian empire on which the sun never sets; and as being by common consent the best symbolical representative of full-grown Reformation evangelism. They, therefore, our best Christians, even when the matter is approached in a spirit of due reverence, may well be disposed to cry—

> "O woodman! spare that tree.
> Touch not a single bough.
> In youth it sheltered me,
> And I'll protect it now."

Such Christians, our best Christians, may well have been moved to bitter scorn and wrath by unmannerly assaults to which, within the last few months, that venerated and truly venerable document has been subjected by raw hobble-de-hoys in gown and bands. But their abiding sentiment and present passion must by us, while sympathetic and respectful, be set aside as inconclusive to the effect now in view. For the question of revision or supersession involves interests far greater than even the interest, truly great, represented by their sentiment and their passion.

There are other difficulties of a practical administrative character at which we can only glance in passing. The Established Church in Scotland, for example, might be deterred from moving by the consideration that the Westminster Confession is part of the basis of her alliance with the State, so that any departure from it might result, on the

nation's part, in reconsideration of that alliance. The Free Church of Scotland, and other churches similarly situated, may be influenced against moving by the fact that revision or supersession of the Confession might occasion some awkward questions about church property. And all the churches likely to take an interest in the matter would regret any movement tending to break up or to veil the magnificent visible unity of those churches throughout the world which now hold by the Westminster Standards.[1] These things, however, are in their nature incommensurable with the great spiritual interest represented by a church's confession of her faith. I therefore pass away from them in order to speak of the question on its proper merits.

The importance of the question about revision or supersession, though really considerable, may be and often has been greatly exaggerated. Some appear to imagine that revision or supersession would necessarily involve something very great in the way of liberation, specially as affecting ministers and elders. But this imagination is a hallucination. A change in relation to the Confession would by no means necessarily result in enlargement of ministerial freedom, and might result in abridgement of that freedom.

The change, for instance, might take the direction of expansion, of adding to the existing articles, so that we should have a longer and more elaborate confession than the present. Thus some years ago it was suggested by Mr (now Dr) Marcus Dods, that we well might have a definition of the plenary verbal inspiration of Scripture more precise than the relative utterances of the Westminster divines. The Westminster divines themselves, when set to frame a new confession, framed one much larger and more elaborate than any that had been previously in use in the Protestant Churches of England, Scotland, or Ireland. But such an expansion would not be regarded as conducive to freedom by the mass of those

[1] This difficulty could be got over by an agreement that any change in respect of confession shall be made only in concert with the body of churches holding by the Westminster. The General Presbyterian Council would be an extremely good organ of conference regarding this common interest of its constituents. The resolutions of the Council, like the Acts of Westminster Assembly, would not have binding force in relation to the churches represented, but would, if intrinsically wise and good, be almost sure to be ultimately accepted by the churches.

who expect an enlargement of freedom from change in relation to the form of confessional words.

But the sort of change expected is in the direction of shortening and simplifying the Confession. This expectation is reasonable. Although, as suggested by Mr Dods, it should be found right to give symbolical articulation to this or that new attainment, yet, with a view to real expression of the actual attainments of the church in our new time, a shorter and simpler confession is what is reasonably to be expected from effective revision or supersession. For our generation is not nearly so full-formed dogmatically as was the highly theological seventeenth century. Still, it is far from true that abbreviation and simplification shall of course be found resulting in enlargement of freedom to ministers and other office-bearers.

We will suppose, for argument's sake, that the faith confessed by the Westminster divines is in substance the faith that lives in the heart of a church. Even on that supposition it may be found that some detailed articles ought, in the interest of true Christian freedom, to be rescinded or modified. For some detailed articles may be found not really expressive of the existing belief of the church; and the ostensible profession of an article not really believed is a sacrifice of true freedom, as well as of honesty. But let us, for argument's sake, pass away from such possible details of inconsistency of old confession with present belief. That will bring us to the real question now in view, viz., Is largeness of ministerial freedom in direct proportion to shortness of confessional form of words? *Negatur.*

It would not be difficult to put into a very few sentences the substance of the faith confessed by the Westminster divines, in such a way that no able honest man would endorse these sentences without in substance accepting that faith. But a creed so short and simple as is thus suggested might be found in effect, not to enlarge ministerial freedom, but rather to abridge it.

When a church has a very elaborate confession, then she feels free in conscience not to meddle with her ministers so long as in their administration of her office they do not offend against the articles expressly formulated. But if her confession be so short and simple as to be manifestly elliptical, then

she may feel constrained, when a minister ostensibly offends against her faith, to go beyond the express articulations of her confession in disciplinary dealing with him.

If, for instance, the church were to fall back upon the primitive confession that Jesus is "the Christ, the Son of the living God," then she might frequently find herself bound to go, in the way of disciplinary law, beyond the elementary statement of her confession. She might find herself bound to take a minister under discipline on account of utterances inconsistent with her faith as represented, say, by the Apostles' Creed. She might feel bound to expel a man from her ministry on account of manifest disloyalty on his part to her faith regarding the Godhead of the Father, the resurrection of the Son, the distinct personality of the Spirit—to say nothing of the distinctively Christian faith regarding creation, providence, redemption.

Or suppose, for argument's sake, that the church resolves to have no formal confession, resolves that the Bible, which is her only rule of faith, shall at the same time be her only confession of that faith. Some have maintained that this is the only legitimate position for a church, especially in the interest of ministerial freedom. That this is the only legitimate position for a church may be maintained on other grounds than that of its bearing on ministerial freedom. But it is only with its bearing on ministerial freedom that we are now occupied. And I maintain that to have, as a church's definition of her doctrinal articles, the Bible instead of a formal confession of her views regarding the meaning of the Bible, would by no means necessarily be conducive to ministerial freedom, but might in effect be ruinous to freedom of ministers and other members of the church.[1]

Some years ago there emerged in Edinburgh a case in point. The president of a meeting of the Congregational Board, in his inaugural address, made an assault upon the church use of confessions, especially as pernicious, if not fatal, to ministerial freedom. But, curiously enough, at the same meeting of the Board, an inculpated minister made the circumstance of his church's not having an express and formal statement of her

[1] For brevity's sake, and clearness of illustration, I speak in this discussion of ministers and other office-bearers, but very much of what is said can easily be applied to the case of ordinary members of the church.

faith a ground of bitter complaint in relation to ministerial freedom. If, he argued, his church had only had an express and formal declaration of her faith, then he would from the outset have had the means of knowing whether his teaching would be in harmony with her faith. And it is easy to see that so far as ministerial freedom is concerned he was right. To be tried by the Bible alone is like being tried by the law of nature. The fathers of civil freedom in Britain resolutely refused to be tried by the law of nature. They insisted on being tried only by the positive law of the land. For this trial by positive law they regarded as alone compatible with liberty. Trial by law of nature they had seen cause to regard as simply another name for bondage. For law of nature comes to be in practice the will of the judge, that is, the king—

"Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas."

In like manner, to be tried by the Bible alone is to be ruled by the moods and tenses of popular Christian feeling as contrasted with the deliberately formed judgment of the church. In both cases the Bible is professedly the fundamental of discipline; but in the one case the law deduced from Scripture is extemporaneous, while in the other case it is deliberately framed. In the one case, it is "judge-made" law, the judge being perhaps excited and biassed by the agitating circumstances of the occasion; in the other case, it is church-made law, the church having no interest except in framing the best and most scriptural rule for all occasions and for all generations.

The fact that a short and simple creed, so short and simple as to be confessedly elliptical, tends towards despotism, has not, I think, been sufficiently recognised in recent discussions; although individuals have found that their ministerial freedom is most effectively shielded by an elaborate confession—a confession so elaborate that the church does not feel bound, nor free, to go beyond its express articulations for purposes of discipline. I therefore give to the fact the emphasis of iteration.

But the fundamental and natively immovable restraint on ministerial freedom is constituted, not by the form of a church's confession of her faith, but by the substance of the faith she confesses. Supposing her to have a faith—that is, to be a Christian church—this faith of hers must always

operate as a restraint upon freedom, both of communion and of ministration. A church whose faith is Trinitarian cannot have an avowed Unitarian either in her communion or in her ministry. A church whose faith is Protestant-evangelical cannot have an avowed Pelagian Papist either in her communion or in her ministry. The thing would be monstrous, suicidal, a self-inflicted outrage on her convictions of truth, her conscience toward God, her sense of religion. Just in so far as the community is a veritable church, having a faith, so far there must always be a restraint upon individual freedom of members and office-bearers. The real question is, in what way and manner that restraint, native and inevitable, arising out of the nature of a church as a community having a faith, can be best brought to bear for all purposes, including, along with other purposes, the protection of ministerial freedom. And to this question I answer, give us a written creed rather than no written creed; and give us an avowedly elaborate confession rather than one so short and simple as to be avowedly elliptical—in other words, save us from extemporaneous legislation, or "judge-made" law.

But now the question arises, What would really be a duly elaborate confession? Is there no limit to the elaborateness desirable for good purposes? And if there be, how is that limit to be ascertained? In short, supposing we have made up our minds in favour of a confession so elaborate that the church courts need not for disciplinary purposes go beyond its express articulations, is there any principle, rule, or test which would enable one to criticise any proposed confession, or any existing confession? This question I have not anywhere seen satisfactorily discussed. When a man says, I do not like this or that utterance of the confession; or when another says in effect, To require subscription to this document as a whole is a revolting indecency; then I am not instructed, but perplexed and offended. For, so far as I can see, the man is making his own blind feelings, his nerves, to be the canon of determination. What we need to have is a canon of *judgment*—of judgment becoming a church. And such a canon will, I think, be furnished by the two conditions of administration and "attainments."

1. *Administration.*—For working purposes a church must have a common understanding about certain things affecting church life, though not pertaining to the substance of Christian

faith. That understanding is effectively part of her creed; and for practical purposes, to prevent misunderstanding, it is best that it should go into her confession. Take the case of infant baptism. The practice of infant baptism, based on the doctrine of infant church-membership, is by us Presbyterians regarded as scriptural. We do not on this account regard antipædobaptists as non-Christian. But we cannot have an antipædobaptist as a minister. For the ordinance, the observance of which our parentage regard as a duty, he cannot administer without violation of his conscience towards God. From this one case it appears that there may fall to go into a church's confession some things which the church herself does not regard as pertaining to the substance of Christian faith, because they so affect a church's life that her work of administration cannot go on without a common understanding in relation to them.

2. "*Attainments.*"—I put this noble word, a favourite with our fathers, in inverted commas, because it has now very much fallen out of use in its noble sense. The idea it represents is, that God's church has, in relation to this and that doctrine, been so led towards definitive ascertainment that open confession of it becomes for her a Christian duty thenceforward evermore, and that to cease to bear witness to it would for her be so far apostacy from truth. Thus, the primitive church ascertainments regarding the constitution of the Godhead and the person of Christ are an "attainment" for the church of all generations after the primitive epoch. The Reformation doctrine of justification by faith is an "attainment" for Protestant Christendom. The Augustinian doctrines of human impotency and sovereign grace are an "attainment" for the Calvinistic branches of the Reformation Church. The doctrine of the church's spiritual independence, or of the reciprocal distinctness of the two jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and civil, is, in my opinion, an "attainment" of the Reformed Scottish Church.

From the nature of the case it appears that that may be an "attainment," involving obligation to explicit confession, for one church which is not an "attainment" for some other church, in some other land or age. But the idea represented by the word, along with that of administration, will, I think, suffice as a regulative test of the legitimacy of detailed articulations in a church's confession of her faith.

Now, having regard to the two *criteria* of administration and attainments, I think that we ought to retain the Westminster Confession as the confession of our common faith. I so think because I regard it as a superlatively good statement of what is commonly believed among us, and because it would be extremely difficult, perhaps practically impossible, to get another confession half so good that would be the received symbol, the visible connecting bond of that great Presbyterian empire on which the sun never sets, now visibly and sensibly connected by means of the venerable symbol of Westminster.

Of the importance of retaining it in order to maintain the visibility of unity of the churches now holding by it, no one is unaware. The recent meeting of the Presbyterian Council in Edinburgh was important mainly as a demonstration of unity. That demonstration could not have been made if the churches represented had not held by the substance of the Westminster Confession which most of them use as their standard. Subsequent meetings of the Council may agree upon a new form of sound words that shall be accepted by all the churches represented. But that is not likely in our generation. And this is one strong reason why we ought not to throw away our good old Confession, even though some theologian or church should be enabled to prepare an essentially better new one.

But the main point here is, that the Confession is a superlatively good statement of what is commonly believed among evangelical Christians of the Augustinian type, so that the mere retention of it as the symbol of a most powerful Christian community is a great service to the churches and the world. I here pass over the fact, that the retention of the Confession tends greatly towards deep, and wide, and strong theological thinking on the part of the churches retaining it. When I speak of the beneficent results in relation to other churches and to the world, I bring into view what is perhaps the most important office of a church's confession. The mere fact that this Confession is the symbol of a great Presbyterian empire on which the sun never sets, to say nothing of the formal or informal adherence of non-Presbyterian Churches, this fact will always secure attention to its statements on the part of those whom it does not represent. And its statement, from the Augustinian point of view, of the system of Christian

doctrine, is superlatively good. The latest of the important creeds of Christendom, it is, from this point of view, by far the best. It would be a loss to Christendom and mankind if this statement were to be withdrawn from the world's view, by ceasing to be maintained as the common symbol of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Presbyterianism.

But such a statement, when kept in place as a confession, is of great value to the churches which keep it in that place. The Free Presbytery of Dundee was some years ago engaged about a case relating to the doctrine of prayer and providence. That presbytery was very highly qualified for dealing with the subject on grounds of reason and Scripture. But the presbytery's own utterances, however good intrinsically, would not have commanded the respectful attention of the Christian world, as that respectful attention will be commanded by utterances of a confession standing so high in *prestige* as the Westminster. The Dundee brethren, on reconsidering the confessional utterances about "providence," must have found them perfectly good, absolutely complete for all good purposes of a witnessing church. But the statement about providence is, in respect of excellence, only a sample of the confessional statement as a whole. The confessional statement as a whole slowly works itself into the minds of ministers and theological elders, and thence, in various ways, into the minds of the church's ordinary members and adherents. The confessional statement is thus, under God, continuously making the mind of the church. And on this account the disappearance of this superlatively good statement from the face of a church would be a great loss to the church herself, because any other statement arising in place of it would probably not be so good, and would certainly not command the same respectful attention.

It must be remembered that a church's confession, while representing the faith articulately embraced in the mind of her leading representative men, at the same time represents, and by its position is fitted to call into articulate manifestation, the faith which lives and moves inarticulately in the heart of her less gifted members. It tends continuously to lift the whole church up to its own level. Hence to throw away a confessional statement superlatively good is to reject a very great advantage, providentially given, in relation to the church's whole life as rooted in Christian faith or truth.

Supposing the old Confession to be retained, there are some details which would give occasion for the exercise of good sense—as, I suppose, there must always be in any confession worth retaining. The statements, for example, regarding the magistrate's right and duty *circa sacra*, in their ostensible import do not represent the faith of Christians among us at this hour.[1] The statements that διαθηκη means Covenant, and that the Pope is Antichrist, need not exercise any one's conscience, because these statements are in their nature not theological, but lexicographical or exegetical; and what our ministers are bound to is only the theology ("doctrine") of the Confession, not its lexicography or its exegesis. The statement about the six days of creation, if regarded as a veritably doctrinal utterance, would, as made in our Confession, occasion offence to many competent students in our new time. There thus is occasion for the exercise of good sense. But on the part of our church courts the requisite good sense and good feeling will, in a case of discipline on the score of doctrine, probably never be wanting. Excepting the doubtful case of the "Marrow," I cannot now recal to mind one case, in all our church history, in which a minister was ever seriously harassed on account of circumstantial and, so to speak, accidental details of the confessional statement. Constituted as our church is, I can hardly conceive the possibility of a prosecution for heresy or heterodoxy where the inculpated party is not regarded as offending against the substance of confessional doctrine. Provision for very tender consciences, not very strongly enlightened, might be made by means of declaratory Acts of Assembly. The provision thus made by the Free Church Assembly of 1846 was made in a very blundering way, so as in strict logic to lay a burden on conscience when seeking to relieve it.[2] But the provision is made, really though not formally, in that Christian good sense and good feeling of church rulers without which church business cannot be transacted on any footing.

[1] Ostensibly they are inconsistent with the now universally recognised doctrine of toleration and right of private judgment. In strict logic they can be reconciled with this doctrine; but I am far from sure that the Westminster divines meant them to be consistent with the doctrine as understood in our time.

[2] The Act of 1846, declares that certain statements of the Confession *are* consistent with the truth regarding liberty of conscience and right of

There are objections more serious based on the veritable substance of the confessional statements. These are the stock objections of professed adherents to Presbyterian evangelism. It may be well to glance at them here.

1. *The six days of creation.*—The confessional statement about this has often been represented as a reason why the Confession should be displaced. The statement as made by the confessors is at one point apparently non-scriptural, in making things *invisible* to have been created within the six days. But the statement in substance is simply a Bible statement. As to the precise meaning of the "six days," there has been great diversity of opinion among professed believers in the Bible. The most fashionable recent theory is, that the creative days were epochs. The most fashionable ancient theory, in the "age of Councils," was, that the narrative in Genesis, while strictly historical as recording the fact of the world's origination by free will of God, is not chronological but logical in its representation of the way and manner of the world's origination; that the "six days" mean only six movements of thought, that the origination of the world took place in one moment. The Westminster confessors do not dogmatise about the meaning of the Bible fact of "six days." They simply reproduce the fact, not with perfect accuracy. It is a fair question, whether the Bible fact of "six days" ought to have place in a church's confession. But it would be quixotism of conscience to stumble at it as if it had been manifestly untrue. Accordingly, the adversaries of the Confession are ordinarily careful to disfigure the confessional statement, by interpolating some such words as "literal" (days) or "natural" (days).

2. *Infant damnation.*—This horrible expression occurs nowhere in the Confession. What the confessors speak about is infant election to life eternal (Cap. x. 3). Having intimated that "effectual calling" is God's ordinary way of bringing His chosen ones into the new life, they go on to say that in the

private judgment. This declaration, in strict logic, binds every minister and elder to hold that that interpretation is correct—in other words, makes the interpretation, which many think mistaken, into a term of office. What the Assembly ought to have said is—In accepting this Confession you are not regarded as agreeing to anything inconsistent with liberty of conscience, &c. Such is my opinion; but I know that a different opinion is held by men whose judgment is weightier than mine.

case of "elect infants, dying in infancy," this ordinary way is not God's way. Some Calvinists think that all infants dying in infancy are saved, and thus are bound to regard them as all elect. That was the view maintained by Isaac Junius in his work on the question of Dordt-Calvinism *versus* Arminianism. The Synod of Dordt had not gone so far as this. It had only gone so far as to say that christian parents ought to cherish a good hope of the salvation of their infants dying in infancy. Francis Turrettine embraces this view, as the only one fairly tenable on scriptural grounds; the view, viz., that when infants of christian parentage die, their parents ought to cherish a good hope of their salvation, and consequently of their election. The confessors do not go further than this. They leave it open to suppose that all infants dying in infancy are elected to life eternal. But they do not affirm it. They only say, "elect infants" (whether all infants, or only some) "dying in infancy" are saved without that "effectual calling" of the Confession, which is God's ordinary way of bringing His chosen ones of mankind into the new life. This proposition, which no Calvinist will think of disputing, is the only relative proposition of the Confession. Is the Confession to be rejected and abhorred because it says that elect infants are saved without the "effectual calling" it speaks of?

3. *Reprobation.*—This word, too, is not in the Confession. But the thing is there. The confessors say, in relation to the non-elect, that God has "ordained them to dishonour and wrath *for their sin*." Some Augustinians, including perhaps Augustine himself, have shrunk from including the dark event as well as the bright event of human destiny in the sweep of "God's eternal decree" (Conf. cap. iii.). The confessors have not shrunk from this, believing, as they do, that "the decrees of God are his eternal purpose whereby . . . he hath foreordained *whatsoever* comes to pass." But 1st, Reprobation, in the sense of definitive abandonment to dishonour and wrath on account of sin, is, excepting on the Universalist hypothesis, a plain fact. 2d, What God does in time, it is most worthy of Him to suppose that He has resolved from eternity to do. And 3d, Even an anti-Calvinist, holding that election is on the ground of faith or works, but admitting that there is an *election* on that ground, must admit that the non-elect are, in the counsel of Omniscience, doomed to destruction on account of their sin.

A Calvinist may have hesitation about public proclamation of the *horribile decretum*. The Westminster divines (iii. 7) have an admirable statement on this question. But no real Calvinist can have any difficulty in accepting the confessional statement regarding the destiny of the non-elect as doomed to death eternal for their sins.

4. I add a supplementary note about the ***salvability of virtuous heathens***. The confessors, after speaking (x. 3) as I have set forth about "elect infants dying in infancy," go on in the same breath to say, "so also are all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word." This leaves us free to suppose that heathens, like idiots if elect can be saved without the aforesaid "effectual calling" in God's ordinary way. The following sentence (x. 4) might be construed as meaning that no heathen can be saved in any way. But the sentence (compare Larger Catechism, *Question* 60) is fairly compatible with the view that heathens can be saved. The theological interest of the divines here lies in asserting that the only source of salvation is God's grace, and that the only legal ground of it is His righteousness in Christ. Hence they oppose the suggestion that "virtuous" heathens can be saved by their virtues, that they have been elected on account of those virtues foreseen, or justified on the ground of those virtues realised. Beyond that, the confessors have no theological interest. As to the heathen a confessor could consistently say, "Virtuous heathens may be destined to salvation. In that case the ordinary way of 'effectual calling' is departed from. But in that case, as in all cases, salvation flows from the free electing and redeeming love of God, and is not determined by any seen or foreseen merit in man."

The samples I have dealt with, of objections to the distinctively Calvinistic utterances of the Confession, may suffice to shew how difficult (I might say, dangerous) it is to modify the confessional utterances in deference to the feelings of good men who are repelled by its firm Calvinism. To modify the utterances in deference to their feelings might be difficult, if not practically impossible, without shrinking from the "attainment" involved in Calvinism as such. Of this danger I have recently seen an illustration in reading the elaborate work of Dr Philip Schaff on the *History of the Creeds of Christendom*. In his first volume he gives a vast amount of well-digested

information. But in that volume he here and there protrudes his own opinion. And his own opinion thus protruded is in relation to Calvinism not imposing. He, a professed Calvinist, wants to make mere *Love* the first principle of theology, and to criticise all creeds accordingly. Now, according to Calvinism or Augustinianism, the first principle is not mere love, but *Sovereignty* (of love). Dr Schaff, therefore, when objecting to this or that symbolical utterance on the ground of its not conforming to his canon about "Love," is departing from the proper position of Calvinism or Augustinianism. If such things be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? In maintaining our grand Calvinistic creed, we are swimming up-stream. Let us beware of beginning to move down-stream, in deference to natural feelings of good men. We may for the moment relieve them by our compliance. But we may have thus far relieved them of Christ's cross—the cross of maintaining an opinion in its nature unpopular.

Supposing, now, that our old Confession ought to be retained, there have been various suggestions about the way and manner of retaining it. As against all those suggestions I place the proposition, that it ought to be retained "pure and simple." I could sympathise with a suggestion for rescission of some articles, as some American churches have rescinded the articles about the magistrate's right and duty *circa sacra*. I could also sympathise with a suggestion for declaratory Acts of Assembly anent this and that particular, carefully considered, in so far as these declaratory acts mean, not interpretation, but effective supersession. But the suggestions on which I now proceed to comment, though popular in some quarters, are regarded by me as no better than evasions.

Suggestion 1:—That there should be a short and simple creed for deacons and elders, while the elaborate confession is left to be subscribed by ministers. This suggestion is a fair one. With much show of reason a man might argue that elders and deacons as a class are not qualified to appreciate an elaborate theological treatise; that their personal soundness in the faith could be tested by means of a symbol very much more short and simple than even the Shorter Catechism of Westminster; and that an elder, if providentially called to sit as judge in a heresy case, could honourably profess to apply the Confession as a law, after hearing pleadings on both sides,

though not professing to hold the articles of the Confession as articles of his personal faith.

But the suggestion is in my estimation a mistake. Elders and deacons as a class, at the time of their ordination, are men of mature mind exercised about theological questions: as a rule, I should think that, excepting mere technicalities, they are better theologians than our probationers when these come to be ordained. The Westminster Confession, though elaborate, is clear and plain, so that a reader who at heart embraces the substance of its doctrine will feel no difficulty about its details, while any plain honest man can see and feel what is the substance of its doctrine. Those who are chosen among us for eldership and deaconship know perfectly well what is the confessional system of doctrine. They know and feel that their subscription to the Confession is understood to mean simply confessed adherence to that system in substance. In all my experience I have hardly met a case in which a member of the church, called to eldership or deaconship, while avowedly holding the substance of the church's creed, professed as a reason for declining the church's office any difficulty about subscribing her confession. But in one case, of a man of great ability and worth, I was made aware that deacons and elders might resent the suggestion of a short and simple creed *for them*, because this would ostensibly put them on a lower ecclesiastical footing than that occupied by ministers.

But if the case of deacons and elders should be thus provided for, the provision would be no solution of the question, What articles ought to go into a church's confession of her faith? In any event, some of those articles will be beyond the depth of some members of the church, unless the confession be only an expression of what is present in clear consciousness to the mind of babes in Christ in her membership. The articles ought to include everything that a church expects ministers to teach on her behalf. A short and simple creed for elders and deacons—never sought by any man in my experience—would still leave the question unsolved.

Suggestion 2:—A relaxation in the form of subscription to the Confession. The terms in our Free Church formula are as stringent as can be. The subscriber solemnly expresses acceptance of "the whole doctrine" of the Confession, with a specified reservation. He says that he "will" maintain that

whole doctrine. This "will," as distinguished from "shall," appears (even to a Scotchman) to be the proper expression as intimating present purpose in relation to present and future life. If a man seriously believe the doctrine, why should he not declare his *will* to maintain and defend it? So far the form of adherence involves no difficulty. But to some the expression "whole doctrine" is formidable. They would prefer some such expression as "the substance" of the confessional doctrine, or "the system" of doctrine set forth in the Confession.

Men who honestly hold the "substance" or "system" need never feel any great scruple about subscribing to the "whole doctrine." For that, and only that, is what is, by people of sense, understood by a man in subscribing to the "whole doctrine." To honest men, therefore, no relief would be given by employing the vaguer expressions "system" or "substance." But, on the other hand, those vague expressions are liable to most formidable abuse. If by the "substance" one man mean in effect the veritable "whole doctrine," another may choose to mean by it merely Trinitarianism, another may choose to mean merely Christian Theism. It is, of course, impossible by any form of adherence to guard effectually against dishonesty or perversity. An honourable mind will feel bound to all that can be expressed in any form by the mere fact that the Confession is the published confession of the church. But something is intended and effected by the form of professed adherence. And that something is best provided for by a form which admits of no misapprehension.

Suggestion 3:—Along with a very short and simple creed, exhibiting the essence of the church's faith, let there be a doctrinal Testimony, setting forth all that is believed by the mass of her ministers, and other leading representative men. Such Testimonies, historical as well as doctrinal, have been frequently prepared and published by branches of the Scottish Presbyterian Church. But they are in their nature only important publications sanctioned by the respective churches. They do not, and cannot, serve the purposes of a church's proper confession—the purpose, for example, of shewing what all her ministers are held bound to teach on her behalf. And it is conceivable that serious error should be introduced into a

church by such a Testimony, by men who will insinuate such error into it, knowing that in relation to it their church is not nearly so watchful as if it had been a formal and solemn confession. In fact, there is one somewhat notable case in which a clause insinuated into the Testimony was pleaded in justification of teaching confessedly at variance with the doctrine of the Confession.

There is one advantage that would result from the mere process of revising the old Confession, or of preparing a new one to replace it. That is, a renewal of a due feeling of freedom in relation to the Confession as a whole, and of just views of the comparative value and evidence of details.

An unchanged confession, coming down through generations with ever augmenting *prestige*, is apt to become in effect a rule of men's faith. The result is bondage, a sort of evangelical popery.

Again, the unchanged confession may gradually bring about a *falsetto* state of mind in relation to detailed doctrines. Take, for instance, the strict doctrine of exclusively particular redemption as against the Amyraldian doctrine of general redemption. I have no doubt that exclusively particular redemption is set forth in the Confession, and that with clear consciousness on the part of its authors. But from the recently published Minutes of the Westminster Assembly, it plainly appears that some of the Westminster divines personally held the wider view which had been set forth by the English delegates at the Synod of Dordt. They allowed the stricter view to go into the Confession; and no doubt the mass of its authors, when tabulating this view, would feel that it could not be pressed, as a doctrinal term of office, with the same rigour as if it had been one of the universally-received fundamentals of Catholic Christianity. But we, inheriting their statement, and not having as churches gone through their previous process of ascertainment, are very apt to forget this, and to think and act as if the statement had been emitted unanimously and without hesitation—a result undesirable, were it only on this account, that in every generation of Calvinists there will be some who have such hesitation about exclusively particular redemption as was experienced by some Westminster divines, and that we ought to regard them with intelligent sympathy.

There are, unquestionably, disadvantages arising from an

unchanging form of words, as there are disadvantages arising from any form of words. But these we can bear in consideration of greater advantages. Those greater advantages, secured in part by having a non-scriptural form of sound words, are secured most completely by having a form as nearly as possible unchanging. But the question of change *versus* fixity has nothing to do with the main questions, Ought there to be a Confession of Faith? and, Ought the Confession to be short and simple, rather than elaborate? JAMES MACGREGOR.

ART. V.—*Incarnation and Resurrection: the Essentials of Christianity.*

THE doctrines and experiences of Christianity are just the forms which its historical facts assume when carried into the intellect and heart of regenerate men. The assertion that in morals truth is life, that its complete and final form of existence is not in speculations or logical conclusions, but in practical experiences and manifestations, is supremely illustrated in Christianity. Nor does the transcendent nature of the characteristic facts of Christianity, the incarnation of God in Jesus of Nazareth and the resurrection of Jesus, elevate it above the possibility of producing practical effect, and of winning for itself in the humblest spheres of human life that suffrage of approval which is the most precious because the result of a discovered sympathy. It is one argument for the divine origin of Christianity, and one plea for its being the absolute religion, that it rejects esotericism; that with it the sublime and the profound are capable of being sufficiently apprehended as to their essence and responded to in their influence, as to direct all men towards the perfect life.

The verification of what professes to be moral truth is necessarily to be sought in its realised influence upon the life of man. There is that in the human spirit, however untutored, which can for practical ends discern and respond to a divine voice, however rich and complex its harmony .It can sympathise with and obey much which it cannot comprehend; and accordingly men speak truly of a gospel of the incarnation, and of a gospel of the resurrection. These facts must be established by their

own proper evidence. The Christian Church is satisfied that what has been adduced is sufficient, and that the opposition which her faith on these topics encounters is grounded on a much broader base than appears, and upon one which really involves the incredibility of historical testimony universally. The church has strong inward corroboration of the truth of her conclusions regarding these facts reached by external evidence in the spiritual life which the faith of them has awakened and sustains in her, and the influence of which has fallen as a divine breath upon the noblest uninspired literature of the world. It is not merely that the incarnation and the resurrection have laid down the lines of a bolder and truer philosophy of God and man than any system which had preceded, but that the essence of these facts, the truths created by and embodied in them have been realised as experiences in the human soul. It is the faith of the historical facts of the incarnation of God, and of the resurrection of Jesus, which begets in us spiritual experiences bearing their image, experiences of communion with God and of resurrection-life, *i.e.* of a life above and outside of the kingdom of sin. We regard the incarnation of God and the resurrection of Jesus not as useful superstitions, faith in the reality of which was temporarily necessary in order to embody sublime and important thoughts, and to float them into general acceptance, but as facts which constituted and gave existence to the ideas. The peculiar spiritual message and blessing to man of the incarnation and of the resurrection would, we hold, have had no existence, and would have been inconceivable by man but for the historical facts.

The connection between the facts of Christianity and its doctrines and experiences is not arbitrary, so that the historical element may be yielded without the sacrifice of the spiritual; so that the historical faith may be relinquished without detriment to the truth; so that while the life remains mysteries may be winnowed away as intellectual encumbrances, as once useful but now antiquated educational expedients, whose end has been attained when the ideas associated with them have been fairly launched upon the sea of thought. An increasingly spiritual development in divine revelation, and therefore in the spiritual conceptions and experiences of men, we of course admit; but we hold it to be a development towards that which is perfect; and in the eternal Son of God incarnate, crucified and

risen, we believe that we have reached reality and finality in divine revelation. It does not seem to us that there is anything degrading to the highest spiritual faith in the amount of sensuous basis implied in the gospel history. The very facts that man is a composite creature, that human personality involves a sensuous factor,[1] that the scene of the moral drama of his life is a material world, that sin expresses itself in physical actions and visible conduct, and that its consequences involve physical sufferings, all predispose the mind to the acceptance of the sensible and supernatural facts of redemption as seen in the person and work of the Redeemer; and we are confirmed in our belief of them when we find that real spiritual experiences, originated in us by them, find their most apt symbolic description in the very supernatural facts themselves. What more deeply and truly, if yet generously, expresses in symbol the aspirations of the Christian consciousness in its two essential relations, God-ward and sin-ward, than the facts of the incarnation and the resurrection, which embody its longings for perfect communion with God, and for perfect victory over sin? These forms of thought and prayer we should not have had but for Christianity, for emanation and the immortality of the soul were the highest cognate points to which philosophic speculation had risen before Christ came, and this latter tenet was, as we know, the faith only of some of the noblest spirits.[2]

When on deeper reflection we are brought to believe that we require those experiences, which are the spiritual analogues of the sensible and supernatural facts which characterise our Lord's person and history, we feel that it is by no fortuitous circumstance that they have obtained this aptness to express symbolically our deepest experiences, but that they possess it naturally, because they have been their parent sources. Relinquish the fact of the incarnation of God in Jesus, and what solid foundation is left man for cherishing the bold thought of his Christian sonship, a thought which in natural and ethical grandeur immeasurably transcends the undefined thought of Hebrew seers and pagan poets and philosophers? Granting that the idea of the relationship was in the posses-

[1] See Westcott's *Gospel of the Resurrection*, ch. ii. Liddon's *Some Elements of Religion*, Lect. iii., pp. 116, 117.

[2] See Zeller's *Plato and the Older Academy*, pp. 402, &c.

sion of both parties, yet the thought that "they also were the offspring of God," was with the latter as the inference at best of a crude because naturalistic theory of the union between God and man; while, in the case of the former, it was so occasional in its use, coming from the lips of psalmist and prophet only as the expression of a rare impassionedness or tenderness, that the thought of divine fatherhood and human sonship cannot be regarded as a definite article of Old Testament theology. Whatever lofty hope the bare thought of their sonship to God may have suggested, it must have been vague and meagre in comparison with that which is pledged to us in the incarnation of God's own eternal Son, which is realised in us by our regeneration, and which, while simply leaving intact the essential barrier between the infinite and the finite, so that God shall not be turned into a creature nor man deified by the incarnation, seems careful not to proscribe any claims of sonship, ethical or essential, however daring, which we may have the faith to make: a sonship ours which tells us that "whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God,"[1] and that "he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren."[2] Such language it is which suggests and almost justifies the startling expression of Godet,[3] that Christ's "intention is no less than to make of each of us a second *Himself*, a representative of that highest type of being, the God-man." Relinquish again the fact of the resurrection of Jesus, and what pledge has man that sin for him has been destroyed, and that his life-long struggle with it shall not end in the darkness of defeat? It is these two facts of Christianity, the incarnation of God and the resurrection of Jesus, which are all our light and strength. The faith and hope and purpose which they have created in us are bound up with their reality. Remove them from the field of reality, and their practical inspiring power cannot survive. Their connection with the analogous spiritual experiences which they originate in us, of sonship and resurrection life, is not arbitrary, but vital and causal; and to part with the facts is to root out distinctively Christian experience from our hearts; to send us back to the spiritual level in thought and

[1] 1 John iii. 9. [2] Heb. ii. 11. [3] *Bib. Stud. N. T.*, p. 147.

life occupied by men before Christ came; to ruin the moral character of Jesus, and so the value of his teaching, for with him the facts of the incarnation of God in him and of his own resurrection were so explicitly and repeatedly asserted, that nothing but their simple reality is compatible with his moral integrity. Men cannot therefore fairly be so eclectic as to keep the light and yet reject the facts out of which the light has been struck. It is a vain effort to attempt to have a non-supernatural Christianity.

But let us inquire more particularly into the significance of these two great facts which are characteristic of Christianity, and declared on inspired authority to be essential to it. The person of Jesus as revealed to us from Bethlehem to Olivet is in itself one complete symbolic gospel. There is no essential Christian doctrine or experience which is not, and that very directly, rooted in the facts of the incarnation and resurrection. Or to drop the figure, and at the same time to speak more truly, may we not say, that Christian doctrines and experiences are but the forms which the facts assume when carried into the intellect and heart of the believer, and that in looking upon the person of Jesus, we see not only the sum of Christian facts, but the substance of Christian doctrine and the essence of Christian experience?

The two factors of this symbolic gospel may be viewed both as the counterpart and the complement of each other. They are the counterpart of each other, inasmuch as the prevalent thought of the incarnation is that of a great drawing downwards of God into union with man, while that of the resurrection is that of the elevation of man into a life above sin and in fellowship with God. And the resurrection is the complement of the incarnation, inasmuch as the specific thought involved in it, of life by the destruction of death, is a particular exhibition of the mode in which the great divine purpose toward man, symbolised in the incarnation, of an intense union between him and God, is to be effected. We may, in the first place, however, consider these great facts out of relation to each other, and in the independent revelation which each makes of broad and deep divine truth.

In regard then to the gospel of the incarnation. Here the bare simple fact of such union between God and man, as is exhibited to us in the person of Jesus, is one profoundly

significant to sinful man. In it he feels that a grasp of help and love is laid upon his heart. It commands his whole being, and he trembles at its touch. It wields over him that fulness of influence which is found only where rebuke of the past is mingled with help for the future. It awakens in him the slumbering but inextinguishable reminiscences of the lost past of the race, but at the same time thrills him with the vision of a new possible destiny. The fact that the form in which this renewed revelation of human destiny is presented, recalls the original one given in man's creation, and organises into an intelligible expression the vague and perplexed regrets and yearnings which, ever since the fall, have wandered in the universal human soul, shewing us the greatness of our thought, is the very strength of the incarnation to inspire man with hope. It is the counsel of him only who adequately rebukes and condemns which we can trust and adopt. And it is because the fulness of our failure is plainly and impartially mirrored to us in the incarnation that we can hail it with hope and confidence as a new revelation of our destiny. Many considerations would prompt us to anticipate that the manifestation of God in the flesh, in a sinful world, should have a saving significance for man, and divine study of the mystery teaches us that it is the necessary and sole form through which salvation can reach us. Its ultimate design is regenerative, but the necessary incidental result of its very form is condemnatory. "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved;" yet could he not be manifested as the light without revealing and condemning the darkness.

The great fact, however, which is clear enough to us in the incarnation, is the possible union of God and man. The fact itself is light, and the circumstances in which it appears, as the climax of a long-continued progressive divine revelation, and as an event in the continuous moral administration under which he has lived, make it light especially to sinful man. But the brilliancy and the significance of the light to us increase, as the unique character of this theanthropic union is apprehended by us. It is the unique glory of Christianity to teach man's union with God in a form which at once maintains the distinction between the Creator and the

creature; is based upon morality and not nature; preserves it in unsullied purity, and knits the soul with God in a fellowship more profound, intimate, and satisfying, than the dreams of the most earnest pantheism. Pantheism has no bridge. Its mode of union is direct; and with its identification of the One with the All, it creates universal confusion both in the natural and the moral sphere of spiritual life. The self-conscious spirit, while it cannot but admire the purpose of pantheistic thought, and sympathise with its heroic and pathetic struggles to establish, in defiance of all obstacles, direct union with God, that so it might slake the soul's thirst at the very fountain of its being, and lead the restless wanderer to its true home, may smile in the impregnable consciousness of personality, at the vanity of identifying the One with the All, and losing the personal in the impersonal.

> "That each who seems a separate whole,
> Should move his rounds, and fusing all
> The skirts of self again, should fall
> Remerging in the general soul,
>
> Is faith as vague as all unsweet;
> Eternal form shall still divide
> The eternal soul from all beside;
> And I shall know him when we meet."[1]

But a graver feeling must fill us as we consider the application of the fundamantal principle of pantheism to the moral sphere of life, for it renders it impossible to maintain an opposition of moral quality. Pantheism has no moral science, but at best only a natural science of spirit. Surrendering, as it cannot help doing, the principle of antagonism, it shades off evil into less perfectly-developed good, in which form it makes room for it as a fact. Unable to handle the problems of personality and moral quality, it resigns all claim to be an ethical system, and becomes simply the indiscriminate generalisation of spirit-life naturally considered. The different modes in which pantheism endeavoured to establish this direct union alike failed to meet the moral necessities of the case. Emanation of the divine and deification of the human, in which we may see, perhaps, mistaken guesses at the Christian facts of incarnation and resurrection, alike failed to introduce a moral nexus between the human soul and God as the principle of union. The former method ignored, while

[1] *In Mem.* xlvi.

the latter violated, moral claims. It was left to Christianity at once to intensify and solve the problem, to deepen and fix man's consciousness of the essential and irreconcilable antagonism of good and evil, and at the same time to introduce a mode of theanthropic union which, while maintaining uncompromised this severity of moral distinction, enables men to say, "truly our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ," and "through him we both have access by one spirit unto the Father."

The Christian idea of the mode of this union is not that of diffusion, transmutation, or absorption, but that of a unique and transcendant Person, in whom dwell bodily all the fulness of the Godhead and the reality of perfect humanity. It is only in the idea of such a personality that the necessities of the case are preserved, that unimpaired fulness, purity, and distinction of the divine and human natures are upheld; and that the possibility of union with God and of the conscious individual enjoyment of a higher life is realised. The very existence of such a Person is the assertion by him of a mediatorial function, and thus not only may personal hope of salvation be kindled in the breast of every one who has heard of the incarnation of God, but his mind is directed to that deep and everlasting principle of mediatorial relationship, which is the characteristic feature of God's redemption.

A further truth of the gospel of the incarnation, and one not beyond the reflective perception of man, and which I merely mention is, that the spirit of this mode of union with God is that of perfect sonship to God. The consequence of all direct impersonal modes of theanthropic union is, to man the loss of a truly human consciousness without the compensation of a divine one gained, a blank of all conscious life. But in the personal and mediatorial mode the spiritual consciousness of man is intensified and elevated, and the very spirit and tone of the relation is that of perfect filiality. He who founded this relation between God and man, and threw it open to man, filled it all while he was manifested on earth with the light of perfect human sonship to God. No confession of sin ever fell from the lips of the man Christ Jesus. No spot defiled his obedience. Ere he was incarnate, he hailed with rapture the prospect of it, as the opportunity of rendering that perfect obedience in the flesh which should effect the redemption of

men, crying, "A body hast thou prepared me. I delight to do thy will, O God." He perfectly did that will upon the earth, nor in the doing of it was he left without express assurances of the divine delight in him as a Son.

Thus, then, in the incarnation, men have a revelation made to them of the destiny which is possible to them, of close and deep union with God, essential and ethical. The truth, the divine message inheres in the fact, and comes to every one who, in whatever way, has the knowledge of it. The farther truths, of the mode of the union and of the spirit of the relationship, appear to him who receives the broad, simple message in the spirit of obedience. As the proclamation of such a possible end in life to sinful men, the incarnation is a gospel; it is the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Or to speak more correctly, we should say that it is the complete outline, yet still only the outline, of the contents of man's salvation. In his union with God in the incarnate mediator, and in his sonship to God, we have outlined to us the complete form of man's salvation, both as to its substance and spirit; but nothing is revealed in the fact of the incarnation itself, of the mode in which the vast truth which it symbolises to man, is to be brought into existence, and placed within his reach. What is the spiritual principle or power which actualises or renders into living fact the promise of the incarnation? Is it presented to us in any symbolic form, so that by adding it to the symbol of the incarnation we may obtain a complete view of the symbolic gospel, both as to its form and its begetting cause? Such we have in the resurrection of Jesus. It is this fact which has made the promise of the incarnation a spiritual reality, and brought it as a living experience within the reach of men. The resurrection of Jesus completes the revelation which begins with the incarnation of God in him; and it is, farther, the fact which realises for men all the promise of the incarnation. It is the form which the spiritual power which turns the promise of the incarnation into spiritual reality must assume in order to produce this effect. The truth for man shadowed forth in the incarnation of God were a dream but for the resurrection of Jesus, which has made it a reality. The resurrection of Jesus is the actualising and interpretive principle of the incarnation.

Let us then briefly consider the gospel of the resurrection.

Our latest knowledge of the incarnate One is as the risen One, and clearly on this ground alone, because it places him before us in the final attitude in which he is to be contemplated; because it shews us that incarnation is to be read in the light of resurrection; it is a truth essential to Christianity, and of transcendant importance to the Christian mind. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the resurrection of Jesus is the adequate symbol of Christianity. It implies all its essentials, behind and before. It implies the fact of the real incarnation of one whom other proof establishes to be God. It is not a complete thought in itself, but implies the correlate one of antecedent death; and this not as a mere physical event, which were unmeaning, but as a moral necessity, and it foreshadows sinless life. Thus do the broad wings of this symbol of resurrection cover the whole of the constitutive essence of Christianity, historically and morally. The fact of Jesus' resurrection is to us both doctrine and life. The richest utterance of all the gospel is that chord in which breathes the fulness of time, past, present, and future, and in which blend the historical and the moral constituents of our faith (and of this last, both the judicial and regenerative aspects), struck by Jesus when he said, "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die."[1] The characteristic idea of Christianity is not that of mere life, but of resurrection, *i.e.* of life out of death destroyed; and so, and therefore, life eternal. This is the characteristic idea of Christianity graven on its every doctrine and experience. Its revelation and experience proceed along the level of resurrection, and it is only as we pass through and from death, and attain the second life and keep it, that we can bear its severe judgment of the first, and be in full sympathy with its mysteries. It is only in the strength of the second life that we can bear the condemnation of the first; only in the strength of resurrection-life that we can bear the condemnation of the life of the flesh.

The devout reader of the New Testament, and especially of the Pauline epistles, sees the imperial place which the resurrection holds in apostolic doctrine; and still more so, the earnest exegete, all of whose resources of insight and analytic

[1] John xi. 25.

skill and power of statement are taxed to the utmost to render clear the connection between the various aspects of the resurrection, which the apostle so rapidly presents, and without warning changes.

The principal lines of Paul's thought, in regard to the resurrection of Christ, are these three :—

1. In the first place, he regards it simply in a historical light, as the fact completive of the form of Christianity, and creative of its power, as that which was indispensable to Christianity's becoming an organic reality, and a living and saving power.[1] In this light it is the theological value of the fact, and its place in the system of Christian doctrine, which occupies the apostle's thought. To him it is the destruction of death, the conquest of sin in the extreme manifestation of its power, the extinction of its penalty. Resurrection constitutes and proclaims an efficacious death ; and that of Jesus is the assurance to us that that sacrifice of himself which he offered has put away sin. It is the inevitable result of the form in which that sacrifice for sin behoved to be offered, that the resurrection of Jesus possesses incidentally a deep and universal significance for man, as exhibiting the possibility of humanity's redemption from the whole power of sin, and of universal bodily resurrection.

2. In the second place, the apostle treats the resurrection of Christ as a symbol of the present experience of the believer. It is not simply that by his view of the believer's oneness with Christ he is constrained to speak of him as "quickened together with Christ, and raised up together with him, and made to sit together with him in heavenly places," but that resurrection is the truest description of the living personal experience of the believer from day to day. This is no mere arbitrary, though felicitous, use to make of Christ's resurrection, but is profoundly true. The justification of this application is to be found in the deep analogies of insensibility, inability, and corruption (from which last, however, Jesus was free) which subsist between physical and moral death, in virtue of which triumph over it in the lower sphere becomes a clear symbolic direction to us in regard to our aim in the higher. And still more fully is the reasonableness of this practice brought to the light, when we reflect that as a moral fact death makes reference to two moral ultimates, to the

[1] 1 Cor. xv, 14, 17.

objective one of the moral law, and to the subjective one of man's moral nature; and that it is from Jesus' extinction of the penalty and consequent in-bringing of new moral life—from his breaking of the seal of death and recovery for man of the power of the indwelling Spirit—attested by his resurrection, that we obtain deliverance from the power of death in its other seat and form of manifestation in our own nature. Thus does the apostle interpret the resurrection of Jesus, and reveal it to us as a source of moral light and power. Day by day through it Christ says to his people, "Let every one in the sphere and in the fulness in which the idea of resurrection concerns him put it in practice." Illustration of this application of the resurrection of Christ made by the apostle will be found in such passages as Rom. vi. 1–13; Col. ii. 10–13, iii. 1–10; and Gal. ii. 20.

3. In the third place, the apostle views the risen Saviour as the pledge and source to us of personal immortality,[1] and his resurrection-person as the type after which man perfectly redeemed, *i.e.* in body as well as in soul, shall be fashioned.[2] "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by (or on account of) his Spirit that dwelleth in you." The disputed reading in the last clause of the verse, as between the genitive and accusative case, as between the indwelling in us of the Holy Spirit being the instrumental cause, or the ground and reason of our resurrection, is not, in the circumstances, of direct importance, seeing that, even if the genitive could hold its ground, the fact that the instrument is living and indwelling approximates it to the deeper meaning of the accusative. The essential thought is, that it is the indwelling in us of the resurrection-spirit, the Spirit which quickened Jesus from the dead (for the Father did it by his Spirit), which is the pledge to us of our personal resurrection and immortality. How he shall quicken our mortal bodies we know not, but in his indwelling in us, if so it be, we have the presence of him who raised Jesus from the dead; yea more, we have one who infuses a new factor into our personality, a factor stronger than death, because already a resurrection-factor. Christ as the resurrection and the life is woven into our experience. He forms the new and imperishable factor in the personality of

[1] Rom. viii. 11; 1 Cor. xv. 20. [2] Phil. iii. 21.

the regenerate. Cast out his image from the shrine of the believing heart, and the man is no longer the same. The best of him is lost, and he cannot recognise himself. His past life sinks into a heap of ruins as the fabric of his Christian experience disappears, and as he is bereft of the inwardly embodied result of Christian thought, and Christian tears, and Christian prayers, and Christian discipline. Cast out Christ's image from the believer's present and future life, and you change him; you destroy his personality. Christ is an essential factor of the believer's personality; and as he is the resurrection, he is, by his Spirit dwelling in us, the pledge and power and reason of our perfect redemption and personal immortality. "We which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body."[1] We groan because we have only the first-fruits and not the full harvest of the Spirit's work; because we know him only as having imparted redemption through resurrection to our souls. We wait for the redemption of the body, also to be realised in an experience of resurrection. Then only shall we know the fulness of man's redemption, and realise how it has all become ours, both as to soul and body, in an experience of resurrection. Of the completion of our resurrection already begun, we have the outward pledge and type in the resurrection-body of Christ, and the inward one in the secret ministry of the Holy Spirit, as he increasingly forms Christ who is the resurrection, within us, as the truth and the life, and weaves him as such into the very core of our personality.

And while, as the children of men, it is our privilege and duty ever to contemplate him in his human life prior to the cross, because it presents him to us in peculiar fulness and intensity of human sympathy, and sets before us an example that we should follow, should we not, as children of the resurrection, make ourselves more familiar with him, as revealed in his resurrection-life on the earth, taking it home to our hearts as the true image of our present spiritual life in its heaven-ward aspect? In the fact of Christ's being throughout those mysterious forty days of resurrection-life on earth absolutely done with sin, being no longer the sin-bearer, do we not hear a voice commanding us as his disciples to count ourselves to be dead indeed unto sin? In the fact of

[1] Rom. viii. 23.

his readiness in that resurrection-life to pass at any moment into the immediate presence of the Father, previously impossible to him while still his work in his representative character was unfinished, are we not reminded of the immediate and welcome nearness to God, which is ours continually in resurrection-life? And in the fact which we note in his resurrection-manifestation, of its gradual advance in spirituality, do we not see the image of our own spiritual life on the earth, in its being a going on to perfection, a gradual transformation from the image of the earthly to the image of the heavenly, a growing up into him in all things who is the Head? While then we keep the image of Christ in his obedience unto death fondly before us, as because of the fulness of its humanity, most helpful to us, the fountain of moral light and sympathy and power and example, let us unite therewith his resurrection-image as of present and eternal importance to us, and follow on that we may win him, and be found in him, and know him, and the power of his resurrection. ROBERT LORIMER.

ART. VI.—*The Place of the Psalms in Modern Apologetic.*

THE keynote of the national literature of Israel consists in the supreme conviction, that the one only God, maker of heaven and earth, having chosen them for a unique purpose of stupendous magnitude, had in a quite peculiar fashion presided over their national career, thereby making known to them, as to no other people, his personal character and designs. It was not that in nature the presence of the Deity was for them any more palpable than it is to us. The skies they gazed into were as remote and blank, as terribly mute as they are still. The estranging suggestions of the divine remoteness beyond creation's veil pressed on them no less chilly than on other men. Yet, as they peered back into the shadowy past, they were mastered by a mighty persuasion, that out of the impenetrable darkness He, the Eternal, had come near, and with his own hand steered the bark of their national fortunes down the stream of time. Nor had this closer tenderness of care flashed out in deed alone. Among them the grand, solemn voice, that everywhere in nature

whispers of the divine inhabitating presence, but in murmurs too inarticulate to catch or comprehend, had here intensified itself, waxed louder, clearer, till in the stillness of their soul men heard the words of the Almighty, and knew that in the inmost chambers of their being vibrated the very thoughts of God. The Deity, so hard to grasp in nature, had thus, for another end, in a loftier sphere, made to them a disclosure of his nature, character, and purposes, such as he had not granted to any other nation.

The methods, by which this revelation is asserted to have been accomplished, are fully delineated in the historical and prophetical sections of the Old Testament respectively. From the one, we learn how the providentially-ordered vicissitudes of their chequered history, the laws and political ordinances of their theocratic government, and, in particular, the moral and religious institutions of the Mosaic economy all contained, and caused to play on the national mind and conscience powerful moulding influences, fitted to shape the character and creed of the people who were destined to convey to the world the knowledge of the true God. From the other, we can readily see how the prophets were made the channels of ever fresh declaration; the instruments for riveting in the souls of their countrymen the lessons of the divine self-manifestation; vivifying the ceremonial of religious worship with spiritual interpretation; amid general defection reasserting with the force of overpowering conviction the reality of a destiny too lofty to be neglected with impunity, and the obligation of a divine purpose not unarmed with retributive lightnings; in all things past, present, and future, reflecting, presenting, and foreshadowing the divine aspect and underlying presence, amid a people too quick to forget and too apt to despise a silent, unseen Jehovah.

If we would make ourselves acquainted with this professed revelation, and at the same time test its claims to credence, one way, and doubtless the most direct, is to study and interrogate the narratives that record the actual operations and communications of the revealing agency. But besides this mode of immediate inspection, the process may be contemplated and verified from another side, and fresh insight gained thereby. Effects correspond to their causes. The process

records itself in the result. The echo answers to the voice that woke it. God's revealing voice to the human soul has its echo in man's response of prayer and praise. If then among this people his voice rang down, not in the inarticulate murmurs of nature, but in the intelligible speech of revelation, the echo will have a fulness and distinctness, such as do not exist in the religions that are only a response to the dimness of nature's muffled utterance, and the vagueness of her veiled vision. If it be true that, along these two channels of history and prophecy, peculiar outgoings of personal influence and self-manifestation from the Almighty were made to play upon this people, outside of and far more intense than his ordinary action in nature, then we must expect to find among them a unique type of religious character, an acquaintance with and body of thought and feeling concerning the Supreme such as exists nowhere else, such as corresponds with the kind of influences said to have been exerted, and such as by its intrinsic superiority manifestly declares its origin to be from a grander, closer, and more unclouded vision of the unknown God.

What is this earthly reflex of the divine revealing? Where shall we hear its echoing response, and in what channel does it flow Godward? Earth's overtures to heaven take ever the forms of praise and prayer. Human dependence knows no other strains. Wedded to prosperity, the offspring is praise; to adversity, prayer. Crushed by calamity, man's helplessness stretches out entreating hands of supplication that clasp in prayer. Winged with hope, in the sunshine of success, the same sense of feebleness checks its mundane triumph, and soars away upward in ringing songs of praise. Breathed forth by mighty hearts in strong words of passion, welded by the poet's touch into beauty and music, such prayer and such praise pass into the life of a people, and become their sacred songs, their lyrics and elegiacs. These two elements make up the hymnal of every nation and of every age. In the psalter of Israel we find not only the praises, but also the "prayers of David." Moreover, in these two we have most truly mirrored a people's most intimate and actual feelings, thoughts, and beliefs regarding God; in fact, all that world of daily hope, aspiration, trust, and desire, which make up its real religious life as distinguished from traditional or theological speculation. Not therefore from the dry bones of its creed, but from the

breathing flesh and speaking feature of its popular hymnal, shall we best learn to know the characteristic piety of a nation. If we would test the pulse and study the traits of the special type of religious life developed in Israel, we must go to the prayers and hymns of the psalter. For in the measured music of these ancient psalms beats still the throbbing heart of Hebrew devotion.

But it may be urged that these prayers and hymns do not represent the devotion of the nation, but only mark the highest levels of exceptional flood-tides of fervour in the religious experience of specially gifted men. This is certainly true of a few of the psalms, but not of the bulk ; and it cannot be maintained in the face of the known liturgical use of the psalter. The objection might, indeed, be pressed were the book of Psalms merely a collection of poems for reading like neighbouring collections of proverbs, chronicles, or prophecies. But that it was originally prepared to be, not a reading-book, but a manual of sacred song, *i. e.* a hymnal, is evident from the fact that it is provided with musical directions, name of tune, repetition of chorus, and all the requisites for singing. What we have in the Old Testament is, indeed, a copy or facsimile of the Temple hymn-book, in its final form, after it had undergone successive enlargements, adjustments, and editing. Its contents, though originally the poems of particular writers, have been altered (as we can distinctly see in many cases), and by modification of sentiment, addition of verses, and other changes, adapted for congregational singing purposes. It is surprising that this fact has not been more prominently employed in vindicating the antiquity of many of the psalms, as, for instance, in defending the Davidic authorship of the Fifty-first against the objection founded on the sacrificial reference in the last strophe.[1]

[1] How largely the text of a psalm may become changed, even without intention, is shewn by the fact that the Eighteenth Psalm varies from the version in 2 Sam. xxii. in more than sixty places. Besides the deliberate replacement of obsolete by newer words, the original text has also suffered numerous alterations from slips of transcribers. As many of the psalms must have been first written in a character resembling that on the Moabite Stone more than our current Hebrew alphabet, there seems much force in a remark which we heard M. Renan recently make in a lecture at the Collége de France, to the effect that, with our increased knowledge of ancient Phœnician writing, the science of archæography will prove our most useful instrument in the interpretation and restoration of the Old Testament text.

Both from the hymn-book itself, and from hints in the historical books, it is possible to form an accurate idea of the Temple psalmody; and we can understand how powerfully psalms so sung must have influenced the religious thoughts of Israel. At the time of the great feasts, when, in the splendid Temple crowded with excited worshippers, the grand old national psalms, stirring the depths of heart and memory, were rendered by vast choirs of singers, accompanied by immense orchestras of wind and stringed instruments, we can easily realise how the mighty stream of sound swayed the soul of the pious Hebrew, helping him to feel himself in actual union and heart-contact with Jehovah. To his imagination that massive, swelling tide of praise, like the column of sacrificial smoke, bridged over the abyss between him and God. Kneeling by the altar of burnt-offering, he was wont to watch the thin grey vapour in curling wreaths stealing up through the still evening air, higher and higher, till it melted into the blue of heaven, seeming to pass in to the very nostrils of God, a "sweet-smelling savour," carrying up on its ascending coils the worshipper's prayers, in visibly accomplished communication with the Unseen. Men felt somewhat the same as their hopes and fears, their worship and prayers flowed out of their hearts, and were caught in the waves of that great tide of praise that rolled and echoed through the Temple courts, poured itself out into the upper air, mounting ever on the wings of swelling music, sweeping in through the very gates of heaven, and dashing its billows of harmony all around the Eternal throne. It was scarcely a figure of speech when the psalmist spoke of Jehovah "inhabiting the praises of Israel;" and the reference to the altar savour is manifest in the prophetic injunction to "render to God the calves of the lips," sacred song rising in place of sacrificial smoke.

The impressive memories of such festal fervour, coupled with the homely familiarity of daily use in family and social intercourse, must have caused these psalms to penetrate into the inmost recesses and depths of Hebrew religious life. However individual and elevated in feeling some of them may have been in origin, it is certain that they succeeded in gathering into the lofty realm of their faith and aspiration all the inarticulate cravings and most wistful hopes of Jewish piety, so that each verse became replete with meaning and

instinct with sacred associations. Seeing, then, that for centuries the greater number of the psalms in our psalter were the selected, permanent, and passionately-loved hymnal of the nation, we may justly consider them as a true and adequate representation of the Hebrew type of piety, that is to say, as the religious result and reflex of the special revealing activity of God within that nation. Now if that process was unique, so must the product be. It is, therefore, a necessary task of apologetic, to exhibit in the religious conceptions of the psalms characteristic features differentiating them from all other religions, so distinctively as to justify the Jewish claim to special revelation, as it is stated by one of the psalmists when he says: "God shewed his word unto Jacob; his statutes and his judgments unto Israel; He hath not dealt so with any nation; [his] judgments [therefore] they have not known."[1]

While it would be a mistake, as Paley remarks, to allow the New Testamant to be held responsible for everything in the Old, it cannot be denied that, for the truth of this central claim of its ancestor, Christianity must answer with its life. But it does seem a pity that in the defence positions should have been occupied, some of which are untenable, and many needlessly hard to hold. Well-meaning friends have imagined themselves bound not only to maintain the fact but to explain it; just as if a man should deem the best proof of his personal existence to consist in some hocus-pocus theory of being, wherein only the *sancta simplicitas* of philosophical credulity is manifest. The original point at issue, which is a question about a plain matter of fact, has been dragged into the intricacies and confusion of metaphysical hypotheses, perplexed by the subtle distinctions of a logic purely verbal, and often quite overlaid beneath a tangled mass of questions altogether subsidiary or wholly irrelevant. Nor has it suffered from well-intended efforts on one side only. It has been doomed to see the sober sense of its assertions, under the hands of mysticism, transmogrified into the absurdities of a magical supernaturalism; and again, in an ill-advised attempt to restore it to sobriety, it has had its spiritual grandeur cramped up in the strait-jacket of a soulless rationalism. Worst of all, the simplicity of its meaning has been transmuted into a

[1] Psalm cxlvii. 19, 20.

would-be scientific statement, with the intention of precision, but with a contrary result. For instance, it is often assumed that to set the assertion in the form, "the divine activity in revelation was distinct in *kind*," secures a great gain of exactness. In truth it is to convert a real question into a verbal quibble. For if there is a scientific word that has been discovered to be devoid of precise connotation, it is this word *kind*. Till there is some agreement on the measure of difference that constitutes *kind*, and even then until we know in some degree at least what is the *nature* of divine activity, it seems wiser to refrain from venturing to label that mysterious agency in its various channels with specific names, and to use the epithet *kind* in a popular sense and with the humility of ignorance. Since much the same criticism applies to the use of other pretentiously-exact phraseology, surely we should do well to rest content with the concreteness of the scriptural statement, "He shewed his word unto Jacob; his statutes and judgments unto Israel; he hath not dealt so with any nation."

The statement contains two assertions: first, that Israel possesses unique knowledge of God; and second, that this knowledge is the result of unique divine action. The defence of this claim must assume one or other of two attitudes, according as the attack is directed against the first or the second of the assertions. Till recently, the claim to superiority was allowed to pass without much criticism, and the main force of unbelief was directed to shew that it was not due to the exercise of any divine activity, but was wholly the product of natural causes. In his last celebrated publication, Strauss says that monotheism is essentially the religion of a wandering clan, whose concentrated and single self-consciousness deified into a tribal god, rises with success and victory into such solitary pre-eminence as to reduce the defeated rival gods into absolute nullity, as was the case with Israel's Jehovah. Moreover, the Hebrews' intense detestation of their neighbours, extending in time to their use of images, brutality and sensuality of worship, irresistibly impelled them to disuse of images, and to the practice of purity and goodness, until finally the lofty morality of the Decalogue was the result. If the first part of this statement described a real law of sociology, then we ought to have as many monotheisms as there were nomad

tribes in the east, for they were all neither more nor less successful in war than was Israel. While, as soon as it is perceived that the second part amounts in plain language to the assertion, that from spite against their rivals the Israelites abjured idolatry, cursing, murder, fornication, lying, and all other vices, the only possible comment must be a somewhat emphatic "Credat Judæus."[1] Some years earlier a more plausible explanation had been brought out by Renan, who endeavoured to establish the existence in the Semitic race of an instinct for monotheism. Though carefully and skilfully elaborated by the brilliant author, the idea has not succeeded in securing any lasting foothold.[2] The latest champion of this view is the celebrated Dutchman, Kuenen, who has revolutionised the traditional conception of Israel's history, with the intent of exhibiting in detail how the pure monotheistic faith of the Jewish people was evolved by the operation of forces and influences of a peculiar but entirely mundane character. There is much in the structure that is not only ingenious but substantial. Nevertheless, while admiring the adaptation of the machinery to produce the desired effect, one cannot somehow anywhere find the power that must have been needed to set it in motion and work out the result. This is the fundamental defect of all this school. They give us the processes,

[1] Strauss, *Der Alte und Neue Glaube* (Eng. Tr., pp. 117–120). The desire to vent dislike in contrariety of conduct is an undeniable instinct of human nature, and we have no doubt of its power to move unprincipled youth to the doing of wrong in order to vex respectable age. But till we have witnessed one instance of its ability to induce a depraved ward to become virtuous and pious solely from dislike of, and desire to annoy, ungodly guardians, we cannot but continue to consider this theory of the origin of Hebrew godliness decidedly the most miraculous yet propounded.

[2] Renan, *Histoire Générale, &c.*, and more guardedly in his *Nouvelles Considérations, &c.* As was the case afterwards with his *Vie de Jesu*, Renan's theory never got much acceptance out of France. His talents are brilliant, his thought translucent, his deductions unimpeachable. But then he begins by imagining the facts. Like most French writers, he sees history and human nature, not as they are, but as they appear in the artificial world of literary and philosophical ideas reigning in Paris. His pictures and theories have never seemed very life-like or substantial to any except those who move in the same atmosphere. But for their tastes no one can cater like M. Renan. In the words of a writer who understood him well: "Renan donne aux hommes de sa génération ce qu' ils desirent en toutes choses, des bonbons qui sentent l'infini" (Doudan *Mélanges*). The hit recalls the remark made of John Foster, to the effect that he was not to be satisfied with "the shells awarded to serious thinkers by the moral monkeys of the world."

but leave out the sufficient cause. They are right in holding religion to be a human acquisition, wrong in denying the heavenly gift. They see the human assimilation, but forget the divine activity of which it is the result. With Lessing, they believe in the education of the human race; but then it is only a self-education. According to them, Old Testament monotheism exists, not because Israel was uniquely dealt with by God, but because the idea of God was uniquely dealt with by Israel. And however they may refuse to see it, with such opponents the point really at issue is, whether in place of our old belief that God made man, we ought not rather to hold that man made God. Serious argument on this question belongs to the region, not of Christian apologetic, but of metaphysic. What common-sense has to say on the matter has been expressed by Goethe in one of his less-known poems with much plainness of speech. He says:—

"Die grössten Köpfe sind das nur, was andre sind,
Allein das merkt, sie sind es umgekehrt;
Sie wollen nicht mit andern Erdentröpfen
Auf ihren Füssen gehn, sie gehn auf ihren Köpfen;
Verachten, was ein jeder ehrt,
Und was gemeinen Sinn empört,
Das ehren unbefangne Weisen;
Doch brachten sie 's nicht allzu weit,
Ihr *non plus ultra* jeder Zeit
War—Gott zu lästern und den Dreck zu preisen."[1]

Leaving the sages of negative thought to determine whether it is we or they that are topsy-turvy, we find ourselves confronted with a problem more practical, and which is likely to form the main topic of future controversy. Of late years Christian thought has become much more intimately acquainted, not only with the outward facts, but with the inner

[1] Goethe, *Der Ewige Jude* (a Fragment). We append a rough translation, which is far from presenting the *verve* of the original:—

Philosophers are men, the same as any other;
Contrariwise however, there's the bother!
With other petty mortals of the land
Afoot they will not go, upon their heads they stand;
Contemn what others noble find;
While, what disgusts the common mind,
Unprejudiced *savants* revere;
Still there's a limit, for it's clear,
Their *non plus ultra* 's always been,
To worship dirt and slander the Unseen.

heart-beat and life of alien religions. Brought into contact with heathenism on the highways of commerce, the church after too long, like the Priest and Levite, passing by on the other side, at length, in imitation of the good Samaritan, set herself to bind up the wounds of her helpless neighbour. And though her efforts to "set him on her own beast" have not perhaps been so successful as they ought, still by such offices of kinness a mutual interest was awakened, so that she has learned to know him better, and more and more regard him, not as a monster, but as her neighbour. The more sympathetic gaze directed on heathenism was able to pierce through the ungainly husk, and to detect within pathetic chords of nearer kinship; while in the wild music of the pagan worship strains were caught of a higher harmony that seemed to be the lingering echoes of a long-forgotten, truer faith. Then the painstaking researches of scholars, like the excavations at Rome, laid bare the fact that beneath the debris and accumulated rubbish of centuries were buried the more stately temples of a nobler age. As in a palimpsest the cultured eloquence of a classic author has been obliterated by the superstitious doggrel of some mediæval monk, so the simpler worship of the Vedas had been overlaid by the absurdities and extravagances of Brahmanism, and the early purity and goodness of the religion of Buddha had been forgotten in the degeneracy of idolatry and immorality.

The effect of this new and surprising knowledge has been to turn the stream of inquiry, friendly and unfriendly, concerning Christianity very largely into new channels. Apologetic must reason less, and (in the anatomical sense) demonstrate more. Her method must be, not argument, but comparison. Out of the hoar antiquity have emerged religions venerable for their age, elevated in many respects far above the traditional conception of paganism, possessing some features of closest kinship with the religion of the Bible, capable therefore of being compared with the faith of Christendom. From inquiring friends, on the one hand, comes the request to have shewn them, wherein their own faith is distinguished from its rivals. While from foes or half-hearted allies come suggestions that Christianity has at last found its level; that it possesses nothing unique or distinctive; and, if superior at all, at least the advantage is very slight. The challenge is a fair

one, and the change of battle-ground can only do good. Instead of furbishing up the somewhat rusty and unspiritual weapons of tradition, text-criticism, and external matters generally, it is now necessary for friend and foe alike to study the very heart and soul, not only of Christianity, but of all religion; for the true decision of this issue must rest on a profound, sympathetic, and personal appreciation of the inmost depths and heights of the relation between the human soul and God.

We proceed then to speak of the part that must be played in this contest by the Psalms, in their character as the human response to the divine revealing activity, of which we have the professed record in the Law and Prophets. Containing as they do the mature and ripened product of the religious experience of Israel, the psalms, if they be indeed the harvest of a heavenlier sowing, ought to possess a perfection and richness of spiritual contents such as are absent in the devotional literatures of less favoured nations. The most palpable points of contrast which may be used with best effect we shall presently indicate. But as our proper purpose is to define rather than to make the apologetic of the psalter, our first duty is to say something about the limits and conditions of the comparison.

Though the caution may seem superfluous, we must premise that it is not requisite to prove, that there is nothing but falsity and evil in those religions which we are wont to call heathen. There used to be a fashion, perhaps not yet quite passed away, born of ignorance rather than of uncharitableness, which ascribed to the devil *in toto* the origin and entire contents of heathen religion, venturing dogmatically to declare that outside the pale of Mosaism and Christianity no good has ever existed. But this is neither the teaching nor the spirit of the Bible. There we are taught the humbling, and yet hopeful lesson, that every ray of goodness, wherever it may beam, comes, not from the devil, nor from man's sinful heart, but shines direct from the face of God. Paul moreover tells us that the Creator hath never left any nation altogether without a witness of himself, but both in conscience and in nature has, in some degree, made his character and will known to them. We may not either forget the declaration of Peter who, when his Jewish narrowness was rebuked by the divine acceptance of Cornelius, said: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him

and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." And we remember how the groping faith of the wise men of the East, through the dim starlight, found its way to the dawning glory of a better sunlight in the cradle of the infant Saviour.

It is indeed a melancholy fact that in every land the lingering beams of ancient revelation have more or less died out, and the purer teaching of more enlightened men has invariably been all but quenched in the gloom. We must be careful however not to draw unduly sweeping inferences from this apparently so damnatory destiny of decay. Though, no doubt, the errors and defects in the primitive delivery of the natural religions have had their share in producing the subsequent debasement, it must be remembered that for the most part heathendom is evil, not because but in spite of its great religious teachers, just as Chrisendom is stained not through but in defiance of its religion. The actual customs and practices of the chief pagan religions are constantly as much perversions of the primitive purity and truth of the founders as Romanism is of the teaching of the Gospels. It would be at least nearly as unfair to hold Jesus responsible for the enormous corruptions of Popery, as to make Sakyamouni answerable for the degradation of modern Buddhism. Human nature, Pagan and Christian, is very much alike, and in both cases theory and practice have to be distinguished. We must not, therefore, suffer obtrusive deformities to blind our eyes to the existence in the great natural religions (at least originally) of truths so noble and Christ-like that we cannot but recall the words of the Apostle John, when he tells of that light of the unincarnate Logos seeking to enlighten every man, though ever drowned in the darkness. Without multiplying instances of what is familiar to all in any way acquainted with the writings of non-Christian religious sages, we may be permitted in consideration of its rare beauty to cite just one illustration. It is the creed of Dadu, a Hindoo reformer. He says:—

"Thou, O God, art the author of all things which have been made, and from thee will originate all things which are to be made. Thou art the maker of all things made. There is none other but thee. . . . I believe that God made man, and that he maketh everything. He is my friend. . . . In order that he may diffuse happiness God becometh subservient to all; and although the knowledge of this is in the hearts of the foolish, yet will they not praise his name. . . . I will become the sacrifice of the Godhead; do unto me, O God, as thou thinkest best. I am

obedient to thee. My disciples! behold no other God. Fix your heart on God, and be humble as though you were dead. He that partaketh of but one grain of the love of God shall be released from the sinfulness of all his doubts and actions."[1]

Thoughts like these will hardly be ascribed to the suggestion of the spirit of evil, nor will one who believes in the depravity of human nature be inclined to find their origin in man's unaided reason. Blooming in the bosom of Hinduism, like wild-flowers in a swamp, they can only be the sowing of that Father of lights from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, and who sends his sunshine and rain on the just and on the unjust. This reverent faith in a wise and pitiful providential care, presiding over all the scattered pathways of mankind, we find expressed by Christian hearts in every age. "It is clear," says Clement of Alexandria, "that the same God to whom we owe the Old and New Testaments gave also to the Greeks their Greek philosophy by which the Almighty is glorified among the Greeks;" and in another passage he gives the reason of this opinion: "For that philosophy like a teacher has guided the Greeks also, as the law did the Hebrews, towards Christ. Philosophy, therefore, prepares and opens the way to those who are made perfect in Christ."[2] How the fathers were led to assume this attitude towards the Roman and Greek philosophy is strikingly illustrated by the remark of Arnobius, that many of the heathen demanded the destruction of Cicero's treatise on the nature of the gods, for "The Senate ought to decree the destruction of those writings in which the Christian religion is approved, and the authority of the ancient faith decried."[3] Coming to our own time, we see actual contact with heathen religions recommending to our missionaries precisely the same position in theory and practice. One of the most active Presbyterian missionaries in China gives this as his experience:—

"Confucius, who stands second to no philosopher in the purity and fearlessness of his teachings, is a difficult problem to many missionaries. Some decry him because they do not know him; many, because they find him the last stronghold of the Chinese mind. I could not say one word

[1] Wilson's *Works*, i. 106 ff.; quoted in Dods' *Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ.*

[2] Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vi. 5, 42, and i. 5, 48.

[3] Arnob., *Adv. Gent.*, iii. 6, 7; quoted by Baur, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. 357.

against a man whose teachings are so good, lest my hearers gladly should misrepresent me as opposing the morality he teaches. I do more. I tell them they too garnish the tomb of their prophet, but set at nought his precepts; that this same teacher will condemn them on the great day of accounts. I tell them I can praise him, but cannot understand how they can extol the man whose teachings are their condemnation. And then I proclaim the only way in which their foul sins against knowledge can be washed away. Bringing them face to face with their own teacher, I shut their mouth and make them stand self-condemned, and make of Confucius a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ. It is a deep conviction daily becoming stronger that Confucius is the John forerunning Christ, and preparing the way by proving all men sinners in coming short of their duty, not to heaven alone, but to man also."[1]

The same sentiments apply in greater or less degree to the other great religious systems, such as that of the Vedas, of Buddha, and of Zoroaster. And without a full and generous recognition of this fact, we shall not approach the study of them in such a mental frame as to be able to do either them or Christianity justice.

Still, though it is matter of fact that the great ethnic religions contain truths in measure the same as we find in the records of revelation, there may be evidence to show that they were reached in another fashion, and that, therefore, they have lacked the fructifying warmth and abiding effectiveness of more directly God-given light. Further, even when the structural mechanism of those systems approaches most nearly to completeness, there will be found wanting some central religious spring or essential balance-wheel, entailing rapid inactivity and stagnation, or landing the action in wild exaggeration and disorder. However wonderful the elevation and insight sometimes attained into things divine, we constantly see beneficent truth neutralised by debasing error, lofty moral aspiration paralysed for want of the stimulus of spiritual certitude regarding the Unseen, everywhere the good seed choked by the more exuberant growth of the thorns and thistles. Even where their teaching does move along the lines of truth, there is nevertheless slight deflexion, harmless indeed at first, but which, multiplied by time, in the end amounts to the deviation of gross error. Imperfect many of the truths of revelation doubtless were at first, but at least the path of their progression was originated with such exactitude of direction, that every

[1] Rev. J. Ross, in the *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, of March 1877.

advance did but bring them nearer to full-orbed perfection. In religious truth, as in works of genius, small differences count enormously. And as in music, the slightest deviation from the exact intervals makes the difference between discord and harmony, so is it with the conception of God as we find it developed in natural and in revealed religion.

As a second condition of the comparison, it should be clearly understood by foes, and acted on by friends, that we are not required to maintain that the psalms are absolutely free from imperfection, breathing a music complete with the final fulness of Christianity. How should they be, seeing they belong to a dispensation of which our Lord has said, that he that is least in the new era of revelation is greater than its greatest representative? Nor, even allowing wide scope to the word imperfection, is the admission any way incompatible with the claim to unique divine inspiration and origin. To borrow the well-chosen illustrations of Dr Charles Hodge, the presence of some streaks of sandstone in the blocks of the Parthenon cannot touch our belief that it is built of marble; nor ought the existence of lawless monstrosities in nature at all to alter our conviction, that the universe is the product of an all-wise and orderly Creator. Besides, it must not be forgotten that the psalms are man's speech to God, rather than God's speech to man, couched in language so fitted to human infirmities, that in all time they have been the chosen vehicle to express, not the theorems of philosophic reasoning, but the simple wants and hopes of unlearned devotion. They are utterances of the heart rather than of the head. It would be absurd, therefore, in these prayers and hymns, which by God's good gift of revelation have both sprung from and been provided for human ignorance and weakness, to search for the characteristics of a guarded creed or theological formula dispensed by heaven to mankind. It may be that utterances headed, *Thus sayeth the Lord*, may justly be required to be unmarked by any touch of human insufficiency. But if the psalms are what they call themselves, "the prayers of David, the son of Jesse," then they will be sure to utter just the heart of that brave, reverent, oft-erring king, and not the imperturbed definitions and balanced propositions of an infallible counsel of heaven. In the words of Dr Hodge, "When God ordains praise out of the mouths of babes, they must speak as babes, or the whole

power and beauty of the tribute will be lost."[1] If, therefore, to any it seem that these facts diminish the value of the book of Psalms, be it remembered that not in spite of, but precisely because of these things, it comes to pass that in the prayers and praises of the psalter, certain of the deepest relations of the human spirit to its Maker have found more perfect, satisfying utterance, than even in Christian praise, where too often they have been overlaid by the undue assertion of others. So that the church of Christ will never be able to dispense with or replace the hymnal of the Old Testament, and even in heaven they still continue to sing in union, "the song of Moses and of the Lamb."

In biblical apologetic it is prudent to avoid extreme positions, and only fair to be quite frank. The defence of revelation can afford to be generous, and even give odds to opponents. It is therefore to be freely allowed that the psalms, born as they were in the twilight of revelation before the rise of "that better Sun," are, wherever the old economy came short of the new, marked with the same defects. They are the poetry of Old Testament religion, and that did not have the full-orbed radiance, the maturer heavenliness of the new. We are not concerned to justify its immaturity any more than we feel bound to apologise, because it has pleased the Creator to lead the individual man through helpless infancy, prattling childhood, erring youth, and struggling manhood, to the reverence and ripeness of grey hairs. It may well be that in the Hebrew service of praise certain truths most prominent in Christianity, as, for instance, the doctrine of immortality, are only faintly traced; and it is not hard to perceive why they are in the background. There need be no hesitation in admitting that there are assertions of personal righteousness spoken with the naïvety of childhood, not involving one atom of wrong in the position of those who uttered them, but which cease to be spoken after men have looked on the face of Jesus Christ, and henceforth, "call no man good but God only." Neither is there the slightest necessity to explain away, as some have tried to do, the awful imprecations of the psalms. With benevolent intent, but in much ignorance of Hebrew Grammar, it has been suggested that in place of being wishes for their enemies' destruction, they are only admonitory state-

[1] Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. i. p. 157.

ments, warning predictions of the doom awaiting persistent wickedness, spoken by the psalmists for the purpose of leading their foes to repentance. As if David was in the habit of forwarding copies of his psalms to his enemies, in the hope that these would use them as manuals of devotion! It is a fact that there are in the psalter imprecations of disaster and prayers for vengeance of a kind not found in the gospel, but which have their natural and rightful place in the older stage of divine revelation. To be scandalised by their presence is as foolish as to think there is something wrong in the sourness of ripening fruit. The attempt to explain them away proves only ignorance of what the process of revelation really was, or a timidity and squeamishness of faith that come of weakness. We have simply, without any sentiment, to recognise their necessary place in the orderly progress of God's training of his people. They belong to that older dispensation, whose foundations were laid in exterminating wars, and whose worship was celebrated sword in hand—a dispensation long since elevated into that more perfect one, in which the Mosaic law of just retaliation gives place to the more excellent way of forgiveness, and the temple limitation of worship is removed for a universality in spirit and in truth. The imprecatory psalms are the right and fitting product of an economy ruled by these stern laws of retribution. With the change of law comes also a change of praise. As our Lord forbade in his disciples the fire-invoking spirit of Elijah, so his teaching has produced in Christian praise a gentler spirit, which bates breath, and in silence passes over the fiercer utterances of the church of olden times. It is also fair to our Old Testament fathers to remember that, although, as these psalms were sung, personal hostility may have mingled its meaner voice (as we also know in our experience of conflict for God's kingdom), still their main incentive was zeal for God's glory and the triumph of his grand design, to be vindicated by the downfall of those who, in being his foes, were theirs. The predominance of terms redolent of actual warfare and carnage, is due to the circumstance that spiritual contests were then fought with sword and battle-axe; as also to the fact that, owing to their peculiar destiny, the right of self-defence possessed by every nation became with them part of religion, and so the din of political and national conflict pene-

trated even within the sacred precincts of worship and devotion. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that side by side with these imprecations of calamity, are embedded softer sentiments of compassion, frank overtures of conciliation, and kindlier breathings of prayer for the conversion and salvation of their foes.

Having suggested the spirit in which the question should be discussed, and indicated the limitations under which the argument must be conducted, we shall now speak of the main features of the comparison, and signalise its peculiar points of vantage. Of course, its complete force can be felt only when the whole circle of religious conceptions in the psalter is developed side by side with adequate expositions of the chief rival systems, such as those of Confucius, Zoroaster, the Vedas, Buddhism, Greek and Latin philosophy and mythology. For so alone emerges a sufficient impression of the significant balance of parts and completeness of contents in the one, contrasted with the disproportion and one-sidedness of each and all of the others. Limitation of space makes it advisable that, instead of attempting to deal with the whole wide area of religious truth, we should concentrate our attention on the central subject of the conception of the Deity found in the psalms; and, in place of giving a mere catalogue of possible arguments, endeavour with some fulness to exhibit the strength of the chief points in which it is superior to the corresponding idea in other devotional literatures. Since, however, on each point now one, now another of the ethnic religions approaches more nearly to the clearer light of revelation, it is essential to remember that our generalisations will not hold equally true of all on each occasion.

As soon as the Old Testament thought and speech concerning God are confronted with the heathen, it becomes manifest that they coincide neither in extent nor in relative distribution. Picturing in the imagination three zones—the natural, the moral, the spiritual—which rise one above the other, then the heathen may be represented as a sharp-peaked pyramid standing on its base, and reaching only a little way into the spiritual, while the scriptural has its vast base spread wide in the upper, and hangs with its apex only protruding into the lower. In the sphere of the divine manifestation in nature, the heathen theology lives and moves, while the

Hebrew does but occasionally dip into it. Ascending into the moral zone, rapidly the unrevealed notion dwindles, while as quickly the revealed expands. Till in the loftiest, the spiritual upper air, while here the Hebrew representation is most ample, rich, and permanent, you have over against it only a few scattered, wavering outlines. Thus at the very outset it is plain that the ethnic knowledge of God arose almost exclusively from nature's teaching, while the Hebrew recognition of the divine was mainly moral and spiritual—that is to say, must have been derived from contact with a divine personal activity in history, and from self-disclosing approaches within the chambers of the human spirit. The dwindling pyramid of heathen thought of God suggests its origin in groping human aspirations, that wax feebler and cease as the atmosphere becomes too rarified to give ascending impulse under the beat of their unaided wing. The full-bodied, radiant stream of insight into the character of the Supreme, that waxes only brighter and wider the higher we rise, answers better to the thought of a sun of revelation hung high in heaven, and showering down on men its unabated splendour.

Passing from the striking impression made on us by the relative distribution of the two conceptions, let us proceed to test them as to quality. We commence with a comparison of their respective features in the zone of nature.

The life, change, and movement that play about everywhere in the material world have, in all times and in every land, made men feel that they were not alone in a tenantless universe. Earth was not a silent graveyard, but rather a haunted house, where invisible presences hovered about, filling light and darkness, day and night, with their unseen nearness. They watched the motions of the stars, the gliding of the stream, the ceaseless pulsing-beat of ocean waves. They listened to the murmur of the wind, the wail of the storm, the roll of the thunder, and the crash of the cataract. With wide eyes of wonder they gazed on the opening buds and warm breathings of spring-time, the falling showers and golden sunbeams of summer, the mighty winds of autumn, the great snows of winter. And a restless sense of some invisible being or beings, hiding beneath the change and sway of all things, wrapped itself about them, filled them with awe and haunting visions, till earth, sky, sea, and air became instinct with life,

and inhabited by gods. But it was very rarely that even for a moment they grasped the thought, which from first to last dominates the psalms, of one Only God, Almighty Creator and Upholder of heaven and earth, elevated far above material things, yet moving them all with the word of his power. In the place of this stately monotheism, we have for the most part either the atheism of primitive Buddhism, or the vagaries of Polytheism. In the Vedas there is indeed a wonderful approach; but they make now one, now another god supreme, so that the earnest worshipper is confronted with the question of the despairing hymn, "Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?" and the best answer given—"They call him the Light, the Sun, the Sky, the Fire; that which is one the wise call it many ways"—was too high to be grasped by their dazzled eyes and bewildered hearts. Speedily the nobler guess of a one God with many names was exchanged for the "gods many and lords many" of Brahmanism.

Another sharp distinction between the Hebrew and heathen conceptions of God is found reflected in the character of their poetry as poetry. In Greek and Latin hymns, as well as in the Vedas, there is ample description of natural scenery, elaborate painting of landscape, picturesque representation of the material, while the indwelling divinity is in the background. The machinery bulks large, and they only surmise the divine architect. The vesture is gorgeously displayed, while the great wearer is but hinted at. In Hebrew poetry, on the contrary, we never find anything of word-painting, of scenic effect, of lingering delineation of passive nature. The poet feels himself face to face with the Almighty, whose vesture nature is, who directs the mechanism of the universe with measureless force. Over against that sublime presence he has no eyes to trace minutely the colour and shape of the mere drapery. The wheels and cogs cannot catch his eye that in awe is fixed on the mighty Maker behind. Not the clothes but the wearer, not the material movements but the mysterious Mover, is to him the great all-engrossing spectacle. Only in so far as the might of his arm, the majesty of his gestures are revealed in the whirl of the wheels, in the sweep of the vesture, are these pictured in his speech. God fills his picture, not nature. God is distinct and vivid, the

garments shadowy. With all other religious poetry it is the reverse. What we feel to be real and true is not the Deity, but the material embodiment. The drapery fills the eye and mind, while the mystic presence within is no more than dimly suggested.

Moreover, while in the nature-psalms the distinction between wearer and drapery is absolute and unmistakable, it is not so in heathen devotional poetry. In these (for instance the Vedas) it is perpetually hard to say whether the writer has before his mind's eye the natural object, the sky, the lightning, the dawn, or a deity separate from and inhabiting them. At best he reaches gropingly through the material, and divines a spiritual presence beyond. But the divinity is grasped only in the earthly; and appears involved in, or at most evolved from the nature embodiment, so that the distinction is undefined, and constantly vanishes. How different is it in the psalms. Instead of clambering painfully up through the physical medium to catch fleeting glimpses of a vague presence above, here from the outset the Almighty Maker of all things stands out clear and distinct, absolutely separate from the elements of material creation, not embodied in them nor evolved from them, but dominating their forces, wielding their powers, sitting Lord and King over all the works of his hands.

Closely associated with this is another aspect of difference which must be felt rather than described. In the nature-psalms the God depicted is always spoken of as one well-known otherwise to the writer. There is no haziness in the figure. There is a rounded, life-like fulness of characterisation wider than that proper to the particular sphere of description. In the heathen poems of nature there is, comparatively speaking, rarely anything beyond what arises out of the activities immediately under consideration. Their knowledge of the god does not travel beyond the one field of manifestation. Only in nature are they acquainted with him. It is the solitary meeting-ground. Here they have been introduced, and the acquaintance does not extend beyond, is not wider nor more intimate than this distant familiarity. Read a Hebrew poet describing God in nature, and the manner of speaking of him instantly makes us feel that he has made acquaintance with this Deity elsewhere, has a prior knowledge

and intimacy got in other and closer spheres of manifestation. It is not an introduction, but a recognition,—a resumption of intercourse commenced in another zone of friendship, and here renewed. Therefore his picture of God is not one-sided, confined to nature's disclosures; but is warm, full-bodied, and substantial. It is not a superficial sketch, but a solid of three dimensions. He has not found his God in nature, but rather re-found a God with whose personal biography, worked out in two other planes, he is already familiar. The God of the nature-psalms is a God not waveringly perceived and vaguely discerned in material manifestations, but a God who has discovered his ways of action, and made known his character in the higher zones of personal historic action, and of inner spiritual revelation.

Thus, even in the lower realm of nature, the Hebrew conception of God is heaven-high above the heathen in respect of its stately, unfaltering monotheism, in its complete separation of the Creator from creation, and in the fulness and substantiality of its perception of nature's God; while the manner of setting forth these things is such as to suggest that they had not first discovered God in nature, but that outside of nature, by self-manifestation superinduced upon and additional to his universal providential activity—that is to say, by special revelation—the Almighty had made himself known among them. Add to the cumulative weight of this argument the fact already noticed, that the massive central elements of their habitual thought about God, unlike other nations, belong not to nature, but to the moral and spiritual sphere. Then, once again, how are we to account for this singular displacement but by the conclusion, that their impression of the Omnipotent derived from nature was replaced and remoulded by the overmastering power of a supernatural revelation? Moreover, when we go on to study the distinctive traits of the conception in the moral and spiritual zones, we shall discover the very strongest confirmation of this conviction.

Passing over the unsurpassed representations in the psalms of God's power, wisdom, goodness, omnipresence, eternity, think how unique is the impression burned in on the writers' hearts of his spotless holiness. This is in fact the characteristic attribute, the very being of the Hebrew Jehovah. Their souls were for ever overawed within them, not by his omnipotence,

not by his glory, but by the almost oppressive sense of Jehovah's stainless purity. The angels veil their faces before him. Even heaven is not clean in his sight. He is the Holy One of Israel. There is nothing like this to be found elsewhere. True, one or two religious teachers, such as Zoroaster, and some of the classical moralists, have conceived lofty ideals of morality, of virtue, and coupled them with the sanction of deities. But comparatively these are few; nor have they gained much popular favour. And even at their best they are wide as the poles apart from the peculiar Hebrew conception of the divine holiness. Where the highest sentiments of the Deity have prevailed, most often God has been the personification of World-force, of governmental Justice, of legal Rectitude, or of abstract Being; but nowhere, save in Israel, has he been thought of in this fashion as Holiness unapproachable. If it be true that through their national fortunes, religious institutions, and inspired prophets, as the history represents, the revealing voice of God was for ever ringing in their ears the command, "Be ye holy for I am holy," then this unique bent of Hebrew thought about God is accounted for. If there were no such special action of God, then how did there come into existence this quite unexampled idea of the Deity as the Holy One of Israel?

In intimate alliance with this distinctive notion of the divine nature as holy stands their conception of the divine activity as redemptive. For this Almighty, Holy God is thought of as engrossed, not in the rule of the universe, not in the enhancement of his own glory, not even in benevolent desire to make his people happy, but he has put his whole heart, his most eager wishes, his most strenuous energies into an all-absorbing effort to make men, like himself, holy. It is not easy to realise the unimaginable daring of that Old Testament thought of God. The goal of all his planning and working, the end for which he rules the universe, the purpose for which he toils, mourns, entreats, laments; the longing which has mastered his whole nature, and sweeps through his infinite heart in shoreless tides of craving, is nothing else but the strange—for God, so strange—passion to make an end of sin, to purify polluted men, and to restore them to holiness and fellowship with himself. Whoever would have dreamt of the Creator of the universe flinging his whole soul into such

an enterprise as that? Yet, when it is once said, who does not feel its divineness. And this—this with the stamp of heavenly birth on its brow—is the belief that everywhere breathes in wonder and gladness through the psalms. This was the daily thought of God in the heart of a pious Hebrew. For him the history of the world was the record of a divine sin-conquering campaign; the procession of human destinies a vast plan of universal redemption.

A line of reasoning, logically subsidiary but impressively corroborative of our arguments, arises from the expectant attitude of the Hebrew people towards the future consequent on this peculiar belief of theirs. It is of course in what are called the Messianic psalms that the phenomenon is most perceptible. But it is in reality everywhere present as the formative spirit, not only of the psalms, but of the whole Old Testament, whose unity indeed consists in this, that it is throughout a chronicle of God's slow but sure advance to the restoration of his kingdom on earth. For with all the tenacity of patriotism, as well as with the reverence of a religious belief, the Hebrews held fast and sure the conviction, that in them and through them the Almighty was working out a vast purpose, that should bless all the earth with righteousness and holiness. Thus, in their eyes, all their past history was but the shell or embodiment beneath which divine activities were advancing to their goal, while the future was foreseen in radient certitude by the light flung forward from the manifest drift and tendency of God's action in the past. By his people Israel he was to found a universal kingdom of peace and righteousness, and that kingdom was to be inaugurated and presided over by a king dowered with supernal power and grace. Round the Davidic dynasty clustered these splendid hopes, and as often as a new monarch was crowned, who gave some hope that he might be the promised king of glory, coronation hymns, such as the Seventy-second Psalm, were written and sung, picturing the anticipated realisation in him of the Messianic hopes. Then, when the king of whom they were primarily written belied their hopes, because these hymns described not the particular monarch, but the hoped for Prince of Peace, they continued to be sung with now a more direct Messianic import as prophetic of him who was still to come. Thus, no matter what their first individual reference,

these psalms, by their subsequent congregational use, received an immediate, not a merely typical, interpretation of the Messiah, and as a matter of fact were for centuries sung as direct prophecies of him, so that in our Lord's days they were thought of in no other way. With perfect truth, therefore, in the New Testament they are cited as predictions of the Christ.

Mark now the significance of this broad undeniable fact, that centuries before the birth of Christianity there existed in Israel a profound, universal, unquestioning conviction, called Messianic, that from them should spring one who would conquer to faith in the one God of Israel all nations of the earth. Moreover, while the possibility of the fulfilment was ever more strongly contradicted by the progressive decay of their national fortunes, this their confidence waxed only stronger and stronger. Then remember that this extraordinary, seemingly groundless expectation has been accomplished. And to the wonder of that add the marvel that it has been fulfilled in a way quite different from their anticipations; indeed, in such a way as to be rejected by the Jewish nation. For in this fact lies the most striking proof of the supernaturalness of both expectation and fulfilment. Had the realisation been in the line of their hopes and ideas, it might have been asserted that a strong popular belief and resolve secured its own accomplishment. But the national expectation rejected with scorn the fulfilment proposed by Jesus; and thus, independent of national backing, not by the help, but in spite of the resistance, of Jewry, out of Israel has come a king who has blessed all nations, and brought them to the knowledge of the true God. Small details of prediction and coincidence may be called in question; but in this great, broad, unique phenomenon, who shall dare to deny the presence of the over-ruling power of the living God?[1].

[1] This line of argument indicates the answer to an attack made, in his recent work on prophecy, by Dr Kuenen on the position adopted by the present writer in an article contributed to the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for April 1873. The intention of that article was to shew that the import and significance of Old Testament prophecy did not lie in the superficial coincidence of external features in the long procession of prediction and accomplishment, but in the proof afforded by persistent continuity of essential purpose under constant modification of form, that beneath the changeful progression of historical shell there was present the unity of a

The last position of apologetic strength, which we shall specify in the Hebrew conception of the Divine Being, is the belief of the psalms concerning the relations of intimacy into which God is willing to enter with individual men, and the consequent spiritual attitude attained by the psalmists towards the Supreme.

It has been often said that the peculiarity of the Jewish religion is its monotheism. But the estimate is superficial. That there is one only God to be worshipped and served, is not inculcated as a new truth, but only enforced as a practical duty on an idolatrously-inclined people. The special fresh disclosure of Hebrew religion is rather ethical theism—*i.e.* the assertion of a personal, proximate, warm-hearted God, not remote from men, passive and inactive, but moved with emotion, concerned in earthly interests, existing in vital relationship with his creatures. In its Old Testament form that notion is unexampled. For, be it observed, the thought is conjoined with unsurpassed appreciation of the divine elevation. In polytheistic religions and in nature theologies, where the divine grandeur and immateriality were not at all realised, it needed no great effort to conceive their divinities as involved in mundane affairs, often of a very discreditable description. But, as more adequate ideas of the divine solitariness emerged, gradually the chasm between the infinite and the finite widened. The Deity was removed further and further away, till human souls dared not venture to imagine that men's tears and cries and prayers could cross the vast wastes of estrangement fixed between, and thrill the heart of the Omnipotent in his unruffled calm. So the Greek poets sang, how the gods above recline on golden couches and feast in song and laughter; while below, men's shrieks and sobs of anguish lose themselves in the empty air, nor ever reach the shining palaces of the immortals. And in the crucible of the philosophers, the living

living power and purpose which could only be divine. Dr Kuenen does not seem to have caught the idea, for after frankly owning that the facts are accurately described, he urges that the necessary inference is, that because the fact diverges in outer form from the prediction, there is no such thing as fulfilment of prophecy (cf. *De Profeten*, &c., i. 156 ff.). He might as well deny prophetic significance in the continuity of life running through the contrasted forms of worm, chrysalis and butterfly; or refuse to own a real action of the law of heredity in the paternal likeness of a child's face, unless the resemblance be such as to include the reproduction of every sporadic pimple.

attributes of the Eternal Father more and more evaporated, till he became a vague creative power, or at the highest an undefined, chill first cause, to whom you might as well offer love, praise, or prayer, as to the mute winter sky. Now, the strange thing is, that while no men have more grandly conceived, more awfully trembled beneath the sense of the divine unapproachableness, yet these Hebrew poets have been able on another line to vanquish the estrangement, to bridge over the chasm, and to recover the proximity of the Almighty. With awe and terror they shrank before the splendour, the immensity of him, whose throne is beyond blazing suns, whom heaven and earth cannot contain, who is God over all dwelling in impenetrable light. Yet they have dared, through circle on circle of glory gathered round, to force their way, to clasp his feet, to look in his face, and lay their head upon his breast. And there, centred in the dazzling light, warm within the vesture of shining glory, they found hands of infinite tenderness, eyes that ran over with tears of pity, a heart that beat strong with love unutterable. Though he dwells on high, throned in heaven, yet he comes down to visit the lowly, to lift up the fallen, to pardon the contrite, to comfort the desolate. Over all his works his tender mercies are. As a mother's brooding love enwraps her sleeping child, the green world rests and nestles in the environing tenderness and great thoughts of loving-kindness, that from the eyes divine look down, and from the infinite Father's heart bend protectingly low over all the works of his hands.

Moreover, with these men this was no sentimental creed, no mystic dream. They had a God like that. They possessed him so. They used him so. He was their father, shepherd, friend, and king; their rock, shield, sun, joy; their portion for ever. God was these things to them by practical daily use. From their doubts and terrors they sheltered in the felt presence of their protector. He was beside them; behind and before he beset them; under his wings they nestled; his arms encircled them. Heart to heart he and they talked, touched, loved, communed, took counsel together. It was a unity, a comradeship, a sacred friendship, such as might be between man and man, only far better. It was the one great, precious, unreplaceable thing in their life, their best possession, more than all earthly goods. If for a moment the pious psalmist

grudged the wicked man his prosperity, suddenly he remembered that God was his portion, and in shame and upbraiding he cried, "So foolish was I and ignorant." The most terrible element in the penalties of sin was the loss of this secret consciousness of confidential interplay of love between the soul and God. For it was a sensitive thing this tie, and any wicked way indulged completely destroyed it. Remember the experience laid bare in the Fifty-first Psalm. The man had yielded to temptation, clung to his sin, refused to own it. Henceforth the sense of fellowship with God vanished. He dared not invoke, he dared not approach that pure presence. It was pain, but in his hardness he refused to confess it. At length his obstinacy is crushed. Sternest blows descend on his heart's tenderest affections; exposure comes upon him, shame and public reproach. The man is broken down. See him there on his knees in the dust, with bent head and broken heart, sobbing out his agony. What is it that is uppermost in his heart? What is it that he cries for so passionately? Not one word is there of the shame that has come upon him; not one cry of grief for the pain of the chastisement. All these lesser things are unfelt, are indeed quite washed over beneath the recurrent flood-tide of an all-absorbing craving for reconciliation with his best, his greatest friend, whose fellowship withdrawn all this time it is that has made his heart so hot, so parched and thirsty. Go listen by his side, and what do you hear? Nothing but an eager humbled appeal for pardon to that Divine Purity from which his sin has estranged him; an abandoned outpouring of self-abasement on his knees, and passionate entreaty for re-union with the Unseen Holiness he has so deeply grieved; one long piteous heart-broken cry for inner renovation, that so he may once again become worthy of the joy of restoration to heart-fellowship with his heavenly Friend.

Let any man adequately realise the significance of this absolutely unique presence and certain consciousness of God in the inner spirit-life of men. Let him see how elsewhere men's nearest approaches to God are but conjectures, hopes, surmises, in the words of Paul, "feelings after God if haply he might be found." Then, if the question be asked, as asked it must be, how this knowledge of the true God, and this realisation of a life with God, confessedly unapproached in purity,

certitude, and truth, by any other religion, or any subsequent philosophy, came into existence in Israel, and in Israel alone, what other rational explanation can be given than that of the old Hebrew poet, "God shewed his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel; he hath not dealt so with any nation; his judgments, therefore, they have not known"?

The history of these Hebrew psalms crowns with confirmation the claim of unique revelation which we have deduced from their contents. While the hymns of the nobler heathen literatures exist only as petrifactions or dead relics, the psalms are still fountains of cool waters girt round with green pastures. And it is so, because in them by pre-eminence we have, not so much the thoughts of poets, as the very heart-life of men, who lived and moved and had their being in God. This psalm we so calmly read is still the quivering embodiment of the warm joys and hopes, or the trembling utterance of the heart-broken anguish of a sensitive human soul, poured out in the presence of the living God, who was there listening, sympathising, vibrating in response. That psalm we pass over so thoughtlessly was once brimming over with great tears of agony that God's fingers have dried away now. And this rang itself in music out of a brave poet-heart, thrilling beneath the touch of hands divine, that swept the sweet strings of melody, while great majestic thoughts with solemn faces hovered round. So, because there is not sentiment but life, very life throbbing in anguish, or bounding with gladness in the pulsing rhythm of those ancient psalms, through all centuries, and in every clime, men, whose souls had great deeps within them, have bent their ear in hushed listening, and filled their hearts with their grand ocean music. They come to us, these psalms, out of hoar antiquity, venerable with age, blistered with tears, sacred with the touch and use of countless souls that pored over them in their hours of sacred thought, murmured them in their prayers, and hung on their cadence in the last article of death. Like the healing fingers of the Christ, down through the throng of suffering humanity, the psalms have moved, purifying the fallen, strengthening the feeble, breathing the peace of forgiveness, and hushing the sobs of sorrow into the stillness of trustful resignation. Well-nigh as unique in power and supreme in blessing as was our Lord's life on earth

has been the action and influence of this Jewish poetry. Nor can it be pretended that there is in the world any other religious literature that has done a work to compare with this, or that possesses an atmosphere and life instinct with healing, purity, and divineness in any way comparable to that of the Old Testament Psalms. Is it, then, too much to conjecture that they sprang from a heavenlier sowing, and grew beneath a warmer sky, illumined by a brighter and more glorious sun?

W. GRAY ELMSLIE.

ART. VII.—*The Early Celtic Church; its Doctrines and Constitution examined and compared with those of the Contemporary Catholic Church.*

Celtic Scotland. By WILLIAM F. SKENE. Vol. II. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1877.
Iro-Schottische Missionskirche. Von Dr J. H. A. EBRARD. 1871.
History of Scotland. Vol. I. By J. HILL BURTON.
The Early Scottish Church. By Rev. THOMAS M'LAUCHLAN, Edinburgh. 1865.

IN some departments of natural history, animal or vegetable, men of science have sometimes been found devoting to obscure and apparently abnormal types of life an amount of attention which, to the uninitiated, has appeared quite unaccountable. But such rare species, however uninteresting to the ordinary observer, may furnish in their peculiarities a clue to unexpected discoveries, and a fuller knowledge of their general classes. In a similar way the early Celtic Church, with its anomalies and divergences from the doctrine and organisation of the Catholic Church, has occupied no small share of attention among church historians. To the student who traces the development of ecclesiastical life and doctrine in the first eight centuries, the study of the origin and extent of the peculiarities of the Celtic Church is one not to be despised, even though he be compelled in course of it to unearth musty tomes which slumber half-forgotten amid the dust of old libraries.

The chief aim of this article is to furnish a reply, as brief

and satisfactory as possible, to these questions:—What and how extensive were the peculiarities of the early Celtic Church, and to what causes are they to be ascribed? Are we to regard that church as a conservatory of early and pure forms of life, doctrine, and worship, far into and almost through the mediæval period? Was it wholly or partially outside the current of development in the Western Church? how far was it affected by internal and native principles of development? and, above all, to what particular period of church-life do the main features of the early Celtic Church point?

It is not possible within the compass of our space to give the full results of an independent study of the original sources of the subject, as well as of the works of most of the leading historians who have written of it; but our design is at least to indicate a line of research which has generally been omitted by such writers. Of recent years the subject has been treated very thoroughly from an archæological and historical point of view by writers such as Reeves, Robertson, M'Lauchlan, Hill Burton, and Skene. Its theological aspects, such as would be elucidated by a critical examination and comparison of the doctrine and worship of the Celtic Church with those of various periods of the Catholic Church, have been generally passed over more lightly. Ebrard has indeed devoted much research to this branch of the subject; but besides the fact of his having given little, if any, attention to Adamnan's life of Columba, his results, gratifying as they might be to our presbyterian and patriotic partialities, must be regarded as depicting the state of the Celtic Church in too bright and rose-coloured tints.

The subject is one of peculiar and surpassing difficulty. For while, as in the ordinary investigations of church history, satisfactory information can only be attained from a thorough examination of original sources, here especially the writings bearing on the subject have to be cautiously dealt with, and critically examined. In a church, which bore very different features at different periods, writers of one age, even when unbiassed by prejudice, when treating of a former age, were not always careful to allow for the process of change that had taken place in the interval, and were apt to suppose the similiarity between their own church and that of a former period greater than it was. The MSS. of Celtic writers

themselves, having come down to us through the libraries of the Catholic Church, an inquiry into their genuineness and freedom from the tampering of scribes is necessary. The old Catholic biographers of Celtic churchmen (as Jocelyn and Ailred) took for granted, not only that such men as Kentigern and Ninian were good Roman Catholics, but that the whole complex articulation of the fourteenth century catholicism existed in their days. Adamnan's life of Columba, again, is all but worthless as a history, and is chiefly valuable in throwing light on the aspect of affairs in the author's own age.

Only a specimen or two of the necessary process of verifying sources can here be given. (1.) The two writings ascribed to St Patrick bear much internal evidence of being genuine antiques. The "Confession," as contained in the book of Armagh, is alleged to have been transcribed (A.D. 800) from Patrick's original autograph, which was then partially illegible. This tallies well with many obscurities and several positive blanks which occur in the copy, even as its humble Latinity does with its author's confession of "rusticity" and defective education. The use of Greek terms, such as Neophyti, Chrismati, Eleemosynus, indicates an early origin. There is no appeal to the authority of the Roman pontiff, nor does Patrick claim the power to work miracles, although a later biographer would have found ample scope for the exercise of such a power on his part in retaliation for the atrocities committed by the soldiers of Coroticus on his spiritual children. He is by no means depicted (after the manner of the saint-legends) as a model of unearthly virtue; but he bewails his early sins and depravity. His life is far from being a continuous triumph over all opposition, human, Satanic, and physical, such as the saint-myths usually narrated; but is a very truth-like record of devoted work, depression and despair, famine, cold, and privation, alternating with spiritual deliverance. His humility is overstrained, and he sorrowfully accounts himself unworthy of the crown of martyrdom, yet he boasts and confides solely in divine grace. His quotations from Scripture are from an ante-vulgate version, and are very apt and full. His heart yearns towards his native land with that "dwining and deeing" feeling which his countryman, John Welch, expressed in an after age in

France. He mourns his long exile, "in exteris gentibus et in ultimis finibus terræ." His love for his spiritual children, combined with fiery sternness towards their savage oppressors, evinces much of the "perfervidum ingenium Scotorum"; and in his simple superstition and longing for the crown of martyrdom we seem to see a genuine missionary of the fifth century, and no fiction of a later date.

(2.) Adamnan's life of Columba is of quite a different complexion. In reading its credulous miracle records we can entertain but a very low estimate of the character of the institution that was presided over by one who, to uphold the honour of Hy, was driven to the task of putting together ("from the tradition of the elders and faithful men mutually agreeing") the enormous mass of monk-fable with which busy tradition in the course of a hundred years had invested Columba's life. There seems however no cause to doubt its genuineness. The names ascribed to Columba's contemporaries are the same with those given in the Irish annals; and in the midst of fable there is much that bears the stamp of truth. Especially is this the case in regard to Columba's last days, which are described in a graphic truth-like way. It is as when one is viewing a misty shore from seaward the nearest objects appear most distinct. The number and antiquity of the MSS. of this work, some of which belong to Continental libraries, seem to preclude the theory of a later imposture.

(3.) The "Acta et Opuscula Columbani," though handed down amid the catholic "Acta Sanctorum," are no doubt genuine. For the Catholic Church did not deal with Columbanus as she did with reformers in after ages, but simply as a refractory son of the church who sturdily maintained Celtic forms as to minor points. It was afterwards the policy of Rome to canonise him as a genuine, though in some subordinate matters mistaken, son of the Catholic Church.

To afford some idea of the variety of opinions that have been entertained in regard to the position and character of the Celtic Church a rapid survey may be now taken of the views of leading writers on the subject, dwelling more fully or more cursorily on each as shall best suit our purpose. Adopting the method of fishing up stream and beginning with the latest writers, the first we arrive at is Mr Skene, in his valuable work on *Celtic Scotland*, the second volume of which,

published this year, relates to the present subject. "He has treated of the history of the (Celtic) Church, as his preface tells us, mainly in its external aspect, and has been unable to touch to any great extent upon its doctrinal history, or to attempt to exhibit its theological characteristics." Although the latter aspects of the subject constitute the main theme of this article, yet the external features of the church are so intimately connected with these that it is of importance to know what are Mr Skene's opinions. These we may attempt very briefly to summarise, reserving discussion till afterwards. He holds that the British Church was established as early as the second century, and he distinguishes three periods in its history. In the first, which preceded the withdrawal of the Roman troops from Britain, the church of that country "was a part of the church of the empire," and acknowledged Rome *as its head.* In the second period, all communication was cut off between Britain and the churches of Gaul and Italy; and during the third, commencing at the end of the sixth century, communication was resumed between them. About the end of the first period monachism was introduced through two channels, viz., through Ninian, who appears to have had a clear connection with Martin of Tours, and through the affinity between Wales and Bretagne and the rest of Gaul. In the first period, we find churches and a secular clergy; in the second, the churches are superseded by monasteries, and we find a regular or monastic clergy. The entire church was monastic, and consisted of bishops and presbyters; but the jurisdiction was not in the bishop, but in the monastery, and was exercised through the abbot, its head. The abbot himself was not necessarily a bishop, but was generally a presbyter. The bishops were non-diocesan, and the episcopate in the Irish Monastic Church was a personal, not an official dignity. In the third period, an eremitical clergy called Deicolæ, or in a special sense God-worshippers, the Keledei or Culdees of Scottish writers, who were originally anchorites dwelling in solitary places, supplanted in Scotland the Columban monks. This latter view is somewhat akin to that of the German Braun.

The leading peculiarities of the ancient Celtic Church, according to Hill-Burton, were—1. Isolation from the Roman

system after that system had grown into consistency and symmetry over the rest of Europe. 2. Its monastic form, its monasticism being strongly mixed up with active secular life. There seems to have been no law or even understood custom of celibacy for its monks, and women held ecclesiastical influence among them. 3. Their bishops were dioceseless. 4. Easter was peculiarly celebrated. 5. There were no traces of Mariolatry among them.

Dean Stanley says, that while in the Celtic Church there were persons of the name of bishops, it is certain that they had no dioceses, no jurisdiction, no episcopal succession. Their orders were repudiated by the prelates of England and France. The primate and ecclesiastical ruler of the Church of Scotland for three hundred years was not a bishop, but a presbyter—first the Abbot of Iona, then of Dunkeld. The succession was a succession, not of episcopal bands, but of a dead presbyter's relics. Early bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, and the like, figure in legends, but they had no existence in fact. The early ecclesiastical system of Scotland was as unlike the modern Presbyterianism as the modern Episcopacy. Still he supposes that the preference of the modern Scottish for Presbyterianism, and the strength of that system in modern Scotland may be partly due to the fact that the earliest evangelisers of Scotland had not been bishops.

We next come to Ebrard, whose views contained in his *Iro-Schottische Missions-kirche*, may be thus summarised. The early Scottish Church was a fully and uniquely organised church, which in Britain and Ireland continued in Rome-free independence till the twelfth or thirteenth century, and cast its influence forward to the Reformation period. It repudiated always and obstinately the authority of Rome, making appeal to the single authority of Scripture. Its preachers earnestly maintained the doctrine of the innate inability of man for good, the atoning death of Christ, justification without all merit of works, and the new birth and life in Him who died for us. With them the sacraments were simply signs and seals of grace in Christ. They administered baptism to neophytes only after a course of careful instruction and sure signs of conversion. Of a corporeal eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ they knew nothing. They had no masses for souls. Purgatory, adoration of saints, pictures of

saints, and Mariolatry were unknown to them. To this church the most part of Great Britain, Burgundy, Rhineland, and no small portion of Southern Germany and Switzerland, owed the first preaching of the gospel.

At the opposite pole stands Braun, another German, who, with Döllinger, Lanigan, and other Roman Catholic writers, holds that "there was no society of the Culdees till the eighth century, and that during the next two centuries in which there is evidence of their existence they were not outside the communion of the Catholic Church, but were under bishops." The Culdees, according to their view, were "pure unmixed canonics of the order of secular presbyters," inheriting their place in the church by hereditary carnal succession.

The view generally adopted by Presbyterian writers on the "pure Culdees" is similar to that of Ebrard. The following from an otherwise good popular history of Scotland is a specimen:—"The religion of the Culdees was the pure religion of the Bible, free from the corrupt doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome. They owned no rule but the word of God. They had no worship of saints or angels, no prayers for the dead, no confession to the priests, no sacrifice of the mass. They hoped for salvation from the mercy of God alone through faith in Jesus Christ. They had no bishops or prelates, and their only church office-bearers were ministers and elders."

The best Presbyterian writers on the subject, as Drs M'Lauchlan, Jamieson, Hetherington, and Fairbairn (in unpublished lectures), lay much stress on the Presbyterian element of Culdeeism, along with the minor importance attached to the position and functions of the bishops. Presbyterian writers of an earlier period during the conflict with prelacy adduced the "testimony" of the Culdees against episcopacy, alleging that their doctrine was pure and their government without bishops for four hundred years, that is to the time of Palladius. Some of them even discovered that the Culdees were sound on the subject of "national covenanting," a good specimen of finding in history what is brought thereto. The fact is, that Celtic Christianity before Palladius is entirely pre-historic, and no Culdees in the proper sense of the word existed before A.D. 400. The supporters of episcopacy, on the other hand, claimed to be the proper representatives of the Celtic Church, because there were

functionaries in it called bishops; but whether the existence of such non-diocesan clergy in a church identified it with modern Episcopacy is a different matter.

Buchanan, who seems to have had but little information on the subject, holds that the Roman Catholics subverted in Culdeeism a purer form of religion than their own. John Mair and John of Fordoun held that the Culdees had presbyters only, not bishops. Proceeding still further up the stream of history to the testimony of Bede, the contemporary of Adamnan, we find him saying that, "by reason of being so far away from the rest of the world, they had none to bring them the synodal decrees," "wherefore they only practised such works of piety and chastity as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings." This testimony from a Catholic writer like Bede might at first sight appear to justify even such views as those of Ebrard and popular Presbyterian authors. No doubt what Bede speaks of as a defect in the Celtic Church tells so far in its favour; but when we seek, in the existing remains of Celtic writers, confirmation of Bede's statement as to the scriptural character of their doctrine and discipline, we find that the testimony of this mediæval monk on such a point is to be taken with a large grain of salt. There can indeed be no doubt, as we shall see, that an evangelical Protestant, had he been placed in Bede's position, would have largely qualified such a statement. Still, when we read the account given by Bede of the superior zeal, diligence, and piety of the Celtic Church pastors to those of his own church who supplanted them in Northumbria, we must admit that the Celtic Christianity of the seventh century compares favourably with that of any branch of the contemporary church. We find Pope Gregory, in his charges to Augustine the monk, giving him authority over the British bishops, but not over the Gallican, because the Bishop of Arles had received the pall from his (Gregory's) predecessor. "We are not," said he, "to deprive him of the authority he has received; but as for the British bishops, I commit them to your care, that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened, and the perverse corrected by church authority." This clearly indicated that in Gregory's mind the position of the British bishops, as well as the state of their church, was an anomalous one, The Celtic churchmen themselves, as we

shall see, with the exception of a section who yielded to the claims of the Pope, always maintained their independence of Rome, and referred in controversy either to Scripture or to the authority of the Apostle John.

Such is a brief sketch of the diversity of opinion that has existed in regard to the Celtic Church. It is strange that writers, Romanist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian, have each sought to identify that church with their own; and perhaps stranger still, that any of them should imagine that the establishment of such identity would further their claim to be the true modern Church of Scotland.

In commencing the proper subject of our investigation, it is essential that we clearly distinguish four different periods in the history of the Celtic Church. I. The first or *Roman period* lasted from near the commencement to the close of the Roman occupation of Britain. The beginning of this period is lost in obscurity, but that Britain was evangelised very early is certain. Such considerations as the following render even an apostolic propagation of Christianity in South Britain far from improbable :—(*a*) The fact of the subjugation by Rome of nearly the whole of South Britain before the death of Paul, and twenty or thirty years before that of John. (*b*) That the proper work of the apostles was to lay the *foundation* of Christianity in the world; and they, as exemplified by Paul, always sought out new territory so as not to build on each other's foundation. (*c*) The command given to the apostles, "Go ye into all the world," which the apostles and early Christians, in the strength of Pentecostal grace, must at least have aimed at literally fulfilling. (*d*) A basis for the evangelisation of the world was laid at Pentecost, when men from every nation under heaven, Jews and proselytes, witnessed and experienced the effects of the first gospel-preaching after the ascension. (*e*) We find, as matter of fact, that the gospel was diffused with amazing rapidity throughout the world. (*f*) It is said in the Welsh Triads that Bran, the supreme bard of South Wales, who was taken to Rome as hostage in room of King Caradoc or Caractacus, brought back Christianity and disseminated it among his countrymen. Certainly the *prima facie* evidence is in favour of this statement; for not only was writing in use among the Britons from before the Roman period, and there was a

distinct guild (the bards) who handed down the history of their countrymen from age to age; but we know from Tacitus that the hostages, among whom Bran is alleged to have been chief, was carried to Rome in A.D. 51, and as there were then many Christians in Rome, and as Paul himself was taken to Rome five years afterwards, the Welsh account is historically probable. It may be, however, that an investigation of the claims to historical trustworthiness of these Welsh MSS. might lead us to adopt the position of Mr Skene in rejecting their testimony.

We can at least hold that the foundation of the church in Britain was laid in the days of the apostles, since Christians certainly reached Britain in their time; and wherever living Christianity is, there is the foundation of a church. But that this British apostolic Christianity was from that age in a position of independence, and continued in pristine purity down into the Culdee period is a position utterly groundless. It is probable that a considerable footing was made by Christainity in Scotland at an early period of the Roman occupation; although the Roman ascendency, even in the southern half of Scotland, was always of a precarious character. The true permanent limit of the Roman conquest of Britain was the wall of Hadrian on the south side of the Cheviots. Yet, so far as southern Scotland became Romanised, it was at length solidly Christianised; and even the northern Caledonians in "those parts inaccessible to the Roman arms" were, if we can believe Tertullian, evangelised in his own time. It appears from Patrick's epistle to Coroticus that these untamed Caledonians had been led to embrace a nominal Christianity; but that they were in the true and best sense Christianised to any appreciable degree is disproved by the orgies of havoc and bloodshed which they enacted among their Romanised countrymen on the withdrawal of the Roman power from Britain. From the piteous appeals made to Rome for help by the Britons, entitled "Groans from Britain," as well as from the authentic writings of Patrick and Gildas, we find that on the abandonment of Britain by the Romans the northern Caledonians and the Scoto-Irish pirates devastated Scotland and part of England. The former country became such a moral waste that a century and a-half afterwards—that is, in the time of Columba—the whole work of

evangelising Scotland had to be done anew. South Britain also, in a short period, fell thoroughly into the hands of the heathen Angles and Saxons, so that only in Wales and Ireland was there a Christian church exhibiting any measure of life and activity. This was the close of the first period in the history of the Celtic Church. Up to A.D. 422, that church was simply one of the branches of the Western Church, and there is no reason to believe that it had any special peculiarities. It regarded the churches of Gaul and Italy as its natural parents, and reverenced them accordingly. Constant communication was kept up between them; and we find that British bishops attended Gallic synods. Mr Skene's statement (p. 2) that the British Church acknowledged Rome *as its head* in that early period is too strong, just as that of Schaff, that "not till the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons under Gregory the Great did a regular connection begin between England and Rome," is perhaps too strong on the other hand. The quotations from Prosper in regard to the mission of Palladius, on which Mr Skene has founded his statement, do not prove that the Roman bishop actually made good his jurisdiction over the British Church, though there is as little warrant for supposing that any conflict occurred in that early period between the emissaries of Rome and Gaul and the British Church on the ground of the latter's repudiation of the authority of Rome. At all events, such jurisdiction, had it been actually made good, would, as Mr Skene allows, have been very different from the papal one of later ages.

In regard to doctrine and constitution, even more than its internal history, the British Church before the time of Patrick is pre-historic, and till the period of Bede and Adamnan the only reliable source of information on those points are the confession and epistle of Patrick. The earliest aspect of Christianity in Britain was no doubt the strong, simple faith of the apostolic age; but various elements came in by degrees, according to the process of development in the Western Church, which, brought by successive missionaries from Gaul, gradually altered the aspect of affairs till, at the close of this period, British Christianity was such as is depicted in such life-like colours in Patrick's writings.

II. The next period, commencing with the abandonment of

Britain by the Romans, was one in which the British Church was isolated from the rest of the Western Church. The communication between Italy and Gaul and Britain did not wholly cease at that date. But the devastating wars and consequent confusion that ensued on the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain, and which at length confined the remnant of British Christianity to Wales and Ireland, caused such isolation on the part of Britain for two centures that it was not appreciably influenced by the changes progressing in the Western Churches in that period. Patrick's mission to Ireland took place at the commencement of the period, the evangelisation of Ireland followed, and at length in 563 Columba and his twelve associates went forth on their mission to Scotland. It was not however till after A.D. 610 that the Celtic Church came fairly out of its obscurity, and was confronted with the adherents of Rome. Then it became evident that considerable mutual divergence had taken place in the interval. They did not recognise each other as fellow-churchmen. The gulf of separation had become too wide for the Celtic churchmen easily to overstep it and walk in the ranks of Romanism. For in that period of separation a process of development had been advancing in the Western Church. New tendencies were springing up, councils were meeting, decrees were being passed, and church doctrines were beginning to harden into their mediæval shape.

As we shall find, however, in treating of the third period of the Celtic Church, the divergence was not so much in spirit and essential tenets as in external form and its independence on the Romish Church. The controversies that took place between them told in favour of neither party, being mainly concerned with ridiculous questions, such as how a monk's head should be shaven, and on what day Easter should be celebrated.

The literature of the Celtic Church, so far as concerns the doctrine and constitution of this period, is represented solely by Patrick's confession and epistle to Coroticus. Its general features in that age correspond to the Western Christianity of A.D. 300–400. Patrick's modest unwillingness to be promoted to the episcopal grade, which may be compared with the *nolo episcopari* of Cyprian, Martin of Tours, Ambrose, and Augustine, proves that the relation of presbyter to episcopus was the

same in the Scottish as in the contemporary Catholic Church. Ebrard indeed regards the passage in which it is mentioned as spurious; but it appears to harmonise too well with the rest of the confession. With Patrick the clergy are "sacerdotes;" and though the whole sacerdotal theory is not necessarily implied in this term, yet the general use of such words would have a direct tendency to foster the theory. Hence, two centuries after (in Adamnan's time), the sacrament had become an *oblatio* and the preparation of the elements a *corpois Christi conficiendum.* Patrick says the "sons of the Scots and the daughters of kings became *monks* and virgins to Christ." It would be interesting to compare Patrick's conversion, and that of his contemporary Augustine. In his exile and slavery in Ireland, he tells us, God opened to him a sense of his unbelief, and brought his sins to remembrance, and turned him to the Lord with his whole heart. He says, "God comforted and consoled me as a father his son. Though I believed in one God from my infancy, yet in death and unbelief I remained till I was chastened and humbled in truth by famine and nakedness." He gives a somewhat mystical account of obtaining a sense of forgiveness, being assured by Christ in a dream that the disgrace attached to his name had been removed. The Holy Spirit "was poured into his heart by Christ as a free gift and earnest of immortality." On the whole, Patrick may be ranked for piety and purity of doctrine, though not in ability and learning, with the best of his contemporaries in the Western Church.

III. The next, or *Columban* period, as it may be called, requires fuller investigation, since not only have we here ampler materials on which to work, but this may be regarded as the golden age of the Celtic Church, or at least that in which its peculiar features are most marked. It commences with the mission of Columba to Scotland, A.D. 563; and our chief sources of information with regard to it are the writings of Adamnan, Bede, Columbanus, and Aireran. Let us then take up the leading features of the Celtic Church of this period, and compare them with those of the contemporary churches.

1. The Celtic Church now exhibits itself in the form of a *monastic system.* Its preachers are monks subordinate to the abbot of their central monastery. Take a glance at the family

life of Iona in the seventh century, for which I am mainly indebted to Adamnan and the extensive researches of Reeves. There was a circular space enclosed by a vallum and ditch, and consecrated by the name and relics of Columba. Within this enclosure was a court surrounded by the bee-hive huts of the fraternity. These were of wicker-work, and each brother had a hut for himself in which to read, pray, and fast. The abbot's house was the common house of the community, and from its use in entertaining strangers was called the *Hospitium*, and was built of beams of timber. There was also a refectory, with kitchen adjoining, where the simple meals of barley-bread, milk, fish, and eggs, were taken. The Paschal festivities, and the arrival of strangers by the leather-skinned *curraghs*, were welcome events to the less etherial members of the fraternity, mutton and beef being then allowed. Then there was the church, a wooden structure with belfry of stone, the bell being one of the most diligent members of the community, ringing at stated hours for worship or work. On entering the church, we find at the end furthest from the door an altar, with a plate and cup upon it. Its name savours of the pontifical theory, although in itself it seems little more than a communion-table after the Protestant fashion.

Let us see the monks at their daily occupation. The church year, and the labours of each day are allotted to them according to *regulæ*, as rigid and minute as any to which the monks of later orders in the Catholic Church bound themselves to conform. When not engaged on a preaching tour on the mainland, the work of the brethren was reading, writing, labour, and prayer. They went forth by turns to agricultural work, and that of other crafts, ploughing, sowing, thrashing the grain, and cooking it for themselves. Thus a healthy contact with nature was kept up, which fitted them for being what their superior designated them, and trained them to be, *milites Christi*, in a rude and turbulent age. Their clothing was coarse woollen cloth, with a tunic or white under-garment. On their head they wore a hooded cap, underneath which was concealed the peculiar tonsure, which was the distinguishing badge of Culdeeism. One leading occupation of the brotherhood was the copying of MSS. of the Scriptures, theirs being distinguished at this day by the peculiarly heavy hand in which

they are written. Their classical scholarship was defective, and probably in some cases this copying was mere mechanical work. At evening and midnight they were called to the church to chant and pray; at one time of the year they sang through the whole psalter at the midnight mass in three nights, a feat which is only equalled and excelled by that of Kentigern, who sang through the whole psalter, according to his Romish biographer, every morning while sitting in the stream that flowed past his cell. Saint-myths were the common themes with which the monks, when unoccupied with devotions, beguiled the tedium of the winter's evenings, and held a place among them similar to that of the sagas and romances among the Scandanavians and Provençals of the period. The honour and fame of a monastery was deemed inseparable from that of its founder or patron; and the grand proof of his saintly eminence was his alleged power of miracle-working. Hence such writers as Adamnan and Bede vie with one another in relating the most wonderful miracles wrought by the saints of their respective churches. That such alleged miracles were not always ascribable to credulous simplicity, but sometimes to imposture on the part of these monks, has received interesting proof in recent years. The body of St Cuthbert, who died in 687, was carried to and fro by the monks of Lindisfarne after their expulsion by the Danes, and appears to have passed through more adventures than the saint himself in his life. Not only were miracles said to have been wrought by his body, but the body itself was said to have remained fresh and without decay. At length, after many wanderings, it was interred in the present Durham cathedral. In 1827 the tomb was opened in presence of four clergymen of the English Church.[1] They found in an inner coffin the skeleton of the saint, from which the flesh appeared to have been removed, and wrapped round with linen or silk. A fillet of gold had been placed upon the forehead, and "what put the practice of imposture beyond all doubt, the sockets of the eyes were filled with a whitish composition so as to give the exterior cloth the appearance of prominence, as if the eyes existed underneath."

To these monks of Iona the sights and sounds of rude

[1] For an account of the opening of the tomb, see *Chambers's Journal*, Part lxxxiv., No. 385.

nature around their desolate home were as rife with the supernatural as nature is to any heathen nation in the early fetishistic stage. Storms were raised and calmed at the will of their saints; and meteors, or the aurora-borealis, was the track of angels, or of deceased saints, passing from earth to heaven.

Now here, in an examination of the Celtic monasticism, we have a test to determine the stage of ecclesiastical development which the Celtic Church of the third period had reached. We may distinguish three main stages in the development of monasticism, viz., Anchoritism, Cœnobitism, and the Mediæval Monasticism. Monasticism, which in its earlier forms was Christianity driven to the defensive when unable to make headway against those multiplex and sickening forms of immorality it was called on to encounter in every-day life, can be traced up to a very early period. About the end of the third century countless anchorites thronged the deserts of Egypt and Arabia, fasting, scourging, and otherwise torturing themselves for crimes such as the killing of a gnat, for which the younger Macarius lay naked in a morass for six months. In A.D. 325 cœnobitism was inaugurated by Pachomius, who collected the solitary ascetics into a social union. In this stage monasticism was simply a mutual-benefit society on the ascetic principle. In the later stage of monachism various cloisters were organised into one order, obeying a common rule, and a minute and rigid discipline. This stage dates from the time of Benedict of Nursia, and Francis of Assisi, early in the sixth century.

Now, when we inquire to which of these stages does Celtic monachism belong, we undoubtedly find traces of all three at different periods of the Celtic Church. Although the first stage is more traditional and legendary, there can be no doubt that there were instances of anchoritism in Scotland, as in the case of Saints Serf and Ninian, whose caves are still pointed out. In the second period of the Celtic Church, however, as we learn from Patrick's writings, cœnobite life was undoubtedly followed by many. But in the time of Columba and Columbanus, a system had developed that makes the Columban take rank among the later orders of monachism. Columbanus had *regulæ* by which he governed his order, that were as stern and rigid as those of Benedict. Silence, fasting, poverty, and

humility were all tabulated in the day-book of the order, every minute transgression being punished by a certain amount of fasting, prayer, psalm-singing, or scourging. For example: "Whoever, when a blessing is asked at table, does not answer Amen, let him take six stripes; whoever forgets the chrismal, five-and-twenty lashes; and if he loses it, fifty; whoever speaks alone with a woman must fast two whole days, or take two hundred lashes, in doses of five-and-twenty each; whoever speaks to a layman without permission shall atone for the atrocity by singing four-and-twenty psalms, or by submitting to fifty stripes"—the expiatory merit of two psalms being thus, it seems, equivalent to two stripes.

So much we learn from the extant *Regulæ Columbani;* and the presumption certainly is, that a Christian system which thus attempted to whip and starve its votaries into love to God and hatred of sin, whatever doctrines it might nominally hold, had lapsed very far from the spirit of apostolic times. An inquiry into the progress of monachism in the Celtic Church leads us to the conclusion that, in outward force at least, that church kept pace with the contemporary Catholic Church in the progress of its development. Certainly there were good features in Celtic monasticism as there were in some of the early forms of that of the contemporary church. Some such forms as the Christian *Cœnobiæ* (excluding the ascetic element) was necessary and advantageous in evangelising rude tribes. They formed missionary communities and nuclei of Christian colonies, where the simple and industrious life of the Christians must have impressed the rude heathen which surrounded them. Even the rigid Roman discipline to which the monks were subjected, and which rendered them hardy *milites Christi,* had its good features in a rude period, and among barbarous nations. The Celtic monasticism, we find, was of the Western rather than of the Eastern type. Monastic life in the Western Church was more practical than meditative. Manual labour was intermingled at stated times with fasting, prayer, recitation of sacred offices, and copying the Scriptures. The monks of the Eastern Church contented themselves with dreamy indolence, combined with almost incredible feats of penance, or engaged in speculative pursuits, mixing at times in the stormy theological discussions of the period; the Western monks were, on the other hand, frequently pioneers

of civilisation as well as Christian missionaries, by not only preaching the gospel to savage tribes, but also engaging in the cultivation of the soil. All through this period there was a tendency to anchoritism, from the idea that recluse life yielded the highest type of piety. Hence many of the Columban monks, following the example of their leader, used to retire at certain times to some solitary cave or retreat to be the more free to spend their time in fasting and prayer.

2. With regard to the vexed question of the position of *bishops* in the Celtic Church of this period, we find all parties agreed that these were at least not diocesan. They, like the presbyters, were subject to the abbot of the monastery, who was himself a presbyter.[1] Undoubtedly in Patrick's time, as we have seen, there was a marked distinction between bishops and presbyters; but certainly the power of the bishops in relation to the church in general had not grown greater in Columba's time. We must however take into account the somewhat anomalous character of the Scottish Celtic Church. It was a missionary and monastic one. Columba and his twelve presbyter monks went forth from Ireland as missionaries, and probably at first with the aim of simply evangelising, or in the event of failure in that, of themselves leading a holy recluse life. They kept up their connection for generations with Ireland, and whenever new presbyters were wanted, they sent for them to Ireland; but this proving often difficult, they felt the want of bishops among themselves to ordain the presbyter-missionaries, and this appears to have been almost the sole peculiar function of bishops in the Columban church.

It is curious and interesting to compare the position of bishops in the Celtic Church with the very similar position of the bishops of a modern missionary church, the Society of United Brethren (Herrnhut, 1838). "Ordination," say those brethren, "which among us is required of those who administer the Word and sacraments to give authority to all church transactions, is conferred by bishops only. Our episcopacy gives to the individual who holds it no title to a share (supremacy?) in the brethren's church, or of any individual congregation. A bishop has no diocese committed to his

[1] Bede says, "This isle (Hy) has as its ruler the Presbyter Abbas, under whom is the whole province and the bishops themselves, *ordine inusitato*."

jurisdiction. A bishop, like every other servant of the Unity, must receive a special appointment to any office which he holds from the synod; and the synod must give its express appointment for ordinations."

Even so when a presbyter was to be ordained in the Celtic Church, a bishop was called in; and when a distant province was to be brought to the faith, a bishop was sent for the creation of a local ministry.

3. With regard to the *sacraments* and *sacerdotalism*, we find that such expressions as *altare*, *sacerdos*, occur as frequently in the writings of the Celtic churchmen as in any fifth-century ecclesiastical writings, although such terms were used vaguely before the sacerdotal theory was fully developed. An inquiry into the use of the Eucharist in the Celtic Church, mainly from the abundant references to it in Adamnan, leads one to suspect that the sacerdotal view was held in that church in its earliest incipient form. But since their theology was rather transmitted and taught orally than by writing, there were probably no very definite forms of doctrinal belief held by them. The Sacrament of the Supper is designated by Adamnan as "Eucharista," "Oblatio," "Sacræ Oblationis mysteria," "Sacrificalia mysteria," "Dominicum prandiolum." The formula for describing the preparation of the elements is "Sacra Eucharistiæ ministeria consecrare or præparare." "Christi corpus conficere." Every student of Christian dogmatics knows, however, that from such expressions we cannot infer an actual theory of transubstantiation and repetition of the offering of Christ, and not a mere representation of that offering. In the later encounters of the Celtic Church with Romanism there was no important doctrinal controversy, and yet as the doctrine of the Eucharist was never a subject of controversy in the church till the time of the Reformers, their Romish opponents may not have been sharp-sighted enough to detect heresy in their doctrine on this point.

4. With regard to the doctrine of *Justification*, the main sources are the epistles of Columbanus and of Sedulius. Their expositions of the doctrine of Redemption are simply very favourable specimens of the church-teaching of their age. There is a good deal of mistiness with regard to the ground of a sinner's pardon. The sum of their teaching is, an earnest urging of the necessity of dying to sin through Christ; but the

exact place of faith and purpose of the work of Christ were less clearly apprehended. They however dwell strongly on such doctrines as spiritual blindness and depravity, and the inability of man for good. We find the younger Columba saying, "A great example has been set before us; the Son of God has voluntarily ascended the cross as one who is guilty, leaving us an example that we should follow in his steps." The Celtic preachers earnestly inculcated the necessity of dying to sin, the power to do so being somehow received through the death of Christ. Adamnan mentions cases of what seems very like absolution by Columba; and yet such an instance as the following may exhibit on his part merely a declaration of the will of Christ as to forgiveness in the case of true penitents, but on this supposition the saint must have acted rather hastily:—"One day Columba sat waiting for the arrival of a penitent, a certain *sapiens vir* who had fallen *in quodam facinore*, who he *foresaw* would come that day to Iona, and the vessel having arrived, Feachan (who was the owner of it) went forth weeping and lamenting to meet Columba, and before all made confession of his sins. The saint, also weeping, said, "Thy sins which thou hast committed are forgiven, *for it is written*, 'A contrite and humbled heart God despises not.'"

There is profound truth in Luther's characterisation of the doctrine of justification by faith as the article of a standing or a falling church. And there is a very intimate connection between this doctrine and church-life. If that doctrine is dimly apprehended, salvation comes to be ascribed to works of subjective holiness, and church-officials and church-rites come to have a mediatorial virtue. Asceticism and sacerdotalism cannot flourish in a church that has a firm grasp of justification by faith. "If this doctrine," says Luther, "had been heretofore diligently taught, all monkery and such other monstrous kinds of life had not been brought into the church, which the foolish people have believed to be more holy than others." That the Celtic Church did not escape these dangers is abundantly evident, for asceticism was rigorously practised among them. Columba's couch was of stone, and fasting as we have seen was rigorously enjoined among them. And at times certain monks betook themselves to recluse life. Evidently they, like many of the mediæval saints, fell into the mistake of

substituting humiliation for sanctification, and confounded the maceration of the flesh with the mortification of the body of sin. Celibacy, though perhaps never strictly enjoined, was deemed necessary to superior sanctity. From some of their establishments women were strictly excluded; and in Columbanus' time monks were prohibited under penalties from speaking to women.[1] More might be said on this delicate subject to shew that a morbidly ascetic element existed in the Celtic Church.

5. With regard to the alleged absence of *Invocation of Saints* and disregard of saint-relics in this church, there is an incident given by Adamnan which unfortunately overthrows both together. That writer says that he himself once saw a storm turned to a calm by the monks bringing out Columba's books and clothes, and laying them on the altar and then fasting, singing psalms and invoking the name of Columba. The absence of Mariolatry has often been mentioned as a peculiarity of this church; but as only the rudiments of Mary-worship existed in the Catholic Church before the period of isolation of the British, its absence in the latter is easily accounted for. Something akin to Mariolatry existed among them in the excessive honour paid to St Bridget, who has been styled the Irish Madonna, and whose power was considered greater than even that of Patrick himself.

IV. Reserving till afterwards some of the better features of the Celtic Church, we may now simply glance at the last period of its history. Its importance in relation to our present object is inferior to that of the preceding periods, since all that was distinctive had been developed before this period, which we may date from some time after the first collision of the Columbites with the emissaries of Rome. The Celtic Church, though it continued for several centuries to assert its independence of Rome, was in a declining condition, so far at least as spirituality is concerned, a statement which is confirmed by the examination of such records as those of the book of Deer.

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, as quoted by Skene (p. 253), mentioned two islands in South Munster which he visited (12th century), into the greater of which no woman, or any animal of the feminine gender, ever enters but it immediately dies. This tradition, which at that time must have long been attached to this island, affords some indication of the state of feeling in the old Irish Church.

Part of this church, however, yielded to the claims of Rome, which growing in strength in Britain undoubtedly exercised much influence in the life and doctrine of the former church. During this period, according to Skene, the Columban monastic system in Scotland was broken up by two influences—first, the contact of Rome, which induced a return from the monastic life to that of the secular clergy; and second, a tendency to return to the anchoretical life. From this latter source he traces the origin of the Cuilledei, Deicolæ, or Culdees, whom he broadly distinguishes from the Columban monks.[1] To enter into this question would not befit the purpose of this article; but we are not convinced by Mr Skene's arguments that the distinction between the Columban monasticism and the Culdee system was so marked as he alleges, or that the latter, at most, was any thing more than a later development of the former.

It must be confessed that the result of our inquiries into the character of the Celtic Church is somewhat disappointing to one who desires to find in the church of early Scotland a parallel to that of the Cisalpine Celts of the Waldensian valleys. Certainly the early Celtic Church may be called pure and scriptural in comparison with that of the fifteenth-century Romanism, although not with apostolic Christianity. But the same thing may be said of the other branches of the contemporary church, just as it may be said that they, along with the British Church, possessed elements which, under favourable circumstances, might through divine grace have anticipated the Protestant Evangelical Church.

The better elements to which I refer are chiefly two—First, the Celtic Church down to 800, and a considerable part of it for a century or two after, maintained independence of Rome. They rejected the authority of the Pope, although it is clear that they themselves ascribed almost papal honours to Patrick

[1] The Deicolæ, he says, who were originally anchorites, were at length brought under canonical rule. The quotations which Skene gives in support of his view from the Irish annals and legends of St Serf appear to us rather to point to dim traditions of a development from anchoretism to cœnobitism and monastic rule, such as that which took place in other countries under Pachomius, Eusebius of Vercelli, and Martin of Tours, and finally under Benedict, than a return from monastic rule to anchoretism, which, according to the course of things in those ages, would have been to follow what Darwin terms the law of Atavism. The fact that the Culdees, when they come into the light of history, were not anchorites, but monks, or according to some secular canons, strengthens this view.

and Columba, whom they were wont to call *papæ nostri.* The second good feature of the church was the high regard they paid to the Scriptures. In cases of church-discipline the voice of Scripture was sought, and its authority was adduced. The main element of training of the youthful teachers was *addiscere sapientiam Scripturæ sacræ.* Again in order to baptism, a heathen was first instructed in the *Verbum vitæ;* and then, if he believed, he was baptised.

The noble appeal to the Scriptures on the part of Columbanus is unsurpassed by anything of the kind in mediæval writings. He says, "Hi sunt nostri canones, Dominica et apostolica mandata. Hæc fides nostra est; hæc arma, scutum et gladius, hæc apologia, hæc nos moverunt de patria; hæc servare contendimus, licet tepide; in his usque ad mortem persesevare et oramus et optamus sicut et seniores nostros facere conspeximus." And again, when we find him proclaiming to Pope Boniface that "whosoever teaches a doctrine different from that taught by the Apostle Paul, he shall be anathema, even though he be a pope, for no one ought to honour a man to the prejudice of God," we feel that Ebrard says with some justice that here he had hold of the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation. But alas for that doctrine when cribbed and confined in the dungeon of the *Regulæ Columbani,* with its whippings and fastings and rigid formalities! It is quite clear, indeed, that too much cannot be made of such expressions, taken apart from the sum total of the doctrines of the Celtic churchmen. They had many forms, such as the celebration of Easter according to peculiar calculation, and the lateral tonsure, which they clung to with a death-grasp in the struggle with Rome, and for which they could hardly plead divine authority.

What then were the reasons why those elements did not find scope to develop the doctrines of evangelical Protestantism? Probably these two were the chief.

(1.) There was a sad lack of exegetical and theological learning among them to give fixedness to their beliefs, and to guard them against the errors and heresies of the early ages. No doubt the monks were diligent copyists of the Scriptures in Latin; but it is not certain that they understood Latin well. Carlyle has somewhere said that the library of the monastery of Iona, part of whose wreck was at length floated

Art. VIII.—*The Study of the Old Testament in* 1876.

IN attempting a brief sketch of what has been done for Old Testament studies in 1876, I omit some works which have already been noticed in these pages, and make no pretence to bibliographical completeness, especially as regards magazine articles and the like. Those who wish to see complete lists of publications on our subject may be referred to the fortnightly statements in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, and to Friederici's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* for 1876 (London: Trübner & Co.).

Giving the customary precedence to works of an encyclopædic character, we first take up the new edition of Herzog's great Encyclopædia, which began to appear last year and is to be completed within seven or eight years in 150 shilling parts. The articles bearing on the Old Testament are almost all new, and several of the best younger scholars of Germany are contributors. Thus Schürer writes on the Old Testament Apocrypha, and Baudissin displays his great erudition in the difficult field of Semitic polytheism in articles on Adrammelech and Anammelech. The minor articles are mainly by F. W. Schultz, and though carefully compiled, and better than those in the former edition, are not always quite up to the mark in fulness of information and references to relevant literature. As a Bible dictionary indeed the Encyclopædia, which is properly an encyclopædia of theology, does not aim at absolute completeness; and even those who possess it may be glad to have along with it the very cheap and useful dictionary of biblical antiquities (*Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums*), now appearing under the editorship of Professor Riehm, of Halle. This work, which is to be completed in one volume of 1000 pages, at the price of about 16s., is designed for educated readers in general, and makes no parade of scholarly apparatus. But every article is the work of a thoroughly competent author, who has made a special study of his department, and the lucid accuracy which is so characteristic of the editor penetrates the whole work, which promises to be the best Bible dictionary for general use, and one which scholars must not ignore.

Last year's contributions to pure philology must be rapidly

passed over, as this is not the place for technical criticism. In lexicography we have to notice Ryssel's new edition of *Fuerst's Lexicon*, which contains only such improvements as were consistent with the continued use of the old stereotype plates. In Hebrew grammar there is a general feeling that what is most necessary at present is careful investigation of detached questions. Working in this direction, Dr Giesebrecht has given us an elaborate monograph on the preposition Lamed (Halle: Lippert'sche Buchh. 112 pp.), which will be found useful in spite of the unfortunate want of an index, which in such a work is a serious inconvenience.

There have been some useful translations into English of grammatical works. The explanation of Hebrew forms by reference to a more primitive condition of the language, which throws so much light on the apparent darkness of the paradigms by which students are puzzled, was not systematically carried through any grammar accessible to the English reader till the appearance of Mr Poole's translation of Land's *Principles of Hebrew Grammar* (Trübner, 1876). Unfortunately this work has serious defects as a manual for learners, and the student who wishes to get a clear and brief conspectus of the genesis of the Hebrew forms will probably do better to procure Mr Curtiss's translation of Bickell's excellent *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar* (Leipzig, 1877). Both books rest mainly on the great grammar of Olshausen. The later has a very admirable table of Semitic characters by Euting, which is superior to anything of the kind previously accessible. I have not seen a translation published at New York of Luzzatto's valuable Chaldee grammar.

Let us turn in the next place to works that bear on the text of the Old Testament. Among these the first place undoubtedly belongs to Strack's magnificent facsimile edition of the precious Petersburg MS. of the latter prophets, dating from A.D. 916. The value of this codex lies not merely in its antiquity, though it is the oldest MS. of certain date, but still more in the fact, that it is the most perfect specimen of the Babylonian system of vowel points, and exhibits more Oriental readings and more points of agreement with the Targum than any extant copy. Almost all other MSS., as is well known, have the Western vowel points, and present occidental readings in passages where the Eastern and Western schools diverge.

The Petersburg codex has the Massora as well as the text. For the convenience of those who wish to familiarise themselves with the very interesting system of the Babylonian punctuation, Hosea and Joel have been published separately at a low price. A second important work on the Hebrew text is Frensdorff's *Massoretisches Woerterbuch* (Hannover and Leipzig: Cohen & Risch), which forms the first volume of a projected edition of the Massora Magna, on which the author has spent many years of labour. In ordinary Rabbinical Bibles, the Massora appears in a very confused shape. The Massorets, or scholars, who made it their business to take care of the exact transmission of the Hebrew text, with every peculiarity of orthography and the like, wrote their notes on the margin of the Bible, but provided no cross references when several passages were illustrated by one note. Frensdorff has now arranged all the notes in alphabetic form, adding valuable explanatory comments.

But welcome as these works are, the most serious faults of the current Hebrew text are not to be cured by MSS. or Massora. As this conviction spreads among scholars, the ancient versions are becoming the subject of renewed study. Among last year's publications in this field, the place of honour falls to Ceriani's magnificent facsimile edition of the ancient Ambrosian MS. of the Peshito, which dates from about the sixth century, and in the words of the editor holds much the same place among MSS. of the Syriac Old Testament, as the Amiatinus among copies of the Vulgate, and the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. among those of the LXX. The first part of this splendid work contains the Pentateuch and part of Job. By far the most important version, however, as a check on the Massoretic text, is the LXX. In a pamphlet published at Moers, as the Easter programme of the Gymnasium there, Hollenberg discusses in a very effective way the character and critical value of the LXX. of Joshua, and gains several valuable corrections of the Hebrew text. It is important to note that the characteristic freedom with which Hebrew scribes made additions to the texts they copied continued to so late a date that in the historical books the Massoretic text contains quite large interpolations which were wanting in the copies that lay before the Greek translators. Thus, in Josh. xx. 3–6, which is an Elohistic passage, and originally, as in the LXX

corresponded exactly with Numb. xxxv. 11–12, our present Hebrew has a large insertion after Deut. iv. and xix., while in chapter xv., where we now find thirty-six names in a list which should contain only twenty-nine, a hint from the LXX. enables Hollenberg to shew that part of the list was interpolated by a copyist from the book of Nehemiah. Facts like these have an importance far beyond the passage which they affect. They must be kept in view by every one who wishes to understand the gradual process by which the historical books of the Old Testament came to be the complex structure which they are.

Lagarde's *Psalterium Iob Proverbia Arabice* (Göttingen, 1876), is more important for Orientalists, and for the history of the Christian East, than for text-criticism.

Among recent exegetical works none is less pretentious, while very few are so truly scholarly and calculated to be of such general use, as *The Holy Bible, with various Renderings and Readings from the best Authorities*, published by Eyre & Spottiswoode. The Old Testament is the work of Messrs Cheyne and Driver, and the collection of various readings and interpretations is singularly accurate and complete. It is a book which should be in the hands of every Bible reader, while at the same time it will prove an invaluable help to beginners in Hebrew, and a useful book of reference to more advanced scholars, who will find it a convenient index of opinions often collected from works difficult of access.

In striking contrast to the modest work of these Oxford scholars, is the flourish of trumpets with which Messrs Jennings & Lowe introduce their treatise, *The Psalms, with Introductions and Critical Notes* (Macmillan & Co. 3 vols. 1875-77). The necessary qualifications of a good commentator are unfolded in a pompous preface, claimed by implication for the authors, and illustrated by a severe *ex cathedra* criticism on Professor Perowne. The book itself does not display such exceptional scholarship as might justify this tone. The writers have not been trained in the best school of Hebrew philology. Their grammatical comments lack scientific precision (as on i. 2); and they sometimes offer an impossible translation (as cx. 3), or adopt the caprices of P. H. Mason (as in lxxxi. 5). On the other hand, they bring to their task more rabbinical lore than is usual among recent commentators, and have the merit of

candour and independence of thought along with very considerable reading. On critical questions they are moderate conservatives, not denying occasional corruptions in the text, and admitting that the titles, to which they usually adhere, are sometimes incorrect. Psalm li. is assigned to the period of the Babylonian exile, and is supposed to be a poetic conception of David's feelings. Three psalms are assigned to the Maccabæan period (xliv., lxxiv., lxxix.). The introductions contain a good deal of useful matter, together with not a little that is questionable. In adopting Aben Ezra's highly probable view that the title *Al-taschcheth* is taken from the opening words of a well known song, Mr Lowe might have thought of the vintage song, "Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it" (Isa. lxv. 8).

Last year saw the completion of the *Speaker's Commentary on the Old Testament* in a volume (vol. vi., "Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets") which is scarcely calculated to diminish the feelings of partial disappointment with which this work has been generally received. A note at page 83 shews that among Dr Currie's qualifications to write on Ezekiel, a knowledge of the elements of Hebrew grammar is not included. In discussing the great vision of the renewed Theocracy, the commentator does not seem to be aware of the importance which this section of the prophecies possesses for the criticism of the Pentateuchal law. He understands the vision as "portraying immediately the Church of Christ," without reference to any partial fulfilment in the restoration of the material temple. "As the Jews already knew something of the typical character of the temple services, this vision was intended to teach them more." At the same time, we are reminded that the minute details are not all in themselves symbolically important, but are requisite from the character of visionary presentation, which sets a finished picture before the eye. Manifestly however on this theory any lines in the picture which are new and different from the older ritual must have a special meaning. Thus, on xlv. 23, Dr Currie remarks, that instead of the graduated scale of sacrifices for the Feast of Tabernacles in Numbers, "the covenant number *seven* is preserved throughout to indicate a perfect in lieu of an imperfect covenant with God." But even such arbitrary spiritualising will not cover all the remarkable details of the case. What

is the symbolism of the sentence pronounced in chapter xliv. against the Levites? Here Dr Currie admits a historical reference; but, in direct opposition to the plain words of the text, supposes that vers. 10 sqq. speak only of certain apostate Levites, not of the Levites as a body, whom he supposes to have remained faithful. But what Ezekiel distinctly says is, that the Levites as a whole are to be excluded from proper priestly work, which is henceforth to be limited to the house of Zadok; and this exclusion is not based on any previous law, though it precisely corresponds with the middle books of the Pentateuch, but is set forth as a new ordinance, a punishment for the services offered by the Levites on the high places. What can we think of a commentator who does not even notice the singular problem raised by this passage, and on which Graf and other critics have built arguments which are at present agitating the whole world of Hebrew scholarship?

Mr Fuller's Daniel is a much more thorough piece of work, which incorporates a great mass of valuable material drawn, not only from books, but from MSS. communications by Assyrian scholars. Great weight is naturally laid on the testimony of Lenormant to the accuracy of the Babylonian colouring in the book; but the fullest discussion of the subject by the French scholar in his book, *La divination et la science des présages chez les Chaldéens* (Paris, 1875), *Appendice. Les six premiers chapitres de Daniel*, seems to have appeared too late to be referred to. I may therefore take this opportunity of directing the reader to what is certainly the most important recent contribution to the defence of the historical character of the narrative part of the book. Lenormant thinks that an original Hebrew narrative written under the Persian empire was translated into Aramaic in the age of the Seleucids, that part of the Hebrew text was lost and replaced by this translation, which extends from ii. 4 to the end of chapter vii. We are then not to translate ii. 4 as saying that the Chaldeans spoke in Aramaic or Syriac. The words "in Syriack" are simply a note that we here pass to a different dialect, and should be in parenthesis. This view, which has been received with some favour by Mr Cheyne in his valuable article "Daniel" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, supplies a natural explanation of several difficulties which Mr Fuller has by no means been happy in solving. The unquestionably Greek names of musical

instruments in chapter iii. may be viewed as due to the translator; and the fact that the dialect of the Aramaic chapters appears to be Palestinian ceases to possess any critical importance. I must add, that Lenormant frankly admits that, as the book now stands, it contains several historical blunders and other corruptions which he ascribes to ignorant correctors.[1]

It is impossible to speak in detail of the commentary by six different hands on the Minor Prophets. It is natural to compare this part of the work with the treatise of Dr Pusey, which is likely to be very much in the hands of the same readers, and which has plainly exercised a considerable, not to say an over-great, influence on the views of the writers now before us. Professor Gandell's Amos and Nahum are little more than an abridgment of Dr Pusey. This dependence on his predecessor has lodged Mr Gandell in the curious inconsistency of dating Nahum in the time of Sennacherib, while he yet admits a reference in iii. 8 to the capture of Thebes at a much later date by Assurbanipal. Mr Huxtable's Hosea, on the other hand, is a distinct advance on Dr Pusey; and though Mr Meyrick follows the Oxford professor against the best commentators in the date he assigns to Joel, and in regarding the description of the plague of locusts as a prediction, he rejects the figurative interpretation of their ravages.

Notwithstanding the extreme conservatism on critical questions which the *Speaker's Commentary* is throughout designed to advocate, Canon Drake regards the integrity of Zechariah as at least very doubtful, and in his exegesis distinctly admits that the historical groundwork of chapter xi. is to be sought in the disastrous times which preceded the fall of the kingdom of Ephraim. It is very noteworthy that a conclusion of the critical school, so important as the plurality of authorship in Zechariah, and which was so long resisted as a fruit of rationalism, has at length gained almost universal acceptance, and is generally allowed to be free from danger to the faith. It may be remembered that there appeared in 1870 a commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, by Pfarrer

[1] Another publication of 1876, which touches on the Daniel controversy, is Dean Stanley's *Jewish Church*, vol. iii., presently to be noticed in another connection. The statement of the case in a note on Lect. xlii. is however inadequate on both sides, and there are one or two positive errors (κιθάρα for κίθαρις, and the reference to the Syriac of Matt. xxiv. 15).

Pressel, a well-known and honoured name among the evangelical clergy of Würtemberg, which had been prepared for Lange's *Bibelwerk*, but was rejected because it did not accept the unity of Zechariah. No one apparently has been found willing to submit to the conditions imposed by the editor, for the missing part of the series has been supplied, after an interval of six years, by a commentary from the hand of Dr Lange himself ("Die Propheten Haggai, Sacharia, Maleachi." Bielefeld, 1876). In another section of the *Bibelwerk*, which appeared last year ("Die Bücher Esra, Nehemia, und Esther," by Prof. F. W. Schultz, of Breslau), there is considerable deflection from the line of strict conservatism as represented by Keil's Introduction. In accordance with the usual opinion of recent critics, the Chronicler is recognised as the author of Esra-Nehemiah, and a rigorously historical character is not claimed for the book of Esther. As regards exegesis, this is one of the best of the Lange series.

The second part of Professor Reuss's new French translation of the Bible, with introductions and commentary, embraces the prophets. (*Les Prophètes.* Par Edouard Reuss. Paris, 1876. 2 vols.). The prophetic texts (in which the book of Jonah is not included) are arranged in chronological order according to the current principles of criticism, and on grounds which are briefly set forth in the introduction to each prophecy. The result is an arrangment not very different from that of Ewald, though modified in detail by the views of Hitzig and other critics, and by the characteristic sobriety of the author in matters of mere hypothesis. The comments, like the introductions, may be taken as a fair account, in lucid and popular style, of the general view of the prophetic books among moderate German critics. There is very little that is absolutely peculiar to the writer, and extreme and isolated opinions of previous commentators are seldom followed against the consensus of a majority of scholars. It will of course be understood that a veteran theologian like Professor Reuss represents rather the scholarship of the masters who are rapidly passing away than that of the newer school of rising Orientalists, whose investigations seem sometimes to be unduly neglected. No part of the book will be more interesting to readers in this country than the general introduction which sketches the history of prophecy, the leading features of the

prophets' activity, the main elements of their theology, and the characteristics of their written works. The questions which arise under these heads are treated with a light but firm hand, in a very suggestive though by no means exhaustive sketch. The justification of the anthropomorphisms, and the particularism of the prophets by reference to their place in the divine preparation of mankind for the gospel, is particularly instructive. Readers who are repelled by the heavy style of German writers, and who are tempted to take the extreme position of Kuenen as typical of current criticism, may with much profit turn to the pages of Reuss, who, though in no sense allied to the conservative theology, and by no means the most orthodox of critics, gives a very different picture of prophecy from the Dutch scholar, and one much more representative. I remark in closing, that Professor Reuss seems to lay too great weight on the notion of *discipleship*, as implied in the expression, "Sons of the prophets." Though this is the current view, it is almost certainly false. Throughout the Semitic languages *son* means simply member of a college or corporation. (See G. Hoffmann's *Festschrift*. Kiel, 1873. Note 72.)

English evangelical literature has as usual been enriched by several translations from the German. In the American series of Lange's *Bibelwerk* there have appeared vol. ii. "Exodus and Leviticus;" vol. vii. "Chronicles, Esra, Nehemiah, and Esther;" vol. xiii. "Ezekiel and Daniel." Lange's not very satisfactory commentary on Exodus is sometimes usefully corrected and supplemented by notes of Dr Mead, the translator. For Leviticus we receive not a translation of Lange, but the incorporation of a large part of his material with an independent commentary by Dr Gardiner—a rather clumsy arrangement for the reader, whose comfort indeed is little consulted in this series. Professor Murphy's notes on Zöckler's "Chronicles" are mainly directed to meet anything that appears a concession to the critical school. In the additional note on Ophir, p. 185, it would have been well to add a reference to Sprenger's *Alte Geographie Arabiens* (Bern, 1875), where there is an important excursus on the subject. With the translation of Schultz's "Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther," by Dr Briggs of New York, very serious fault must be found. It is not only awkward, but sometimes positively

misleading. For example, Schultz writing upon the subject of poetical embellishment in the book of Esther says, "If in this main passage we must recognise the influence of transforming and embellishing fiction, it would be inconsequent not to admit that the same influence may possibly have place in other passages also," &c. But the translator has. "If we were to acknowledge the influence of . . . imagery in this chief stage of the drama, this would still be negatived by its non-appearance in other places." This is only one specimen, though the most grave, of a series of changes which disguise even when they do not, as in the passage cited, actually invert the judgment of the German writer on the historicity of Esther. Schrœder's commentary on Ezekiel, a very mediocre production, is enlarged mainly by extracts from the late Principal Fairbairn. To Dr Zöckler's comments on Daniel are added a good many notes from Keil and others, and some warm protests against the admission that there are things in chapter XI. which must be *post eventum*, and are therefore viewed by the commentator as interpolations. This hypothesis of Zöckler is certainly not plausible; but a translator has surely no right to insinuate that, "notwithstanding the author's disclaimer, the insidious tincture of the prevalent rationalism of German criticism is evident in his conclusion on this point." Dr Strong's own right to speak on subjects of criticism may be measured by his assertions, that "the Revelation of St John, if not the apostle's, is of course under a fictitious name;" and that the Aramaic parts of Daniel are "extracts taken verbatim, and as such, *from the Babylonian State Records*."

In Messrs Clark's "Foreign Library" we have Keil's *Commentary on Ezekiel*, translated by Rev. J. Martin (2 vols.), and the "Theological Translation Fund" has issued a second volume of Mr F. Smith's translation of Ewald's *Prophets*, comprising Isaiah, Obadiah, and Micah, and carrying the reader to the end of the first volume of the original. No student of the Old Testament can afford to overlook this work of Ewald, which is not only of first-rate importance for scientific exegesis, but full of profound insight into the spirit of the prophetic writings, and so is much more useful for practical exposition than almost any other recent commentary. The translation appears to be very accurate, though Ewald's

somewhat stilted style of expression looks more unnatural in the English.

Among the exegetical monographs before me, a place of honour is due to the collection of all Jewish interpreters on Isaiah liii. (Oxford: Parker. Vol i., *Texts;* vol. ii., *Translations*), gathered from printed books and MSS. by the well-known Orientalist, Ad. Neubauer, with translations by the editor and Mr Driver, and an introduction by Dr Pusey, to whose zeal and liberality the public owes so remarkable a contribution to the history of exegesis. The outcome of the laborious and bulky collection is essentially negative. No continuous thread of ancient traditional exegesis runs through these Jewish writings, —a conspicuous proof of the failure of the synagogue to reach any consistent view of the passage, which with all its difficulties of detail has ever been luminous to the church. The student who desires to practise himself in New Hebrew will find a valuable aid in the translations.

The prominence given to the book of Job in university lectures in Germany has made the literature of that country unusually rich in exegetical studies on this part of the Old Testament. To these have been added *Contributions to the Criticism of Job*, by Lic. Carl Budde (*Beiträge zur Kritik des Buches Hiob.* Bonn: Marcus); and *Contributions to the Exposition* of the book (*Beiträge zur Erklärung d. B. Job.* Leipzig: Hinrich), by Dr J. Barth; besides a new and thoroughly-revised edition of Professor Delitzsch's well-known *Commentary.* Dr Barth's pamphlet comprises an essay on the date of the book, and notes on a series of difficult passages, directed in good measure against notions and conjectures of recent commentators, and for the most part worthy of consideration. It is a plausible suggestion that in xviii. 7 הִשְׁלִיךְ in an inverted form of הִכְשִׁיל; and the proposal to identify חֲבָלֵיהֶם in xxxix. 3 with the Assyrian *habal* = *son* deserves attention in connection with Lagarde's explanation of xiii. 12 from the Assyrian *igabbi* = he spake. The change of guttural which Kautzsch (*T. L. Z.* 1877. Nr. 2) views as conclusive against Dr Barth's proposal appears from Sayce's *Assyrian Grammar*, p 106, to be no real difficulty. In what he says upon the date, our essayist is successful in indicating the precarious character of many arguments that have been adduced; but he has not always avoided what is equally pre-

carious in discussing the many points of contact between Job and other parts of the Old Testament, though he has doubtless strengthened the already tolerably convincing proofs that the book is later than the age of Solomon, and indeed than Isaiah. The chief difficulty is with the *terminus ad quem*, which is assumed without discussion to be given in the use of the book by Jeremiah. But it is not impossible to argue that the author of Job has rather quoted Jeremiah (comp. Wellhausen in *T. L. Z.* 1877. 4); and a fresh examination of this question is the more to be desired, that Barth's essay makes it clear that the date of Job carries with it important consequences for several other parts of the Old Testament, whose age is subject of controversy. He seems, for example, to have proved that Isaiah xxxv., which many critics refer to the time of the exile, was known to the writer of Job.

Lic. Budde defends the integrity of the book of Job in two able and interesting essays—1. "Recent Criticism and the idea of the book." 2. "The linguistic character of the speeches of Elihu." The second essay is much the most complete comparison of the language of Elihu with that of other parts of the poem which has hitherto been instituted; and the results, ingeniously tabulated in a statistical form, will certainly modify current opinion. The author goes no farther than to claim as proved that in point of language it is perfectly possible that Elihu's speeches are a genuine part of the book. In the first essay, the argument that the plan of the book would be incomplete without Elihu, is interwoven somewhat to the disadvantage of the reader, with a refutation of the very extreme theory of the original form of the book advanced by Studer in the *Jahrbücher für Prot. Theologie.* 1875. To these German contributions is to be added the Dutch commentary, *Het Boek Job vertaald en verklaard*, door J. C. Matthes (Groningen: Wolters. Part i. 1876. Parts ii. and iii. 1877. To be completed in ten parts), which is no mere revision of the author's earlier commentary, but a new work. The exposition is lucid and scholarly, and the survey of current views is both full and clear.

Wellhausen's contributions to the criticism of the Pentateuch and Joshua in the *Jahrbb. für Deutsche Thologie.* 1876 (Hft. III. and IV.), extend only to the historical parts of these books. I cannot attempt to explain in a few words the results of a

long and complicated examination of details. The main interest lies in the analysis of the documents which, since Hupfeld, have been known by the names of the Jhvhist and younger Elohist, though the epithet younger is probably a misnomer. These documents, which our critic names J and E, were as he holds fused together in a single context JE by a third author who, in some parts (especially in the account of the legislation at Sinai), added new matter of his own. A much later redactor combined the work thus produced with the document which Wellhausen calls Q or *Vierbundesbuch*, which is what older critics call the book of origins, or of the elder Elohist. Another important point is the treatment of Exodus xxxiv. as a distinct and independent source. It is to be hoped that Wellhausen will soon add an analysis of the legal parts of the Pentateuch, as his investigation, even in its present imperfect state, points to inferences of great interest for the history of the Old Testament.

In the historical studies which fall to be noticed in this survey, the period subsequent to the exile has received most attention. The third series of Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church* (London: Murray) extends from the captivity to the Christian era. The purpose of the volume is popular and didactic. The author makes no claim to independent research. Resting on the works of previous writers, whose labours are regarded as "exempting any later author from the duty of undertaking afresh a labour which they have accomplished once for all not to be repeated," and following in the main the guidance of Ewald, to whom an eloquent and touching tribute is paid in the preface, Dr Stanley seeks "to disentangle the main thread of the story from unmeaning episodes, to give the most important conclusions without repeating the arguments" of larger works, and above all, "to draw out the permanent lessons" of the story. That this task has been accomplished with much literary tact and grace, and with a singular felicity of graphic detail and pictorial touches that give living colour to the narrative, is what we knew to expect from a hand that has not forgotten its cunning. Yet it cannot but be matter of regret that merits of exposition so conspicuous, applied to a period of history so thorny and tangled that skilful exposition is peculiarly helpful to the

reader, were not combined with a deeper study of the available materials than seems to have lain in the plan of the author. In spite of the confidence with which Dr Stanley accepts the guidance of his predecessors, the study hitherto devoted to this part of the history has been more prolific of controversies than of conclusions; and the habit of thought which has led our author habitually to elude these controversies instead of subjecting them to critical discussion, makes no small part of the volume more readable than instructive, and leads to frequent sacrifices of precision and accuracy to picturesque effect. One is compelled to add that in not a few cases a more thorough knowledge of recent literature and a juster estimate of the relative value of the authorities followed would have led to important modifications of view, even without new personal research. The valuable manual of Schürer (*Lehrbuch der N. T. lichen Zeitgeschichte*), even without the fuller essay by the same author in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* (1875) would, for example, have afforded a correction of the old error, that the Alabarch was the ruler of the Jews in Alexandria; and the monograph of Wellhausen (*Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, 1874) could not have failed to set the position of the Pharisees and Sadducees in a fresh light. That the Psalter of Solomon is referred to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the Book of Jubilees to about B.C. 100, can only be ascribed to neglect of the many recent researches into these compositions. In truth, it is evident from p. 348 that Dr Stanley has not even used Roensch's indispensable edition of the latter work. Or once more, the exploded opinion that the Jews gave up Hebrew for Chaldee in the time of the captivity is reproduced without the least reference to the existence of a different view. Such slips in detail—and I have taken them almost at random—diminish one's confidence in the treatment of the broader aspects of the narrative. Into these it is impossible to enter in the present rapid survey. But I may ask in passing, whether the prominence given in the volume to the Platonic doctrine of immortality as a powerful influence on Jewish, and not merely on Hellenistic, thought, does not rest in part on the lack of a sharp appreciation of the distinction between the notion of immortality and that of the resurrection.

The first part of the period covered by Dean Stanley's lectures is also taken up by the Jewish scholar, H. Graetz, in

the last-published part of his *Geschichte der Juden* (vol. ii. part ii. B.C. 586–160. Leipzig). Like all the writings of this author the book is full of acute observation and of startling combinations, which in many cases are plainly untenable, but in others invite examination on the basis of a fuller statement of the argument than Dr Graetz is accustomed to give. I do not venture to express any opinion as to how much of what is new in the book will bear the test of such examination. Apart from this, the volume has a real value from the great rabbinical learning of the author, who, in spite of his radical views on critical questions, and his large, though irregular, use of the results of Christian scholarship, is still essentially a rabbi in all habits of thought. A truly rabbinical whim is that which identifies Nehemiah with the messenger of the covenant in Mal. iii.

An admirable historical monograph is Professor Kuenen's tract, *Over de Mannen der groote Synagoge* (Amsterdam, 1876), the argument of which may be briefly stated for those to whom the Dutch is not accessible. The men of the great synagogue are once mentioned in the Mishna, where they appear as filling the gap in Jewish oral tradition between the prophets and Antigonus of Socho. In Midrash and Gemara they are often named, and divers ordinances are ascribed to them. The later Jews went still further; and Elias Levita ascribed to Ezra and the Great Synagogue the task of closing the canon—a view which has influenced many Christian writers. The whole tradition on the subject was however discredited in last century by the objections raised by several Christian scholars, especially by Rau of Herborn. Of late there has been a reaction, and recent writers are pretty unanimous in admitting the existence of an official body called the Great Kenéseth, though there is no tolerable agreement as to its functions. Now, Professor Kuenen points out that whatever we may think of the *thing*, the *name* is probably late, as it is not found in the Apocrypha, the New Testament, or Josephus. As *Kenéseth*, like *συναγωγή*, came to be ever more and more confined to a meeting for worship, the inventor of the name presumably thought of some great assembly for a religious purpose. The only such assembly that occurs as suitable to the name is that described in Neh. viii.–x. And, as a matter of fact, a number of the things related of the great synagogue find their explanation in these chapters, and shew that such was really the

original sense of the expression to which later tradition attached so many fables. Of course, it follows that the whole Talmudic idea that the great synagogue was a law-giving body, is unhistorical. The Kenéseth, as hitherto understood, disappears from history. Finally, Professor Kuenen indicates how the Talmudic ideas on this head form an integral part of a radically false view of the history of Israel characteristic of the whole Talmud, which ascribes to the scribes, before the fall of the Jewish state, the position which they actually attained only after the dissolution of the nation. Professor Kuenen's argument is closely knit and convincing at every point, and displays his critical powers at their best.

For the parts of the Biblical history prior to the captivity there is little to record, except translations of Assyrian texts and discussions of their bearing on biblical problems. New texts continue to appear in versions of unequal merit in Messrs Bagsters' series, *Records of the Past*. The seventh volume (1876) contains several of the documents most interesting to biblical students—the annals of Sargon, the conqueror of Samaria; the inscription of Sennacherib, in which he speaks of Hezekiah; and some of the legends parallel or analogous to the narrative of Genesis, which are collected in the last great work of the lamented George Smith, *The Chaldean account of Genesis* (London: Low. 1876). Of Smith's work a German translation has appeared, with valuable "elucidations and continued researches," by the German Assyriologist, Friederich Delitzsch (Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1876). It appears premature to attempt to estimate the value of the Chaldean legends for the biblical student. The fragments are so mutilated and so difficult that the translation is highly insecure. Thus in the fragment which is supposed to give the Chaldean account of the tower of Babel, the idea of "confusion of speech" is introduced, as Smith himself admits, by "translating the word *speech* with a prejudice," the word not being known to have this meaning elsewhere. And the reference to a tower, as we learn from a note by Delitzsch in the German edition, is not less questionable. Again, in the so-called story of the fall, we learn from Delitzsch that "scarcely a line of Smith's version can claim to be correct"; and though the German scholar is unwilling to surrender the belief that we really have in the passage a parallel to the story

of the fall, he rests this belief on arguments so unsatisfactory that we must conclude with Baudissin and v. Gutschmid that there is as yet really no evidence of a Babylonian account of man's first sin. Or again, we gather from Delitzsch that the grounds on which Smith identifies the name Izdubar with Nimrod are certainly erroneous. If so, the parallel between what is related of the two personages is far from being so exact as to justify the confidence with which Smith and Delitzsch alike insist on identifying them. The most important, and it would seem the least doubtful, parallels to biblical narratives lie in the Chaldean accounts of the creation and the flood, of which it must be remembered something was already known from Damascius and the fragments of Berossus. What is notable in the texts given by Smith is that, in spite of the fundamental difference of religious conception from the Bible, in spite of the fact that the Chaldean legends are essentially polytheistic and mythological, and without ethical value, we find minute agreements with Genesis in detail and expression, as well as in such broader features as were already known to us from Berossus. It is impossible, when one looks into the matter, to avoid the conviction that some of these coincidences would not have appeared if the cuneiform texts had been translated by a person who had never seen the Bible ; and as it is just these points which are most important for a really critical examination of the subject, one cannot but wish that Assyriologists would try to free their minds more than they have hitherto done from the desire to hunt out, above all things, parallels with the Bible. And when we have got a trustworthy reading of the texts, it will next be necessary to inquire much more critically than has been done by Smith into the age of these legends. The texts come from the library of Assurbanipal (seventh century B.C.), but are copied from originals to which Smith ascribes an enormous age, on grounds which are anything but convincing. We have no real certainty that the legends as we possess them are much older than the time of Assurbanipal ; and v. Gutschmid has pointed out, in the series of legends which contain the Babylonian story of the flood, an apparently clear trace of Egyptian influence which cannot well be very ancient. Thus, if further research confirms the singular coincidences in expression between Genesis and the inscriptions, some of which, if

Smith's versions are right, can only be due to direct imitation by the writers of one or the other nation, it will still be a question on which side the priority lies; and in discussing this question it will be necessary to remember that in literary culture and power, as well as in their religion, the Israelites were immeasurably in advance of Assyria.

When we pass to the other part of the biblical records, which are illustrated by the inscriptions, viz., the history of the kings of Israel and Judah, we find that the past year has been one of fierce and tangled controversy. The old *quæstio vexata* of the chronology of the kings, for which the Assyrian Eponym Canon affords new data, has been afresh discussed by Oppert in a series of papers in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, to which he gives the somewhat pretentious title, "Salomon et ses Successeurs; solution d'un problème chronologique" (since published in a separate form by Maisonneuve et Cie. 1877). The supposed solution is not so convincing as this title would lead one to suppose. M. Oppert appears greatly to underrate the difficulties of the problem; and he has not given due weight to the arguments of previous writers, ignoring, for example, the important paper of Wellhausen, of which an account was given in vol. xxv., p. 380 of this journal. Discrepancies between the Northern and Southern chronology are reconciled by hypotheses so arbitrary that they can hardly find a supporter, a second Menahem, whose reign divides Pekah's rule into two parts, and a temporary displacement of Jeroboam II., which is defended by a gross mistranslation of a passage of Isaiah. In discussing the Assyrian evidence, M. Oppert renews his old theory of a break of forty-seven years in the Eponym Canon to be filled up by the reign of the Chaldean Pul. Pul is the great *crux* of Assyriologists, and the difficulties which lie in the way of identifying him with Tiglathpileser, as is done by Rawlinson, Schrader, &c., have been set in a strong light, not only by Oppert, but by v. Gutschmid in a book presently to be named. But the tone of Oppert's argument, and the unpardonable brutality with which he treats George Smith, whose essay on the Eponym Canon opposes the views of the French scholar, compel one to feel that till the controversy is conducted with more modesty and appreciation of the fact that historical conclusions from the monuments are still very precarious, those who are not

Assyriologists had better stand aside. As usual, part of the quarrel turns on the reading of proper names, on which score another lively controversy has been going on for some time between Schrader on one side, and Oppert, Wellhausen, and v. Gutschmid on the other. The point here is a supposed mention of King Azariah of Judah, for which Schrader has completely lost his temper (*Jahrbb. fur Prot. Theol.* 1876. II.). Amidst all this it is not strange that the Jena historian, A. v. Gutschmid, has raised a strong protest against the premature introduction of Assyriological discoveries into the history of the ancient East. His book, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients* (Leipzig: Trübner. 1876), is essentially polemical, and has probably overstated the case in attacking Schrader, who is the author's main foe. Gutschmid makes no attempt to deny to Assyriology the character of a real science; but he places in a strong light the faults which have been committed through haste to get from the new science results immediately applicable to the Bible and other history. Both on this account, and from numerous incidental contributions to questions of Bible history, the book is of real value. I select for notice only two points, the remarks at p. 18 on the early currency of Aramaic in Mesopotamia, and the interesting excursus on the existence of the kingdom of Samaria after the fall of Hoshea, which is one of the indisputable results of Assyriologists, and serves to explain Isa. vii. 8, where the sixty-five years just carry us down to Assurbanipal, who is presumably the Osnapper of Ezra iv. 10.

Under the head of translations of historical works falls to be noticed the English version of Ewald's valuable *Antiquities of Israel* (London: Longmans). The study of biblical geography continues to make progress, especially through the researches of the "Palestine Exploration Fund." The *Quarterly Statements* for 1876 are mainly composed of papers by Lieutenant Conder, embracing a series of proposed identifications of Biblical and Talmudical sites, together with comparisons of the survey work with ancient Egyptian records bearing on Palestine, and with the topography of Samaritan literature. There are also valuable notes on the climate and natural history of Canaan. In many cases Lieutenant Conder has provided rather materials for discussion than results to be at once incorporated in biblical geography. This is specially

clear with regard to the identifications proposed for the life of David (pp. 39 seq.), which rest in part upon questionable readings and more than questionable translations of the Hebrew. The remarks in the paper on "Samaritan Topography," in which "the wonderful consistency and perfection of the topography of Judæa and Galilee contained in the book of Joshua" is contrasted with the defective nature of what is said about the Samaritan district, are well worthy of the attention of critics. Lieutenant Conder would infer that this part of the book has been mutilated; but it is much more likely that we have in the facts indicated a hint as to the date of the book. A very valuable contribution to the topography of Jerusalem is Zimmermann's *Karten und Pläne zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem* (Basel, 1876). These maps are based on the observations of a German architect in Jerusalem, Hr. Conrad Schick, who for thirty years has been collecting observations of the depth of that huge mass of rubbish which overlies the original site of the city. From these observations a map of the original contours has been formed, while comparison with the present contours is facilitated by additional maps and sections. A sheet displaying the various theoretical restorations of the old topography, and a modest and serviceable explanatory pamphlet are added. In this connection I may also mention the English translation of Socin's excellent traveller's hand-book of Palestine, in Baedeker's series, and the final exposure of the forged Moabitic pottery by Kautsch and Socin (*Die Aechtheit der Moabitischen Alterthümer geprüft.* Strassburg, 1876.

Passing on to the subject of Old Testament Theology, we are met by the last published work of Ewald—his posthumous essay, *Das Leben des Menschen und das Reich Gottes* ("The Life of Man and the Kingdom of God." Leipzig, 1876). This is properly the fourth volume of the author's *Theology of the Old and New Covenant*, and is not so much a biblical study as a statement of Ewald's ethical system on a biblical basis. In the hands of the latest writers on the subject, Old Testament theology is passing almost entirely into researches into the history of the religion of Israel. The method of the usual manuals (Oehler, Schultz) is to discuss first Mosaism, and then the teaching of the prophets. But so long as the date of important parts of the Pentateuch is so much disputed, this way

of presenting the subject offered no security for a really genetical development of the growth of the Old Testament religion. Since Kuenen in his *Religion of Israel* delineated this development in accordance with the view that the Levitical ordinances of the Pentateuch are later than the prophetic period, friends and opponents alike have felt the necessity of renewed research into the history of the Old Testament ideas, and, instead of starting with fixed views as to the age of the different parts of the Pentateuch derived in the old way from merely literary criticism, have recognised the propriety of beginning with documents of undisputed age—mainly, that is, with the prophets—and then working backwards and forwards from such a picture of the religion of Israel as these documents afford. At the same time, the influence of the new science of comparative religion has laid upon biblical scholars the duty of examining more precisely the relation of the Hebrew faith to Semitic polytheism, and, in particular, of testing the theory so ably upheld by the Dutch school, that there is no specific difference between the development of the Old Testament religion and that of other faiths. Thus the burning questions of the moment are such as these:—What is the origin and history of the spiritual monotheism of the prophets? How does it stand related to the conception of Jehovah current among the mass? What is the relation of Jehovah to heathen gods, and of the worship of Jehovah in Israel to other worships? Among works bearing on this subject, I shall first notice in a single word Tiele's *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst* ("History of Religion to the Sovereignty of the universal Religions." Amsterdam, 1876.) This little manual is written from the usual standpoint of the Leiden school, and treats the religion of Israel simply as one branch of the Semitic religions. There is no new research or even argument on disputed points; but the work will be found convenient, both as a brief exposition of the views of an influential school, and from the references supplied to the latest literature.

Coming now to real contributions to the history of Old Testament religion, I have to name especially Professor Baudissin of Strassburg's *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte* ("Studies in the History of Semitic Religion." Leipzig: Grunow), and Dr E. Nestle's Haarlem prize essay on the significance of the Hebrew proper names for the history of religion—

Die Israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer Religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung (Haarlem, 1876). To these must be added several valuable essays—Kuenen's paper on "Yahveh and the other gods" (*Theol. Review*, July 1876), and Smend's essay in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1876, iv. "On the stage in the development of the religion of Israel presupposed by the prophets of the eighth century." Baudissin's volume is made up of a series of essays, some of which have only a secondary bearing on biblical theology. The essay on the value of Sanchuniathon's Phœnician history decides, with Movers, against the opinion which has received currency through Ewald and Renan, refusing to accept the work of Philo as the translation of an old source, though admitting that it contains remains of old tradition modified by the author's euhemerism. The points in the cosmogonies of Sanchuniathon which remind us of the Old Testament—the chaos or Βάαυ (בהו), and the πνεῦμα in the creation—are not borrowed from the Bible, but rest on notions which the Israelites since their origin had shared with kindred tribes. "But while among the latter the naive notions of a child-like age resolved themselves into the materialistic form presented by Philo, in Israel, through the agency of the spirit of prophecy, the notion of a physical breath of God was transformed into that of a spiritual God" and Creator. "This confirms what appears in all comparison of Old Testament religion with the views of kindred nations. The elements of a natural religion once common to all Semites have passed into the religion of revelation, but in this fusion have undergone an inner purification." While natural religion ends in self-dissolution, the Old Testament shews us "the sway of a new principle, the Spirit of God raising men above the mythological process, the spirit of revelation." These sentences serve to indicate the religious standpoint of the volume. A very learned and thorough investigation of the origin of Ἰάω as the name of a deity, demonstrates conclusively that Ἰάω is a mere reproduction of the tetragrammaton, not the name of a Canaanite or other heathen god, thus wholly demolishing the argument maintained by Lenormant, and in this country by Colenso, to shew that the Israelites borrowed the name Jahve from heathenism. Other arguments for a non-Hebrew origin of the name are also discussed and found wanting.

The essay on the symbolism of the serpent among the

Semites, especially in the Old Testament, has for its main object to prove that it is needless to assume any influence of Parsism, in which the serpent is connected with Ahriman, in order to explain the story of the fall. The character of cunning or intelligence, it is argued, is ascribed to the serpent in the religious symbolism of all the Semites, so far as our present knowledge extends. That knowledge, however, as appears from the examination to which our author successively subjects the Assyrian, the Phœnician, and the Arabian data, is very imperfect, and a good deal that has been put forward by Movers and others must be rejected. That the Kadmos of Greek legend is a Phœnician serpent god seems to be one of the best established facts bearing on the subject. It is conjectured that the Hebrews connected the serpent with sorcery, and that this may have had a share in establishing the idea of its cunning or wisdom. The etymological arguments for such a conjecture are not very strong, and are hardly confirmed by the suggestion that the tree of knowledge is also connected with the well-known habit of taking oracles from trees, more than once alluded to in the Old Testament, and familiar to classical antiquity. Professor Baudissin has not been able to throw any new light on the worship of the brazen serpent abolished by Hezekiah.

In the essay on Hadad-Rimmon (Zech. xii. 11), Hitzig's interpretation, which suggests that Hadad-Rimmon is a name of Tammuz or Adonis, is controverted, and the old view defended which sees in the word the name of a place where the fall of Josiah was mourned. The argument, in its most important part, resolves itself into an examination of the two names of deities which form the elements of the word Hadad-Rimmon, or, as Baudissin would read, Hadar-Rimmon. For *Rimmon*, who appears in the Bible as a Damascene deity, our author accepts Schrader's identification with the Assyrian Ramanu, who, according to Schrader, is the thunder god. But as Delitzsch, in his additions to Smith's "Genesis" appears to have refuted Schrader's interpretation of the Assyrian name, and as Wellhausen, in a review of Baudissin's "Studies" (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1877, St. 6), has disposed of the arguments from Greek glosses by which our author endeavours to prove the existence of a Syrian Raman who was also a god of thunder, this part of the essay must be viewed as

unsuccessful. It appears, too, that in reading Hadar for Hadad, Baudissin has followed a false light of the Assyriologists; for v. Gutschmid, in the work noticed above, has brought the clearest proof that Hadad is a title of the Syrian Baal or Sun-god, and that it is quite illegitimate in Schrader to transform Benhadad into Benhadar, in order to find him mentioned on the Assyrian monuments. As Wellhausen has also made it very improbable that any weight is to be attached to Hieronymus's evidence to the existence of a place called Hadad-Rimmon, it remains likely that Hitzig's interpretation is right. Hadad is the Sun-god. Adonis is also the Sun-god under a special form, which may very well be the same as the specialised Hadad-Rimmon, though we have as yet no absolute proof that it is so.

The part of Baudissin's book most important for biblical theology is the very long essay on "The view taken in the Old Testament of the gods of Heathenism." The collection of the relevant biblical material is very full and good, and the general argument includes interesting investigations of points of detail. The final result is this:—Baudissin (like Kuenen in the essay named above) thinks that the pure monotheism of Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and later books developed itself out of an earlier monolatry. But while Kuenen includes under the name monolatry the faith of the prophets of the eighth century B.C., who use expressions that seem to ascribe a certain reality to the heathen gods, Baudissin more cautiously attempts a middle way, and will have it that since the time of Hosea it was admitted that *for Israel* the other gods were mere dead images, but that it does not appear that the monotheistic faith implied in this position had as yet consciously formulated the proposition that the other gods were absolute nothings, even for their own worshippers. Thus the standpoint of the eighth century is, according to Baudissin, an *unconscious monotheism*. This theory certainly relieves the author of some of the objections that may be taken against Kuenen's more radical view. But apart from the internal difficulty that besets the conception of an unconscious monotheism, Baudissin's view seems to break down before a single expression of Hosea. The prophet who chooses for the restored nation the epithet "sons of the living God" (chap. i. 10), surely does so in the conviction that the other nations, who in Semitic phrase are sons of *their* national deities, have

no living God. And this is absolute and conscious monotheism of the clearest kind.

Smend's essay, which deals with the same period, the eighth century B.C., belongs to a different school, and is mainly directed to prove the organic connection between the teaching of the prophets and the earlier faith of the nation. It brings forward many important considerations that are apt to be overlooked in the present disposition of critics to find the whole history of Israel's spiritual faith within the period of the prophetic literature. Whether the writer has also succeeded in shewing that there is no reason why the Levitic legislation may not be older than Amos and Hosea is another question. The essay takes the form of a criticism on Duhm's able but too subtle, construction of the prophetic development, and it is thus hardly possible to reproduce its argument here; but, like the author's previous work, *Moses apud Prophetas*, it gives the promise of very valuable service in the field of biblical study.

Dr Nestle's book, confining itself to a single line of evidence, touches many of the questions which have just occupied our attention. Here too, as in Baudissin's essay, we find a refutation of the attempts that have been hitherto made to trace back the origin of the name Jahve beyond the limits of Hebraism, and here too, as in Smend's paper, but with other arguments, recent attempts to take away the place of Moses in the history of revelation are combated. After a brief history of Hebrew onomatology, the author proposes to himself two questions—1. Which names of God occur in proper names in the various periods of Hebrew history? 2. What conception of the deity is expressed in the proper names, by the combination of the names of God with significant words?

The results of the discussion of the first question are mainly these:—The proper names of the Mosaic period confirm the Pentateuchal tradition, that before Moses God was worshipped as El Shaddai, in which name (interpreted as *mighty* God) the author recognises the conception of the deity suited to a nomad tribe, which has little temptation to identify the godhead with the phenomena of nature, and, demanding of its deity guidance in wanderings and protection against foes, requires a religion that gives faith in a personal and revealing god. In discussing the next period of Israel's religion, which is marked

by the work of Moses and the name Jahve, Dr Nestle rightly rejects the interpretations which find in Jahve the notion of him *who is*, and leans to Lagarde's view, though half inclined to prefer the interpretatian advanced by the present reviewer in this journal.[1] It is then shewn that, in the formation of proper names, El and Jahve came to be used indifferently, and that the use of names pointing to the worship of other gods is very rare. The names compounded with Baal are referred to the introduction, in the time of the judges, of Canaanite ideas, and are viewed as evidence that the worship of other gods besides Jahve was not impossible even in the families of Saul and David. The final victory over this imperfect state of religious development is traced to the age of Elijah. It must, however, be questioned whether our author has rightly explained the use of Baal in the names to which he refers. That Baal or Lord was a title applicable to Jahve, until the use was dropped to prevent confusion with the heathen Baalim, is a far more probable opinion, and finds in Hosea ii. a confirmation which Dr Nestle has hardly weighed aright. Had this opinion been adopted, the arguments which our author directs against those who practically obliterate the work of Moses from the history of revealed religion would have gained weight, and it would have been still more apparent that the polytheism, which, according to Kuenen, was held to by the majority of the nation as late as the exile, was always viewed in Israel as an irregularity, so that even those who worshipped false gods did not venture to name their children ofter them.

In discussing his second question, Dr Nestle traces in a very interesting way the character of the pious dependence on God expressed in the proper names. Many of these refer to the child as the gift of God to the parents, and it is a quaint, but no doubt just observation, that as female children were less valued, this class of names is exclusively masculine. Other names perpetuate the religious significance of the birth of a son into the family in various manners. God hath helped, God hath heard, God hath remembered, and so forth. In other names again the religious view of national concerns is expressed. Such are many names of kings, for from Jehoshaphat the kings of Judah always bore a name compounded with Jahve so that Eliakim on his succession becomes Jeho-

[1] *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, January 1876.

jakim. The exceptions are the godless kings, Ahaz, Manasseh, Amon; and we have some reason to think that these names may have been changed, as the monuments give to Ahaz the name of Jehoahaz. Special attention is paid to the forms that combine the divine name with the notion of king and father, and it is shewn how many of the expressions of Old Testament piety in psalms, the priestly blessing, and elsewhere, are reflected in proper names. These observations, which do not apply only to the later names, and which are supported by the absence of names that present a naturalistic conception of deity, make it manifest that from the earliest times the ethical truths of revealed religion had taken a deep hold of the mass of the Israelites. However much may remain uncertain in the details of Dr Nestle's investigation, this result can hardly be shaken; and the evidence which it bears against those who refuse to view the corrupt nature worship of the eighth century as a declension from an admitted standard of national religion is of the strongest kind, though, in order to estimate its precise force, it would be necessary to examine at some length the parallelisms in point of idea between the proper names of Israel and those of other Semites. That these parallelisms are in part very striking is observed by Dr Nestle at the close of his enquiry, but the subject is not followed up. In this sketch I have mainly sought to shew how much matter of general theological interest the writer has drawn from an apparently technical subject. The volume also contains much scholarly research in the investigation of details, and is altogether very welcome, both as an addition to biblical literature, and as a token of what we may still expect from the author.

As Goldziher's *Mythos bei den Hebräern*, and the English translations of Kuenen's and Riehm's recent books on prophecy, have been noticed in these pages in another connection, they must be excluded from our present survey.

W. R. SMITH.